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Joseph H. Moore

U.S. Hist
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THE

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE,

AND

NOTES AND QUERIES.

CONCERNING THE

ANTIQUITIES, HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

OF

AMERICA.

VOL. VII. SECOND SERIES.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.

HENRY B. DAWSON.

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PREFATORY NOTE

The close of the seventh volume of the New Series of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE—the seventeenth of the work—affords another opportunity to extend our thanks to our friends, the country over, for their continued courtesies and kindness, and to solicit, from each and every of those friends, a continuation of their kind offices.

The arrearages in our publication, distressing and discouraging as they have been to us, and still are, have been overcome less speedily than we have had reason to hope for, notwithstanding our own most earnest efforts to bring them up; but we are not without hope that we shall soon have the pleasure of seeing this gap filled, without disturbing the regular monthly issue of the work to those who are our subscribers for the year 1871.

Our own and our sons' best efforts are directed to secure that desirable end.

MORRISANIA, N. Y., January, 1871.

HENRY B. DAWSON.

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THE
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

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JANUARY, 1870. 25-10

[No. 1.]

I.—OUR HISTORICAL WRITERS.—CONTINUED.

GEORGE H. MOORE, LL.D.

BY HOWARD CROSBY, D.D.

Men of worth shrink from notoriety. They live for their work; not for themselves. Their ambition is to do; not to appear. Idlers and adventurers will climb up dizzy heights, to carve their names in the rock; but the true man cuts down the forest, builds the house, and tills the soil, leaving something better than an empty name for the generations to come. The heroes of the world have never been mustered by History; it is only the Divine roll-call, at the great consummation, that can select those modest souls. Where one great man escapes into fame, a hundred enclose themselves in their cocoons of industry, fond of concealment and all unconscious of their coming colors. If one wishes to see the good, the useful, and the true, among men, he must look beneath the surface, or he will make a defective estimate. Some good grows up into visibility; but a vast amount lies as gold in the mine; and when the wealth of virtue that the world possesses, is to be reckoned, the jewels that hide from the public gaze are to be remembered as forming the largest portion of the whole amount.

It is a very refreshing experience to the healthy mind to turn from the crowded highway, where merit is disfigured with dust and tinsel, and clamorous applause marks alike the good and evil, and find, in calmer scenes, the contented spirit, a reward to itself, achieving its progress, not by the guidance of popular impulse, but by the inward promptings of the truth. It is principally through such laborers that the world moves; and it is around such that true happiness gathers.

For many years, it has been our good fortune to watch the busy life of a toiler of this sort; and, if we regarded only his personal peace, we should not now mention his name; but, for the encouragement of others

and a protest against the noise, and bluster, and sensation of the day, we must wound his feelings for this once.

GEORGE HENRY MOORE was born in Concord, New Hampshire, on the twentieth of April, 1823.

His father was well known in his native State, for his high political and literary abilities; and, toward the close of his life, filled the onerous and responsible position of Postmaster at San Francisco, where he lent his energies to the growth of that Pacific metropolis. Mr. Moore's uncle, Governor Isaac Hill, had a national fame.

George, the oldest of four sons, came to New York, in 1839, at the age of sixteen; and, by a course of resolute self-denial, made an honorable way for himself and his three brothers, through a collegiate education, at the New York University, his youngest brother being graduated from that institution in 1851. George himself was graduated in 1843. His fellow-students of that day love to testify to his untiring perseverance and genial disposition, throughout his college course, in which he mingled the devotion of the scholar with the instincts of generous friendship.

In 1841, while a Sophomore in College, he entered the service of the New York Historical Society, as Assistant Librarian, George Folsom being the Librarian.

The Historical Society, at that time, was a quiet potentiality, a respectable egg, over which the influences of Washington Irving, George Bancroft, and other such were brooding with faint hopes of a hatch. It was stowed away in a corner of the University Building; and led a very dingy life. From the start, Mr. Moore, as Assistant Librarian, became the chief workman in the concern,—George Folsom, and afterwards, George Gibbs, and then Mr. Moore's venerable father, who were Librarians, wisely acting as figure-heads to the office; and allowing the genius and industry of the Assistant to be untrammelled. A new life entered the old bones. Growth, order, thrift, were the magical results of

young Moore's energy. In 1849, the Historical Society did not know itself. It had become a power in the community. The best men of the City thronged its *séances*, (where portly Janitor Smith dealt out the chocolate); papers of highest interest were read in its rooms; its patronage was sought by the historical explorers of the land; and rich men were honored by contributing to its resources. While all this was done, the cunning workman who had wrought the change remained in obscurity as the Assistant Librarian.

When Mr. Moore's father resigned his post as Librarian, Doctor Edward Robinson, who always had an eye to the fitness of things, proposed the son as the rightful successor.

From that day to this, a period of twenty years, Mr. Moore, if we may be classical and not jocose, has been the Atlas of the Historical Society. To change the figure and conform the better to modern science, Mr. Moore has been the central Sun of the Historical Society's system, around which President, Vice-president, and all the other officers and members, have most becomingly pursued their orbits. Whenever any one thinks of the Historical Society, GEORGE H. MOORE appears at once to his imagination. He is the Historical Society, in its walking, talking avatar. While the Society has taken the first rank among kindred institutions in this country, and appropriately moved itself out of the University garret into a neat and beautiful house of its own, it would foil a cynic to seek the first error of management in design or execution on the part of the ruling spirit of the noble enterprise.

In that fine edifice, on Second Avenue, within the classic purlieu of St. Mark's, is gathered the richest material for our country's history; while Nineveh and Egypt are represented to the undoubted satisfaction of the bust of Herodotus, over the main door. No visitor in New York is guiltless who has failed to enter this shrine of Clio and lulled his spirit in its quiet, historic atmosphere. No man can say that he knows the institutions of New York, if he does not know GEORGE H. MOORE. The hearty welcome, the kindliness of soul, overflowing in voice and manner, the genial greeting of eye and hand, which Clio's high-priest accords to devout worshippers, are worth a long journey of themselves.

Off the main Library hall is Mr. Moore's laboratory. Here, his untiring industry has accomplished its successes. When he had completed the years of detail that were necessary to systematize the literary property of the Society and had reduced a very dismal chaos to cosmical order, he turned his attention to utilizing his large information and mature

judgment, for the benefit of the historic world.

In 1860, Mr. Moore published an octavo of one hundred and fifteen pages, on the *Treason of Charles Lee*,* a work which excited deserved interest and showed the accurate analysis and scholarly abilities of its author. In 1862, he published his *Historical Notes on the employment of Negroes in the American Army of the Revolution*,† a most opportune and influential publication, when the negro-soldier-question was pressing itself on the Nation, in the fearful scenes of civil strife; and, in 1866, he aroused (rather than excited) public attention by his *Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts*,‡ an octavo of two hundred and fifty-six pages. This work fairly startled the Pharisees, who had smoothed their paunches with a comfortable feeling of their own immaculateness, and put a valuable foot-note to some loose pages of history.

This was followed by a tract, entitled *Additional Notes on Slavery in Massachusetts*,§ a clincher to the former. Mr. Moore has also been a frequent contributor to *The Evening Post*, *Commercial Advertiser*, *Journal of Commerce*, and the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, where his signature of E. Y. E. is widely-known throughout the historical world.

A more valuable work than these, and one on which Mr. Moore's fame will chiefly rest, as an accurate, laborious, and scholarly writer and historian, is the *History of the Jurisprudence of New York*, still incomplete and unpublished; but which is, and has been, for a long time, engaging his faithful energies.

In 1860, Mr. Moore was called to the Chair of Legal History, in the New York University; but he declined this fitting tribute to his worth. From the same institution, he subsequently received the degree of LL.D.

We wish that we felt at liberty to introduce

* "Mr. Lee's Plan—March 29, 1777." | *The | Treason of Charles Lee | Major General | second in command in the American Army | of the Revolution.* | By George H. Moore. | Librarian of the New York Historical Society. | [Read before the Society, on Tuesday evening, June 22, 1858.] | "The evil that men do lives after them." | New York: Charles Scribner, 124 Grand Street. | M.DCCC.LX |

Octavo, pp. xii, 115. Portraits and fac-similes. † *Historical Notes | on the | Employment of Negroes | in the | American Army of the Revolution.* | By | George H. Moore, | Librarian of the New York Historical Society. | New York: | Charles T. Evans, 532 Broadway. | 1862.

Octavo, pp. 24. ‡ *Notes | on the | History of Slavery | in | Massachusetts* | By George H. Moore | Librarian of the New York Historical Society and Corresponding | Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society. | Quis nescit, primam esse historie legem, ne quid falsi | dicere audeat? deinde ne quid falsi | dicere audeat? deinde ne quid veri non audeat? — Cic. de Orat., II., 15. | New York: | D. Appleton & Co. 443 & 445 Broadway | M.DCCC.LXVI. |

Octavo, pp. iv, 256. § *Additional Notes | on the | History of Slavery in Massachusetts,* | G. H. M. | Small quarto, pp. 15.

our readers within the sacred circle of Mr. Moore's home. Of course we cannot. We can only say that the home is all that could be expected from such a man. Mr. Moore was married, on the twenty-first of October, 1850; and with a wife who appreciates him and children of peculiar promise, his lot is to be envied, furnishing a fair model of the unostentatious, literary, useful, upright, and contented life—the life to which "*fides et ingenî benigna vena*" are of higher value than the "*ebur*" and "*aureum*" and "*trabes Hymettiae*."

NEW YORK CITY.

H. C.

II.—WASHINGTON'S BIRTH-DAY ORATION, AT SALEM, MASS., FEBRUARY 22, 1793.

BY REV. WILLIAM BENTLEY, D. D.*

NOW FIRST PRINTED FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT, BELONGING TO MISS MARY R. CROWNINSHIELD, CHARLESTOWN, MASS.

GENTLEMEN, FRIENDS, AND FELLOW CITIZENS.

With the ardor which the love of our country inspires, and in compliance with your patriotic wishes, I rise, on this joyful anniversary, to celebrate the nativity of the Saviour, under God, of my Country.

To ask candor from citizens equally interested with myself, in the important consequences of this event, would offend their virtue. While

the speaker treats his subject with the enthusiasm it inspires at the first moment of reflection, he claims the tribute due to a compliance with the public wishes.

The celebration of great events is adapted to preserve the just remembrance of the causes which have originated the invaluable blessings we possess. We neither attribute too much to an individual, nor forget the concurrence of other means for our happiness. Nothing is more obvious than the coöperation of causes to produce the events, in which a principal agent has been most distinguished. We can hardly discern nature from education, at the points in which they meet; and we feel greatness to depend on the concurrence of circumstances, out of human power. Nativities cannot have frequent and just occasions, because they refer the ultimate merit to the individual. In the glorious scenes of life, such men are seldom found. But, if ever an exception was admitted, it might be on the present occasion. Behold the man, great in battle and at the head of armies! Behold him, surrounded with glory, in the chair of State! Behold him in the offices of humanity, and the familiar duties of life: in each he is great; nor has yet the admiring world decided in what character he is greatest. Recount the actions of his life, and see how heaven has marked him for distinguished honor! Famed conquerors of the earth! pay him the first honors; and raise your merit, while ye bow to him.

What local greatness is to be found in the

* REV. WILLIAM BENTLEY, D.D., the author of this *Oration*, was born in Boston, on the twenty-second of June, 1759; graduated at Harvard College, in 1777; settled over the East-church, (Unitarian) in Salem, on the twenty-fourth of September, 1783; and died, suddenly, on the twenty-ninth of December, 1819, aged sixty years.

He published a *Collection of Psalms and Hymns*, which was introduced into his Church, in Salem, and continued in use, in that Society, from November, 1788, until 1843, when it was superceded by that of Doctor Flint. He wrote a *History of Salem*, which was published in the sixth volume of the *Massachusetts Historical Collections*; and he was the Editor of *The Essex Register*, a Democratic newspaper, for twenty years. Several of his Sermons also, were published, during his life.

He was a diligent collector of books and curiosities, leaving behind him, at his death, a large and valuable library and cabinet; and he bequeathed the theological portion of them to the College at Meadville, Pennsylvania, and another portion, probably the historical works, to the American Antiquarian Society, at Worcester, Massachusetts.

He was eminent for his learning and varied attainments; and he was an honored member of several scientific and historical Societies.

The following *Oration*, from the original manuscript, has never been published; and at the request of our unwearied friend, Captain GEORGE H. PREBLE, U.S.N., Miss MARY R. CROWNINSHIELD, of Charlestown, Massachusetts, has kindly permitted us to print it, the first time, in the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, whose readers will thus be favored with an item of *Washingtoniana*, which the most diligent collector has hitherto failed to secure.

Captain Preble never does by halves; and the same mail which brought the manuscript of the *Oration* to our table, brought also a sketch of Dr. Bentley's life, which we have

incorporated into this Note, and the following description of the Celebration which called forth the *Oration*; which he found in FELT's *Annals of Salem*, ii, 50:

"BIRTH OF WASHINGTON.

"This event was celebrated, Feb. 22, 1793. At break of day, salutes were fired from the old and new forts and, "by an artillery company, from the heights above the town; bells rang; and musicians played. At sunrise, fifteen flags were displayed from the Court-house cupola; and like insignia were shown from Washington Hall, among which was a royal standard, reversed, as an emblem of the downfall of earthly crowns.

"In the forenoon, the inhabitants were generally abroad, to enjoy the occasion. At noon, a procession moved under a military escort, with the usual music and a band, to the North Meeting-house, already graced with a large assemblage of ladies. Rev. William Bentley pronounced the *Oration*. The procession came back to Washington Hall, where two hundred persons dined. Another dinner party were provided for at the Sun Tavern. There was a good collection taken at the doors of the Meeting-house, to gladden the hearts of the poor. The tenants of the Alms-house had a plentiful dinner. It was truly a day of great political union, whereon each endeavored to be happy by contributing to each others' enjoyment. Such demonstrations of our better feelings have a far different effect on communities than the bitter spirit of party, which withholds all beneficence, except to its own members."

Miss Crowninshield is entitled to the thanks of every student of the history of those times, for thus kindly placing beyond possibility of destruction, this interesting relic of the last century; and our friend, for the part which he has taken in the matter, is entitled to the earnest thanks of every reader of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

heroes of past ages? The voice of a few generations pronounced them great; and the feeble report in allegory and fable confounded them with the most ancient traditions. But with Washington, the most important history of our world begins. His happy Revolution has robbed Tyranny of its spell, and taught mankind that, could they find an hero like him, as great in virtue as in arms, they might, by one generous effort, ensure the highest ends of Government, and trample oppression in the dust. And what alarms are heard! What mighty revolutions have begun! Where are the Washingtons to conduct the great work? Heroes and Patriots! arise. Nor can my boldest imagination draw them into competition. The force of millions, the aids of literature, and all the schools of ambition have not shown the rival of his fame! He has given that motion to the ball of empire, which, like a mighty Providence, aids it as it rolls, till its greatest revolutions are accomplished. Forbid it, heaven, that he should have the honors of a Jupiter, the fame of Numa, or the veneration of Moses. The place in the records of fame is yet left open for his name—WASHINGTON, the immortal, who taught man virtue, and made him MAN!

The history of his birth and his first scene of greatness have been often repeated with rapturous emotion. An American *Ramsey* has given the great events of his life, which are read with eagerness by every American. And who can be fatigued with the repetition? Like some sacred page, the more it is perused the more the fire burns within us. What modesty triumphs in his first acceptance of our American world, on his shoulders! What horror assails him from the sound of Civil War! What factions surround him! In what bands can he unite Provinces, whose geography was unknown to each other and who had been rivals in interest! The impossibility of the union was declared everywhere. Great Washington arose! Faction uttered her first feeble accents, but swallowed and confounded them as they rose in silence. She beheld this rising luminary, and, disarmed of her rage, bowed down to worship him. What consolation to this Province was his arrival? The destitute Army seemed to transform itself into order, by invisible means; and the God of heaven sent it supplies from the enemy. The countenance of despondency disappeared; and, from invectives, to arm the rage of the people, every pulpit resounded the more divine language of Washington, the deliverer. A retreating enemy soon verified the prediction; and we were again free from the alarms of War.

A new scene and more active, opened, and, that no insinuation might be possible, as diversified as offensive and defensive War could make

it. And, least the success should be attributed to his troops, which held up to him the greatest advantages, he was often in circumstances the most discouraging. Nothing was in order but his own mind, which, after the utmost adversity, was exalted by the most glorious success. With pleasure, might we recite his whole military history and the successive events which, by the concurrence of our French allies, terminated in the Peace and Independence of these States. But, as this military history is yet a desideratum, it may be left for military genius to do it justice.

What solemn testimony did his affectionate officers give him, at disbanding the Army; and what glorious victory, more noble than any he ever gained for his Country, did he obtain, when he made them abandon themselves to every injury, and submit in silence for the good of their Country! But, to disband an Army without pay, to be the national Treasury, without finance and without appointment, is a service left only for the greatest merit to perform. He then descends into private life. Can any Roman Emperor, or modern Charles compare with them? Can a grateful people be content with the offering? Will they not unite in the common prayer, that he should be a Father to the People? Already he had been their defence, while untutored in war, and had led them on to battle. The last, best office remained, to ensure to them the blessings for which they had so eagerly contended.

Is it not enough for human greatness to excel, without such repeated experiments of its strength? Behold him! yet mounting on the car of glory. His Country is happy. The Government has its success; and we are in the possession of the greatest national tranquility. If heaven ever sent its gifts to man and a guardian of his peace, it is in the man we celebrate. Our highest joy and our fondest praise have the applause of virtue and of heaven.

Before we indulge a more intimate view of our situation and country, let us enquire into the effects of this interesting scene, upon its numerous spectators. It can be no pleasure to a generous patriot, to insult the political errors of any country. The extensive views upon which he examines national character, prevent the uncandid insinuations of vulgar minds. While he celebrates a Washington, who has established his influence in the hearts of the people, it would be an ill compliment to utter any invectives. If any are great by their vices, public justice will be the speedy avenger. Empty names will cease in an enlightened world; and the more exalted Tyranny may be, it is only that in its destruction, Liberty may have a more sure victory. It is impossible, that as good men, we should not enjoy the prospect opening to the world. The future benefits are deserving of the zeal expen-

ded to secure them; but the spectator beholds with regret, the painful scenes which may introduce them. And, although he looks to the blessings with transport, yet, with silent grief, he beholds the means which will be employed.

Political convulsions are capable of very different effects, either as anticipated, felt, or enjoyed in the future peace. In the expectation, genius and virtue dare to be great. But, alarmed passion, unrestrained violence, and mad opinion, institutions forgotten and the world in tumult, leave no image in nature for the imagination. The hurricane is but a faint image of the apprehension and the danger. In the busy scene, action may withdraw our mind from their painful reflections, but it is like the violent rains, which in some part of their confluence have a clear channel, but rage more violently at every obstruction. It is only when we can look back, and see ourselves safe, we can be happy.

It was a popular observation of *Common Sense*, that the Scriptures had given a very unfavorable representation of kingly power. Though the force of the remark may be in prejudice, it is happy when the weakest prejudice finds no support from even the history of religion. The increase of Republics and the modern notions of representation are opposed to what Mr. Paine has called the compact of Governors and Governed. Revolutions bend new force against power and, particularly, Royalty. Royalty originated in a state of War; and this was the savage state of man. It begun when he was ignorant of his necessary subordination; when he was the slave of heroism; and when no written laws defined his obligation. It is in War, that Kings have their highest claims, even in the present age. The patriarchal wisdom and the claims of Senators are felt in Peace. It is only from the projections of a perpetual Peace, that the dissolution of kingly power can be expected. A state of War and Peace has been the origin of that mixed Government accommodated to them both. With this provision, the love of conquests and extended empires has been continued. Safety in small societies will disarm them; and then only will Commerce and the Arts rest on the natural foundations of industry.

O! blessed days, that are to unfold to the impartial understanding, the happiness of man, from a comparative view of the history of ages. On such occasions, we recur to Rome and Greece, for illustrations of the defence of Liberty. The appeal to them, for the general sentiment, was just. The self-originated Governments of Greece, unmeliorated by generous Commerce, and productive of more Science than Arts, in their endless multiplicity, have shown struggling, but not well-directed, virtue. Rome, which produced

greater men, retained its martial spirit, till its glory was lost in Tyranny. We are better instructed by the lessons they have left than by the actions they have performed. The other ancient Nations deserve not our recollection. But the present Revolutions, begun on bolder principles, are lessons of sublime instruction, and are accompanied with circumstances which admit no comparison. Let the old dispute revive between the ancients and the moderns, who in this point will hold the competition? Is Political Economy already in its perfection, that we may check the spirit for Revolutions? The English Constitution, as it was called, has been justly celebrated. But is it a model for the world? It owes its spirit of liberty to its early commercial advantages. It went before other nations, in its political privileges and writings. These advantages have long since been taken out of their hands. To talk, at this day, of the superior blessings of this Constitution, otherwise than as a debt of gratitude for the past, is to maintain prejudices after the causes have ceased, which produced them—an employment by no means becoming an enlightened understanding. Opposition to a law which did not originate in the Nation, was a standing mark of the genius of the Nation; but its Revolutions do not indicate Liberty in its Laws. The death of Charles was opposite to the spirit of the Government, but not to the Rights of Man. And it is confessed by many, that the most valuable blessings of the present establishment are not independant of this event. Alas! that Government should attach to names such prejudices, as the want of merit cannot destroy. Reason teaches, to prevent the horror of such a catastrophe, we should prevent the folly which occasioned it. The influence of great characters, upon political society, have been illustrated in the powers of Prussia and Russia; but, in the distant consequences, have mankind gained more than in the humble Republics? And have the Dutch owed any of their glory, since their establishment, to the house of Orange? Testify, ye Grotiuses. No man can take away the advantages of industry but to what have the Dutch owed their greatest calamities. But the alarm is sounded through the earth; and France has determined to be free! It is not to be conceived that, in America, we can easily form just ideas of the progress of the French. Their situation is quite dissimilar.

Accustomed, from great antiquity, to the government of Kings; disused to a representation of the People; witnesses of the excesses of power, the pomp of royalty, and the thirst of dominion; governed by national prejudices, rather than national interest; and having a different standard of respect for characters, their difficulties must have increased. Retaliation, in its horrid

scenes, finds excuses where it cannot find reasons. Their success is more owing to the enchanting voice of Liberty, than to their brave Generals. Consequences, we cannot foresee.

The restoration of Monarchy, as in England, will probably be prevented; and changes more durable than those in the little Kingdoms of the North. The commemorations of these great events, in the United States and in our Capital, bid us anticipate much from the political information. A religion which excited our aversion, cannot now prevent our cordial affection; and, as we approach to embrace each other, we consent in the substantial truths of our interest and happiness. We are not to imagine that the measures of this enlightened Nation are the impulse of the moment. There have been many struggles in its bosom, many sighs for Liberty; but, encircled by the magic power of forms, it suffered violence; and the violent have taken it by force. An enthusiastic love of Liberty carries the soul, over all the outrages of passion and tumult, to the happy scenes in which this great and glorious People shall illustrate the most interesting truths to mankind. Heaven teaches it in the past history of the People; and in the greatness of their danger forms their salvation.

Nor can we forget, on this subject, the darling Frenchman of America who, by his amiable manners and deserved military reputation, secured more hearts for France than all the measures of that Court; who kindled into a flame, the love of liberty, which philosophy, in the writings of the age, had excited. If he loved his King, because his heart had not fully achieved the Revolution; if he offended the majesty of the People by a bold remonstrance; he wanted respect neither for liberty nor for virtue. Our hearts beat quick for the man we love; and the affection of our own General warrants our warmest wishes, both for his liberty and his future happiness.

But, while we pay this tribute of gratitude to a stranger, shall we forget the men who have nobly dared to present to us the undisturbed blessings of Peace? The writings of Mr. Paine were useful in our Revolution; and can we doubt that, formed on the same plan, they will in some future ages receive the gratitude of Europe? We cannot refuse to confess, that men who have opposed the prevalent theories of the human mind, have contributed an essential part to the progress of the human understanding. If ever our prejudices would have proclaimed danger, it would be from the writings of such men. Yet they have, contrary to our first apprehensions, emancipated us from the tyranny of established systems and left an important era in the history of mankind. Perhaps no man has exceeded a partisan, in the French Revolution; and yet

who will pronounce that he lived in vain. From the great Doctor Price, whose calculations have been so useful in Political Economy, we may pass to the worthy Neckar, who will be gratefully remembered when all prejudices against him are lost and his own unworthy complaints are forgotten. Their worthy pupil in the finances of America, Secretary Hamilton, will rise high in the minds of grateful posterity. The fate of Neckar and Fayette might have been realized in America, had not the deserved confidence in General Washington been a balance to all the ungenerous designs of party. Too ready to obliterate the past, the shafts of envy would not otherwise have been discharged in vain. Who regards not, with gratitude, the early services of an Adams, his negotiations, and his attention to the Fisheries? Who has not followed his pen, while he places the whole political world before us? And shall he not draw his own candid conclusions? Shall he not deserve the unanimity of our elections? Can Liberty make enquiry safe, when it teaches an administration ever open to a reform? Shall they who gave their property and their lives, and were marked out for vengeance, as our Governor, be obliterated from the list of heroes? And shall not every man, entitled to the privileges of the Laws, claim encouragement for his abilities? Shall a Priestley have no credit for his politics or his philosophy, because of his religion? Would a Newton or the American Franklin stand a test so partial?

While we are thus grateful to the benefactors of mankind, let us recollect our own enjoyments from their benevolence. We search not the causes of the American Revolution in Acts of the British Parliament. The pretences were specious; and, as a fine writer on their Constitution, they granted Independance to preserve the unity of Parliament, so we desired it because we thought ourselves able to maintain it. The apprehensions of parties originated the evils of which we complained.

No part of British America was more happy in its settlement than this ancient town of Salem. Priestly power was annihilated in the appointment of the first Teacher; and they asserted, afterwards, their right, in defiance of the Government. The neighboring Provinces profited from their zeal; and they never fell into disgrace, till fanaticism was established by Law. The Town behaved with a generosity which did them honor at the commencement of the War. Their Militia was well regulated, by a gentleman, called afterwards to some important military and civil appointments. With the character of industry, it sustained the reputation of moderation and firmness. On yonder Bridge, was the first dispute with the British troops; and, on this occas-

ion, was displayed the eminent prudence of that gentleman who has long been the ornament of this desk. Every man recollects the success of our naval armaments; and what is a more pleasurable emotion, we all behold that an industrious people may not be injured by the greatest influx of wealth. When Peace visited us, the lovely Fayette partook of our general joy, and beheld, united, splendor, order, and conviviality. The youth of Salem recollect his gratitude. We all remember the glorious twenty-ninth of October, 1789, when our illustrious President diffused the highest pleasure by his presence, and confirmed our love.

Happiness has attended upon Peace. Our military parade has done honor to the generous heart which rendered it so respectable. May the worthy Gentlemen who have followed him in military promotion, inherit his ambition and success. The member of our Legislature is an example of that industry, manly freedom, and sober understanding which form our best reputation.

Our Ships have followed not only the track of the merchant, but the adventurer. We have seen our children start from our embraces, and perform successful voyages in the most distant seas. Our Streets exhibit the neatness of industry, the convenience of wealth, and the quiet of virtue. Every day is adding to our building, for private elegance and public utility; and we are thus sharers in the public prosperity. To what more happy country can we turn with envy? What sails can waft us to the abodes of greater liberty? Will proud Asia, in her despotism, afford a shelter from the incroachments of power? Or the dark African, sweltering in the heat and turning his thoughts upon, not the savage, but the crafty and bloody European, that haunts his path—will he console us, in a debased understanding? Will subjected Greece, with the tale of its former glory, and amid the rich ruins it has preserved, give protection, among its impoverished inhabitants, from rapacity? Will Rome, once mistress of the world, instruct us to be happy, when we behold a rough mountain sheltering Liberty, while the rich fields of Campania are waste? Will the ambition of a Northern Empress satisfy us, as slaves of the War and the soil? Will Roman borrowed titles content us, when sold for foreign War, at a Prince's discretion? Or defying rocks and tremendous glaciers, the defence of an aristocracy, formed for past generations? Can we prefer, at this age, a small Republic, whose privileges foreign power may guarantee, and abolish by military violence? Or shall we look, with ardent hope, to rival the commercial powers which nurse the Arts and Sciences and give Laws to mankind? Too well acquainted with a Nation that struggles for a Revolution and lets loose its dogs of War, its

mobs on the enquirer after truth, would we conflict with distracted times? No, the American returns contented to his country. My God, I thank thee that I am thus born! Let Greece boast its heroes, and Rome its patriots! We have raised the standard of freedom: it is boldly displayed. It is for liberty we possess and will maintain! But when heaven gave us the boon, he gave us Washington.

Permit me to congratulate the amiable part of our creation upon the blessings they will derive, in domestic life, from the liberties of mankind. The cruel restraints of eastern manners will be removed, and the absurd laws of ceremony, so odious to Love. Confidence and choice will fasten the bands: and all the justice of the world be engaged for innocence. Man will find his partner, and not his slave; and the great law of love will be, never to abandon a choice once freely made. No longer deprived of the most ingenious education, they may fondly hope to be our rivals, if not our teachers, in all the works of imagination and sympathy. The same shelves shall bear the labors of the active and the tender mind; and man shall learn his duty from the most lovely friend of his heart. This has, as yet, been the progress: it is reserved for future ages to show all the glory.

Nor will the man of religion tremble for the ark of his God. If revealed religion supports his hopes, a wheel within a wheel may be an emblem of Providence. The man of natural religion, however he defines it, believes that nature has bound eternal truth by indissoluble bands. The scheme which makes man most happy makes the being of a God a more delightful contemplation, and his Providence more glorious. The law of life becomes more simple as it is more pure; and conscience then has its best support from example. Moral sentiment begets the purest hope; and the purest hope most boldly aspires to immortality. The triumph of Liberty is gained by virtue: the contending passions, like the captives in chains, first adorn the procession and then become subjects; while the greatness of their strength is the glory of victory.

This age, instructed by the past generous efforts against oppression, has begun the great work of destroying that subordination which reduces man to slavery. While a War with savages yet impends over our country, it is happy to observe the exertions for amicable adjustments. And, while the abolition of Slavery is the object, it is happy to see the rigor of slavery abated. The great work is begun; and important causes cooperate to accomplish it, in the happiness of mankind.

Thrice happy country, which first obeyed the voice of freedom. What class of citizens may we not hail on this auspicious day? What

countenance does not show all nature's lines improved in the general content? It is not Liberty without laws and without subordination, it is not a finished structure, but it is upon everlasting foundations. Science gives her aid in the unnumbered institutions that she everywhere places among us; but particularly in that ardor she enkindles for the best institution of man, the Free School. Do we not behold the generous idea, in the late establishments of this Town, which we believe to be the commencement of its laudable designs. Glory to the patrons of so useful an institution.

What do we possess or hope, that reminds us not of Washington? Such the tribute to this great man. But can this liberal tribute be paid to living virtue? It can. No future event can forbid an American to say, he owes all his hopes to this benefactor; and he sees his virtue prompting all the great designs of Liberty, in Europe. It is the testimony of a whole people, amid the envies, the passions, and the strife of life. Posterity will discover from this gratitude, the greatness of their obligations. The life of our benefactor is the security of our Peace. May he live long. But we remember humanity. When the shouts of approving mortals, are heard no no longer, may a reward from the Almighty distinguish him in a happy immortality.

While report brings to us the liberal testimonies of joy in our Capital, is there nothing to urge our ambition. Should the immortal friend we celebrate this day, be present, would his generous heart be more touched with our praises, more calivered by our music, more raised by our sumptuous entertainment, or more moved by the generous joy of our countenances, than in finding the day of his birth celebrated by the most distinguished charities ever obtained among the citizens?

We might then eat the bread of joy and drink wine with a merry heart, believing that God accepted our gift.

Hail, hail, the day, ye heavenly choir!
Let earth, with all her sons conspire;
Great Washington demands your song;
Let heaven and earth their notes prolong.

Our Winthrops nursed our infant days:
Our fathers did rehearse their praise,
From proud oppression sought retreat,
And Salem was their happy seat.

When proud oppression urged to arms,
And slaughter spread its dire alarms,
Great Washington, with glory, rose,
Repelled and vanquished all our foes.

Sweet Peace returned, glad Plenty smiled,
The Arts and Commerce are revived;
Our chills Iren hear their Savior's fame,
And hush with gratitude his name.

Fair Liberty! behold thy son,
Who nations for thine empire won,
Who lives to teach, in every clime,
Thy sacred laws to all mankind.

III.—THE JOURNAL OF RALPH CROSS, OF NEWBURYPORT, WHO COMMANDED THE ESSEX REGIMENT, AT THE SURRENDER OF BURGOWNE, IN 1777.*

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT.

COMMUNICATED BY JOSEPH WILLIAMSON, ESQ.,
BELFAST, MAINE.

NEWBURY PORT, August 29, 1777. This day 7 o'clock in morning Took my Journey to Manchester upon the Grants to joine the Army at

* STEPHEN AND RALPH CROSS were among the most active and influential citizens of Newburyport. The former was born in 1731, the latter in 1738. They were both brought up shipwrights, in the building yard of their father, Ralph Cross, opposite the bottom of Lime-street. Stephen was one of a number of his trade who went from Newburyport to construct a flotilla on the Lakes, in 1756. He and his associates were made prisoners at the fall of Fort Oswego, and carried to Quebec, and thence to France. On his return, he formed a copartnership with his brother Ralph. The business of the firm was extensive. In addition to their ship-building, the partners were engaged in trade, at home and abroad; and, at the commencement of the Revolution, were fast becoming affluent. From the number of men in their employment, few citizens had better opportunities of conciliating general confidence. And the Records of the Town, which show the active part which they took in its concerns, prove that these opportunities were not neglected. Stephen was the first Selectman chosen by the Town, after its separation from Newbury. Both brothers entered into the cause of the Revolution with spirit and determination. Both were members of the Committee of Safety and Correspondence. Many of their letters show an intensity of interest in public concern almost inconceivable at the present day. They speak of the Commonwealth as men now speak of the affairs of their own household. Stephen was one of the Delegates of the Town to the first Provincial Congress. Several were elected; but he and the well-known Jonathan Greenleaf, whose friend and coadjutor he was, during his whole life, were the only two who accepted their appointments. He was a member of this body during most of the War, and of the General Court which succeeded, for many years afterward. At the commencement of the Revolution, Ralph was a Captain in the Militia, commissioned by the Royal Governor. His Commission is dated in 1772. He afterwards accepted one from the Provincial Congress, and signalized himself by his zeal and assiduity in training his men. In 1777, he joined the Northern Army, as Lieutenant-colonel of the Regiment raised in this quarter, commanded by Colonel Johnson, of Andover. His Battalion formed parts of two Regiments ordered, in September, to advance against the garrison at Ticonderoga, with the intent of taking possession of it. The enemy being reinforced, the Regiments were compelled to retreat, and joined the Camp at Stillwater, on the fourth of October. The fourth day following, occurred the memorable Battle which occasioned Burgoyne's surrender. This was one of the first detachments of Militia engaged in the action. The brothers, with others, contracted with the State for, and built, the frigates *Hancock*, *Boston*, and *Protector*, and several other vessels of war.

At the close of the War, Stephen was appointed Superintendent of the Excise and, afterwards, Collector of Customs for the Port of Newburyport. He soon after received the appointment of Postmaster. In the last office he continued until he died, in 1809.

Ralph also filled various honorable offices. He was for six years, from 1790 to 1796, Brigadier-general of the Brigade to which the Corps of Newburyport was attached. He was a Commissioner of Bankruptcy under the Bankrupt Law; and, in 1802, was appointed Collector of Customs. He continued in this office, performing its duties at a period of unusual difficulty, with faithfulness and resolution, until his decease, in 1810.—*Cushing's History of Newburyport.*

the above Place Accompanied by my Brother Stephen Cross & my Sone William & Dined att Coll Samuell Johnsons who was not Ready to March. After Diner I Proceeded Alone & Reached Pollards Tavern at Billerica where I Lodged Butt Poorly

30. Came 2 mile short of Wor'ter & Lodg'd at again butt Poorly. Sunday morning Rode to Spenceer & Breakfasted

31. *Sunday night.* Lodg'd at Belcher at a Private House *Monday* Rode to Worthington & Lodg'd. *Tuesday Sept'r 2* Lodg'd at Worthington & had Exceeding Bad Rode for 20 miles Overtook Capt Jenkins & Lodg'd at Providence & Lodgd at Col Spofford's in a Good Bed and house.

Wednesday. Rode to Pownall & Lodg'd Exceeding Bad in a Logg House Tavern Plenty of fleas and Buggs Rose Early *Thursday morn, 4 Septr* & Rode to Benington & Breakfasted then Waited Upon Gen. Lincoln who Received me Verry Genteely. Then Gave me orders to March all the Regiment that Should arive to Manchester with one day's Provisions Ready Dress'd, & to Leave behind all our heavy Baggage & to Take one Shift of Cloaths only. Rote a Letter to Wife & one to Stephen. Sent home pr Capt Kent one Shirt fine one pair Cotton Stockins one Jackett one Neck Left with Mrs. Safford att Benington Wife of Col Safford one Shirt one pair mix'd Wosted Stockins to Work & mend one Coat and one Weskett Boath Grey. Also a Chest with 2 Shirts & other Necessaries.

5th day. March'd for Manchester & Lodg'd in Arlington Woods Towards day Rained hard & was wett but a little Sleep.

6 day. Gen. Gates with the Continental Troops Layd halfe moon or Niew City 9 miles from Albany Enemy Lay'd Still Water Saratoga & fort Miller.

Gen Stark Rendezvos'd the New Hampshire Troops at Ramsley's Mills on Waloomsack River or S' Cock Dist from Still Water 17 Miles W. Gen Lincoln Rendezvose the Bay Militia at Manchester Dist from Fort Miller 30 miles Diew West.

Att night Reached Manchester much Fatigua'd Lodgd in a open Barn on Straw. Slept well untill Midnight was awaked by a Violent Thunder Storm & wind Something wett Slept well Latter part of night Capt. Dodge of Ipswich and the Rowley Company Arived Eat an Early Breakfast & Gott a Supper at night. although much spent

7 day. *Sunday.* Prepared the Barn & Took the Stabel for my Quarters Rote a Letter to Col Tiltcomb

8 day. Received orders to March to Pollett with one days Provisions Ready Cook'd Att Night the orders were Counter manded on act of

the Ipswich and Rowley Company's not having Cartriges & Guarded the Town. To day Coll Johnson arived & the Andover Salem and Niewbury Company

9 day. March'd for Pollett & Lodgd in Ruepert 11 miles dist. from Manchester, att which Town their is a Rode over the Mountain to fort Edward.

10 day. Arived att Pollett 4 Miles from Ruepert & Encamp'd the Whole Regiment in a Wood by the Side of the Rode facing West. Coll Johnson in a Barn on Right and Myselfe in a Logg-house on Left. The Upper End of this Town their is a Rode which Leads to fort Edward between Two Large Mountains Skeen-Burrough Dist. 22 Miles Cours W. Northerly; fort Ann dist. 18 Miles Cours W. Southerly

11 day.

12 day. Received orders to Bake 4 days allowance of Bread After Diner 3 Detachments of 500 men Each was ordered to Gett Ready to March Coll Woodbridge Commands one to march to fort Edward to Divert the Enemy Coll Brown to march Direct to Ty. Col Johnson to mount Independance & both to operate att one Time. By the Failure of one officer I was ordered to marc with Col. Johnson Upon one hour's Notice only March in Afternoon & Encamp'd in Wells 6 miles from Powlett

13. Arriv'd att Castleton 12 miles N. from Skeen & 22 miles N. W from Tye 8 miles W from Otter Creek This Town is 20 miles from Powlett.

14.

15. March'd from Castleton for Laweys Camp so Call'd 16 miles from Tye or the Mount & 10 miles from Castleton itt is about 3 Acres of Land & a Small indifferent Logg House. Divided our men in Three Parties 150 Each, the first Division Coll Safford Commands Consisting of Continental Troops, & the Salem Company 2 Division Coll Barrell Commands Consisting of Militia, Coll Bullard's Regiment &c Brought up the Rear. 3 Division Consisting of Essex men in the Center Command'd by My Selfe.

16. March'd from Lawey's Camp & 9 o'clock in Evening Encamp'd 2 miles from the Mount 2 o'clock att Night Gen Warner arrived in Camp & Call'd a Council when itt was agreed to make no attack Untill a Reing forcement should arive.

17. March'd all day by Divisions to the Enemies advanced Centuries A Small Spattering fire began Coll Safford Took post on Right & my Division on the Left Coll Barrell in the Rear, & Continued our posts for 2 days. Att Night Took Cap't Dodge & 6 Privates & went up side of the Lake within the Enemies Centuries & Took 4 Batteaus The Centuries fired upon us but Sustained no Damage the Enemy Kept upon us a Heavy fire all day to no purpos.

18. Continued a fire all day by a Scattering fire

19. Received Newes by Express from Coll Brown of his Taking the Lines att Ty & Requesting a Reingforcement from us which we did Consent to of 200 men.

20. Continued a Scattering fire which the enemy Continued by heavy Canons

21. found the Enemy was Reinforced by 130 men & expected 600 the Next day. Att Night Received Express from Coll Brown Requesting a Retreat without Loss of Time Returned him for answer we Should

22. Agreed to Retreat att Night Rained hard 6 o'clock att Night began our Retreat in heavy Rain by Two Divisions one by Land Command by Gen. Warner the other by Water in a Rout to Skeensburrugh Coll Safford Took the front & by order of the General I Brought up the Rear Niews being brought to the Generall att Dark that the Enemy was all on motion the Guard Boats falling Up Toward Skeen made our men Verry Uneasy Att 8 o'clock Call of all our Guards & att about Tenn Left our [illegible] of 200 men. the Enemy having then about 1000 & in part with Cannon &c

About 3 o'clock Reached what is Calld the Narrows, & There Encampd where a Party of about 60 of Coll Woodbridge's Regiment was Posted to Support us or Coll Brown as occasion should call. This Place is about 15 miles from Tye & 15 miles from Skeensburrugh on Lake Champlain & So Narrow that a man Threw a stone within about 2 Rods Across the Shore, both Sides being almost Perpendicular & about 60 or 70 high Cleard of Cool with Wind at N.W.

23. Continued our Post att the Narrows to Preserve the Retreat of Coll Brown.

24. 10 oclock Took our Rout to Skeens. & Arived their att 4 o'clock & had a View of the Destruction of our Guard Boats Vessells Batteaus &c the Destruction began att the Mouth of South Bay about 3 miles from Skeen & Continued to Skeen boath Sides of the Lake being Covered with Wreck of the Above Vessells, &c

At Skeen Takes the Rise of Wood Creek & after a Carrage of $\frac{1}{2}$ mile over a fall, the Passage is Good Up to fort ann 14 miles.

25. Lay att Skeen waiting for Coll Brown Rote a Letter to Wyfe. paid 2 dollars to Shoe Horse.

26. Coll Brown Arived from Dimond Island with all his Party Except 2 men Kill'd & 2 so bad Wounded that they was obliged to Leave them Each Lost one Legg. the Enemy being aprised of their Coming & was Well Prepared Att 10 o'clock was ordered to march to make better Room for Coll. Brown & att Night Arrived Att Powlett 24 miles in Verry Bad Road.

27. All our men that went with Coll Johnson to the Mount arrived & not one man was wanting. the Preservation was Worthy of Notice.

28. Remained att Powlett.

29. Att Noon Took a Journey for Bennington for the Regimental Stores.

30. Arrivd at Coll Saffords att Bennington, & Rote a Letter home.

31. Still at Bennington Nothing Niew.

October 1. Returned for Powlett & Lodged in Arlington.

2. Att 12 oclock mett our Troops from Powlett & marchd Back to Manchester.

3. Marchd & Lodgd in Cambrig & Suppd & Breakfasted on a fatt Bear.

4. Arrived att Saratoga mills.

5. Arrived att our Camp att Still Water.

6.

7. Att Noon all the Whol Camp was ordered to Arms att 3 o'clock a Spattering firing of Cannon began 4 o'clock Some Small Arms Coll Johnson with one halfe the Regiment was ordered to march & my selfe with Major Crofts with the Rest halfe, after 4 o'clock a Heavy fire of Small arms began, & a heavy Action Came on which Terminated in our favour A Memorable Day indeed We Lost in our Regiment 10 Killd & 34 Wounded Samuel Fowler & Benja [illegible] was of the former & Gen Arnold had his Legg Broke by fall of his Horse

8. A Cannonade all Day we Lost a few men killd & a few Wounded. Gen Lincoln had his Legg Brok by Grape Shott.

9. the Enemy Retreated in the Night & Left all their Sick & Wounded behind. Upwards 300 in Number Rote a Letter to Brother Stephen

10. Our Army Followed the Enemy & Viewd the Enemy's Camp. Sent our Wounded to Niew City Recomend them to Capt. Greenleaf & Coll. Wigglesworth

11. Was putt on Command with Rank of Lieut Coll to break Up the Enemies Bridge of Boats & Apply them in Carrying Up Baggage to our Army att Saratoga.

12. Sunday Still on Command in forwarding Stores from Camp & Still Water to Sarratoga, & had Two Deserters Come & Delivered Up to me.

13. Marchd from Behmas Heights to Sarratoga $\frac{1}{2}$ miles Short of the Meting House & Encampd & one mile from the Enemies Lines.

14. Att Sarratoga & a Spattering fire att & from the Enemy.

15. A Cessation of Arms. & a Truce held all Day between Gen. Burgoin & Gen. Gates.

16. A Cessation of Arms Still Continued.

17. The Grand Army of Gen Burgoin Captittelated & agreed to bee all Prisoners of Warr, a Grand Sight as ever was Beheld by Eye of man in Amerrica Supposed to bee 7000 men & Armes

Their Extent three deep as Upon Their March was Supposed to be Seven miles in Length with Baggage &c Grand in Deed.

18. View^d the Enemies Camp &c att Niewn Receiv^d orders to march Direct for Albany with all Dispatch & Reach Behman Heights.

19. March^d early & Cross^d the Sprouts of Mowhawk River in the Evining & wett our Selves much Butt was kindly Entertained at Capt Outhouts'. a Verry Warm Evining.

20. Reach^d Albany att Noon & Encamp^d our Brigade on the Heights above the City in a Corn field. Cool Winds at N.E. Quartered my Self & Majr Crofts & Cap^t Jenkins at Mr. Thomas Hunns. was kindly Entertain^d.

21. Still at Mr. Hunns. Exchang^d the White Horse for a Large Bay with a White face & Gave 120 dollars.

22. Still att Mr Hunns.

23. Paid 4 Dollars to Shew Horse & 5 dollars to Mr. Hunn for use of House, &c

24. March^d Early for to Join Gen Clinton & putt up at [illegible] over Slow 12½ miles from Albany had the Expense for the first time paid for horse one Night

25. March^d 12½ miles & Lodg^d at Clintonburgh at Mr Hollenkecks. was Taken with a Violent Cold paid 16s for 4 dinners.

26. Remain^d all Day for Want of Provisions & was Still Un Well

27. Regiment & Whole Brigade Marched for Catts Kill 8 miles Dist. butt Tarry^d my Selfe & man Timothy behind being still Un Well had my Horse paid 2 Nights & one day.

28. Still Un able to march itt being Verry Wett & my Selfe Unwell.

29. fair Weather & about 11 o'clock March^d on 4 miles & began Rain again; & was much Wett & Reach^d Catts Kill att one o'clock 9 miles the Great Rain for 3 days makes the Freshetts Very high Was Genteelly entrained att the Widow Duers House where I found the Whole Brigade with Gen. Warner the mountains on our Right hand Covered with Snow.

30. March^d for Skoratee 12 miles, the Mountains Still Covered with Snow. After Noon Pass^d a number of Buildings Burnt by the Enemy the North Side of the River also a Large Brigg was Burnt att this Place by Enemy 8 days past. Saugerties is the Right Name.

31. March^d 12 miles to Esopus Landing Crossed the Stroud & Quartered att Mr. Crows.

November 1. Lay^d Still this day to Give our men Time to Wash &c. went & View^d the once Beautyfull Town of Esopus butt now in Rueins 150 Houses with a Large Meeting House All the Houses are Stone & Consumed in a few Hours by the Enemy with many Vessels Lying at the Stroud &c or out River

2. March^d 20 miles & Quartered att Niew Marlborough.

3. March^d 12 Miles & Encamp^d att Niewburrough 2 miles above the high Lands being in Plain View of the Same & 1 mile Short of Niew Windsor, Close by the ferry Leading to fish Kill.

4. Still att Niew Burrough Quarter^d with an old Acquaintance Capt Coleman Was Kindly Entertain^d

5. Still at Niew Burrough & part of our Brigade with our General Embark^d for Tarry Town.

6. Still at Capt Colemans & Verry Wett Day.

7. Nothing Niew

8. Embark^d our men on board Small Sloops & Schooners & they sett saile for Tarry Town att 9 oclock March Selfe & Major Cross 2 oclock for Tarry Town Cross^d the River Pass^d Through fish Kill & Lodg^d in the Highlands 12 miles

9. March^d Through the High Lands Pass^d Peaks Kill, Kings Bridge &c & Lodg^d on Courtland Mannor in the Mannor House Had a Supper of Water Pottage with a Glass of Good Wine mixd in the Same Sent me by Alderman Blake who came & Spent the Evening with me, &

10. Arrived att Tarry Town & found our Brigade Encamp^d 1½ miles from the Town in a Wood Dined in Cap. Jenkins tent Took Quarters att Mr. Stormes 2 miles from Tarry Town.

11. our Brigade had orders to move for White Planes butt Tarried behind My Selfe being Unwell.

12. my Disorder increas^d & Continued to Increase untill the 18th when was Alarm^d att midnight by the Enemy's Burning Two Dwelling Houses with Two Barnes & Carried away the men Prisoners was obliged my Selfe to go into the field & Tarry 1½ Hours in the Cold being Verry Sick

22. the fever abated

23. was Remoov^d by Coll Bullard & Majr Crofts in a Carrage to King's Street in the Rear of the Army Between Horse Neck & White Plains.

24. Still att King's Street

25. Began my Journey for home After being help^d Upon my Horse. Rode 12 miles.

Dec. 5. after a Tedious Journey & Suffering much by the Cold I arrived Home.

IV.—SELECTIONS FROM OLD PERIODICALS.

I. THE APOLLO. BOSTON: 1792.

COMMUNICATED BY WILLIAM KELBY, ESQ:

[The following interesting items are from "The American Apollo, Containing the Publications of the Historical Society; Essays, Moral, Political, and Poetical; and the daily Occurrences in the Natural, Civil, and Commercial World." Vol. I. Svo. Boston: January to September, 1792. W. K.]

BOSTON, Jan. 6. We are happy in presenting the public with the AROLO, from the first complete Printing Press ever made in this town—the wood work was made by Mr. Berry, and the iron work by Mr. McClench, it is well executed in every part, and does honor to the ingenious constructors. p. 7.

The subscription for lighting the streets, has been very generous; the lamps are now preparing, and after the next full moon we hope to see our streets much better illuminated than ever. p. 8.

PHIL. Jan. 4. On Friday morning was presented to the President of the U. S., a Box, elegantly mounted with silver, and made of the celebrated Oak Tree that sheltered the Washington of Scotland, the brave and patriotic Sir William Wallace, after his defeat at the battle of Falkirk, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, by Edward the I. This magnificent and truly characteristical present, is from the Earl of Buchan, by the hands of Mr. Archibald Robertson, a Scots gentleman, and portrait painter, who arrived in America some months ago. The box was presented to Lord Buchan by the Goldsmith's company of Edinburgh; from whom his lordship requested, and obtained leave to make it over to a man whom he deemed more deserving of it than himself, and the only man in the world to whom he thought it justly due. We hear further, that Lord Buchan has by letter requested of the President, that, on the event of his decease, he will consign the box to that man, in this country, who shall appear, in his judgement, to merit best, upon the same considerations that induced him to send it to the present possessor.

The inscription, upon a silver plate, on the inside of the lid is as follows:

"Presented by the Goldsmiths of Edinburgh, to
"David Stuart Erskine, Earl of Buchan, with
"the freedom of their corporation, by their deacon
"—A. D. 1782." p. 23.

We cannot omit the singular petition [to the Legislature of Mass.] of a Mrs. Gaunet; who stated that before her marriage, she had served her country in the character of a soldier under the name of Robert Shurtliff for eighteen months, and requested her pay, as allowed to soldiers of the other sex. The Committee on her petition reported a resolve for granting her wages, in the terms usual on common occasions. But the House after inquiring into her case, and finding that she not only served faithfully as a soldier, but that she had been wounded, and had preserved her chastity by the most scrupulous concealment of her sex, ordered the report to be recommitted, in order that it might be prefaced with a recital of these singular and

honourable facts. The report so amended, was brought in yesterday, and a grant made to her of the customary wages, and interest from the year 1783. p. 31.

ALBANY, Jan. 12. The Presbytery of Albany ordained, at East Ballston, on Tuesday last, Mr. William B. Ripley, to the gospel ministry, and enstalled him Pastor of the Presbyterian church in that place. The Rev. John Warford, of Salem, preached the ordination sermon, from *I. Tim.* vi. 20; the Rev. William Schenck, of Ballston presided at the ordination; the Rev. John McDonald, of Albany, delivered a pastoral charge to the newly ordained minister; and the Rev. Simon Hosack, of Johnstown, gave an exhortation to the congregation.

The Rev. Eliphalet Ball, the founder of this settlement, and from whom it receives the name, was present, and seemed to witness the pleasing transactions with peculiar satisfaction. About twenty five years ago, with a single companion, he visited the spot, and was the first who lifted the planter's axe in this flourishing settlement, at that time a cottageless and pathless wilderness. With a swelling tear of gratitude in his eye, he now stood with his children and grand children, surrounded by several hundreds, and beheld one minister of Ballston engaged in setting another apart to the ministry for a different part of the same town. "I have seen," cried the venerable patriarch, "the promise fulfilled. The wilderness truly blossoms as the rose." p. 51.

POUGHKEEPSIE, Nov. 3. A few weeks ago, as some persons were digging for marle, in a swamp on the Wall-kill, in Ulster County, they came across a bed of large Rib Bones. They were found six feet under ground, and at the bottom of the Strata of marle. Some of the largest of the Ribs were accidentally broke with the spade, on the first discovery of them. One of the entire rib bones is now in the possession of a gentleman in this town, and is four feet four inches in length, by measuring on the outside of the curve—It must have been one of the first rib bones of the animal, because the same gentleman, who has been on the spot, says, that one of the other ribs which was broken by the spade, was one foot longer than this. This information we communicate as of unquestionable authenticity. Bones of the same marvelous size have been frequently found in various parts of North America, and of Siberia in Asia, and are usually ascribed the Mammoth, a stupendous animal, whose race must have perished in some remote period of the world, and who has left only those relics of his existence, buried deep in the earth, to excite our surprise and admiration. p. 53.

Extract of a letter from Marietta, Sept. 11. 1791.
—Nigh Belle Ville, where the Ohio has worn away the bank, there dropped out a stone of hard black marble of about 5 or 6 pounds weight, having twelve equal surfaces, being each equilateral and equiangular, five sided figures. I do not readily conceive of any rule to make such a figure but think it must be formed from a globe; it may be a lesson to some more versed in the sciences. I think it a demonstration that this country, has once been settled by a people much more civilized than the present inhabitants. *p. 99.*

Married at Pepperell, Capt. Jeremiah Shattuck, aged 90 to Mrs. Ruth Bixby, aged 75; from him have descended 10 children, 60 grand children, about 70 great grand children and one of the next generation; from her have descended 13 children, 39 grand children, &c. *p. 112.*

Died Sambo Jackson aged 44, a Black of an upright character; we need not add the epithet "free," since there are no slaves in Massachusetts. *p. 112.*

Married at Springfield, Mr. John Chaloner, to Miss Experience Bliss. This is the same Mr. Chaloner who lost both his arms by the discharge of a field-piece on Federal-hill, during the insurrection. *p. 112.*

HALIFAX, Jan. 18. On Sunday last sailed, with a favourable wind, the *Sierra Leona Fleet*, consisting of fifteen sail under the charge of Lieut. John Clarkson, of the Royal Navy, having on board 1200 free Blacks, that have chosen to emigrate from this country to *Africa*, in the hope of its being more congenial to their habits and constitution, under the protection of the Company, lately incorporated by Charter in Great Britain, for the establishment of a free Colony there. *p. 131.*

PHILADELPHIA, *March 1. On Sunday the 19th, inst., left this city for the Cherokee country, the six Indian Chiefs who arrived here on the 29th Dec. last; together with the squaw, who came with them. They were attended with six waggons, containing their baggage, provisions, &c., and accompanied by a white girl, who had smitten the heart of one of the Chiefs, during his residence in this city; and, it is said, has consented to become his wife.—*p. 132.*

ALLEN'S MARINE LIST, Brig *Felicity*, Dotey, from this port, bound to Jamacia, sailed 14th, Dec. touched at Turks Island 8th Jan. lost two horses, some hay and small stock, in the race of Fishers Island, the day they sailed.—Independent of ballast—Strike home Britons!—New England stones very good to keep British bottoms down. *p. 135.*

Attention Brethren, I announce to you, that the frozen Gates of Hell, are once more thawed and open, for reception—Take heed to your ways and keep a good look out. *p. 136.*

On the 28th of February, it snowed steadily for eight hours (from ten in the morning till six in the evening) in Charleston, S. C.—This phenomenon, it is observed, is becoming more and more common on the coast of the Carolinas; it belongs to the philosophical societies to investigate the cause. *p. 153.*

Died at Philadelphia, March 20th 1792, Peter Otsiquete, a Sachem of the Oneida nation. He arrived there but a few days before, on business with the General Government; and the next day he was buried with the honours of war. Some years since he was taken to France, and educated at the expense of the Marquis De La-Fayette. He returned about three years ago, and landed in this town—from whence he revisited his native woods. He was about 26 years of age, of an active genius, and very friendly to the United States. *p. 156.*

Lines written out of temper, on a Pannel in one of the Pews of S—m Church.

Could poor King David but for once,
To S—m Church repair;
And hear his Psalms thus warbled out,
Good Lord, how he would swear.

But could St. Paul but just pop in,
From higher scenes abstracted,
And hear his gospel now explain'd
By —, he'd run distracted.

p. 173.

MIDDLETOWN, March 17. An Assembly for dancing having been kept up for these many winters in this place, by the gentlemen and ladies, the black servants, who are fond of imitation, have set up one. The time of their meeting was generally notified to the white folks by the loss of turkeys, fowls, ducks, &c. of which no notice having been taken, the principal Manager (who it is supposed intended to give the Ball himself) thought proper to take from his master, in the same clandestine manner between 4 and 5 pounds in cash, and upon being found out, has postponed the Assembly, which was to have been on Thursday Evening, and danced off, alone, to the tune of the thief's march. It is supposed he is a pupil (or follower of the rules) of a negro schoolmaster, as he pretends to be, who it is said teaches his scholars that they may take (not steal) anything they want or have a mind to, from their masters or mistresses, but not from anybody else.

Query, Is it best such Assemblies should be kept up any longer, without the white people's knowing how much each of them has to pay towards it beforehand. *p. 177.*

PHILADELPHIA, April 6. The Statue of Dr.

Franklin, lately sent for by William Bingham, Esq. by him presented to the Library Company of Phil., and intended to ornament the principal front of their new building in Fifth street, is arrived from Italy via New York. *p.* 191.

PHILADELPHIA, April 23, 1792. On Thursday last died at his lodgings in this city BROTHER, one of the Indian Chiefs of the Five Nations, that arrived here about six weeks since. His illness was not of more than 20 hours continuance. His corpse was interred on Saturday. *p.* 200.

A New York paper informs that the Barbers of that city have raised the price of shaving from six to eight pence, on account of the extraordinary and universal addition to the length of the chin, that has taken place there since the late failure. *p.* 201.

The exhibition of legs in Mrs. Cowley's comedy, reminds us of a bon mot of George Selwyn's who, on being asked how he liked the then rage for short petticoats, observed, "he liked it very well, and did not care to what height the fashion was carried." *p.* 202.

BOSTON, May 11, 1792. The subject of the mint, has occupied the attention of the citizens considerably; and the majority dislike the figure of *Liberty* being struck on the coins, in preference to the head of the President of the United States.

The first words in the constitution of the U. S. are, "*We the people, &c.*" Now, who, say they, is the representative of the sovereignty of the people? The President chosen by them, most assuredly is the answer. If, therefore, the coinage is to bear the impression of the sovereignty of the people, his figure ought to be adopted.

Silver and gold cannot be signed like a bank bill, therefore the stamp of publick authority ought to be made on the coin, as a warranty of the weight and purity of the pieces, otherwise they will not pass freely from hand to hand, without weighing or assaying, which will be very troublesome. Whose stamp so proper to attest this, as the chief magistrate of that nation whose coin it is? *p.* 215.

In the debate in Congress, on the Mint bill, the motion for striking the President's head upon the coin, was warmly opposed by a certain gentleman, in a very lengthy speech, as favouring monarchical principles. A gentleman from this State rose and said, he perceived the same objection might be made to the Eagle on the reverse of the coin, he thought it would be best to substitute a more harmless and less monarchical bird, and begged leave to recommend a Goose. *p.* 216.

TO CORRESPONDENTS. The death of PONE, who died of the Botts—is so well written that we

dare not publish it, lest it should discourage our other poetical correspondents. *p.* 216.

On Friday, May 11th, the Governor of the State of Pennsylvania laid the corner stone of the President's House in Ninth street. The following inscription is on the stone:—"The Corner Stone was laid on the 10th. of May 1792. The State of Pennsylvania out of debt. THOMAS MIFFLIN, Governor." The building will be about 100 feet square. *p.* 228.

Died at Plymouth, Mrs. Hannah Sampson, aged 72: She has been a successful practitioner of the obstetric art about 30 years, and has, during that time officiated at near 2000 births. *p.* 238.

At the commencement of the late American war, a body of four score old men, formed themselves into a military company in Pennsylvania. They were chiefly German emigrants, and had served with reputation in Europe. The commander was nearly 100 years of age, and had been in 17 pitched battles. The drummer was 84, and nearly the whole corps had passed the limits of three score years and ten. In room of a cockade, they wore a black crape round their arms. *p.* 263.

Commodore Manly (well known for his bold exertions on the watry element during the late war) has obtained an half pay pension of 30 dollars per month, from the United States, for life. *p.* 276.

BOSTON, May 26. On the 23d inst., died a very worthy woman of this place, Mrs. Ann Bright. About a year and an half before her decease she had been converted to the Catholic faith by the Rev. Mr. Thayer. Two days before her death, Mr. Thayer arrived from a part of the country, six hundred miles distant, and at the woman's request, administered to her the sacrament, according to the Roman Ritual; but notwithstanding these unequivocal proofs of her belonging to the Catholic church, the poor woman had scarcely breathed her last, before in steps a protestant parson, and, right or wrong, insisted upon burying her, although the woman had refused seeing him in her last sickness. Mr. T. has made his appeal to the candid public, whether such conduct is not a violation of the will of the dead; and whether it ought to be tolerated in a country that professes so much respect to the rights of conscience as the State of Massachusetts. However, that he may not appear wanting in his duty, he this day celebrates a mass for the repose of her soul, at which all persons indiscriminately are invited to attend. *p.* 285.

Extract of a letter dated Trenton, June 8, 1792.

A coroner's inquest was held on Wednesday last, on the body of a young negro woman (late

the property of Mr. Samuel Hunt) at the Presbyterian church in Maidenhead (where it had been sent the evening preceding, for interment.) The Coroner's inquest reports, that her death was occasioned by a most barbarous and inhuman whipping which she survived but a few hours, inflicted by her said master—To his shame be it spoken, he is seventy years of age. The murder was committed by him and a connexion of his, by the name of Elias Hunt, under the direction and superintendence of Mrs. Hunt, wife of the former. Such of the Jurors as I have had an opportunity of conversing with on the subject say, that from the appearance of the mangled remains of the poor wretch, they are of opinion that a more painful death than she must have suffered can scarcely be possible; refused by her mistress even a drink of water, which she supplicated with her last words; and yet these monsters are not even committed to prison. *p. 296.*

NEW YORK, *June 20.* On Monday last arrived in this city from his settlement at Grand River, on the north side of Lake Erie, on a visit to some of his friends in this quarter, Captain JOSEPH BRANDT, of the British army, the famous Mohawk chief, who so eminently distinguished himself during the late war, as the military leader of the Six Nations. We are informed that he intends to visit the city of Philadelphia and pay his respects to the President of the United States. *p. 297.*

Extract of a letter from an American gentleman at Niagara, dated May 17, 1792. I have seen the celebrated fall of Niagara. It is situate 18 miles above Lake Ontario and as many below Lake Erie. There all the water which the Lake, and Rivers collect for upwards of 1500 miles falls down a perpendicular descent of 142 feet. Below, for the space of 100 yards, one cannot see the water, by reason of a thick fog which rises and forms a continual cloud; in which, in a clear day, one may see a rainbow morning and evening.

The cavern which the Messisaugas call *Manitohah Wigwam* or *house of the devil* is a curiosity of which I never remember to have seen a description. It is situate about eight miles from the west end of Lake Ontario. The mountains which surround the lake, at this place, break off and form a precipice of 200 feet perpendicular descent; at the bottom of which the cavern begins. The first opening is large enough for three men to walk abreast without interfering. It continues in this manner for 70 yards horizontally. Then it falls perpendicular 50 yards, of which I gained the bottom by steps of one, two, three, and four feet. Then it continues 40 yards horizontally; at the end of which I dis-

covered another perpendicular descent; but, as there were no stone steps, and the air of the cavern was intensely cold, I proceeded no farther.

The explosions which it sends out, about once a week in the spring and autumn, shake the ground for 16 miles round, to such a degree, that the furniture is often jarred from the shelves in the houses.

The Province of Niagara on the N. E. side of the river St. Lawrence between the Lake Ontario and Erie, is settled chiefly by the noted Col. Butler's rangers; a corps, which in the time of the war infested the frontiers of New-York and Pennsylvania; and likewise by the loyalists from the above States, who came here to get recompence from the King for their losses; and by vagabonds who made their escape from different gaols in the country. Among the last is the noted Doctor Clark, who brought with him to the amount of 4000 dollars, for which he exchanged counterfeit public securities. £100 has been offered for him at Newark, and he has been once taken by Capt. Hendrick, the Chief of the Stockbridge Indians, and carried over the river, but rescued and brought back by the inhabitants.

No subject of the United States is permitted to pass the river.

Fourteen warriors belonging to the Six Nations have gone from Buffalo Creek, which lies opposite Fort Erie on the American side, to join the Shawanoes at the Miami country.—*p. 321.*

The celebrated Col. Brandt, now on a visit at the seat of Government, has paid his respects to the President—and was well received. This *Warrior of the Wilderness*, is endeavouring, at the instance of our rulers, to effect a peace with the hostile tribe of Indians. *p. 321.*

Died at Stamford, Connecticut, Mrs. Stevens, aged 79, who lived with the husband of her youth 59 years; left surviving her, 12 sons and daughters, 62 sons and daughters-in-law, 86 grand-children, 24 added by marriage in that generation, 56 great-grand children, and 30 deceased out of the family—Of survivors the total is 190—Of descendants total 220—The family has been famous for longevity; Mr. Stevens is now in his 83d year: his father lived until 97, and hers to nearly the same age, and several other ancestors have out-lived fourscore. A sermon was delivered at the funeral by the Rev. Shephard adapted to the occasion, from *Genesis* xlviii. 8 and 9—In the course of the late war the old gentleman was out in the service and his 12 sons. *p. 361.*

ALBANY, *July 30.* On Saturday last, arrived in this city, directly from Scotland, ——— Nesbit, Esq. a gentleman who comes warmly re-

commended by the celebrated Doct. Robertson, and several other literary characters of eminence in that country, as a Master of the Science of Canaling, from several years experience both in Holland and Scotland.

The President of the northern inland L. N. Company attended by Mr. Nesbit, and a committee of Directors, left this city, this morning, on a tour, to explore the river from Troy upwards, for the purpose of prosecuting the canals with spirit the remaining part of the season, and making preparations for its more active prosecution in the ensuing year. *p. 367.*

The Editors of the *Apollo* beg leave to inform their country customers that there will not be the smallest danger of the Small Pox being conveyed to any person in their papers. They have a supply of paper now on hand sufficient to last till the town is entirely cleansed of the disorder: And all the persons employed in printing the *Apollo* have had the disorder several years ago. In addition to this, it will be the particular care of the Editors to have every paper smoked before it is taken out of the office; therefore they hope their country friends will not think there can be any danger. *p. 388.*

LONDON, *June 13.* Gen. Benedict Arnold, (better known during the American War by the name of *one* Arnold) was admitted to a conference with the minister on Tuesday last. This gentleman, if we mistake not, went over to the continent two or three years ago, with a number of American Loyalists, to form the settlement of New Brunswick, from which he has lately returned.

Gen. Arnold is about to petition government for a compensation for his losses, or to promote his rank, and give him active employment in any situation befitting his abilities. *p. 392.*

BOSTON, *Sept. 28, 1792.* We learn from Albany, that the Glass Works, erected several years ago within a few miles of that city, and which has been deserted ever since for want of *Cash*, is now owned by Messrs. McClallen, Mc Gregor, and Co. who have completely repaired it, supplied it with every material, and are now manufacturing, and advertising for sale, *Window Glass* of every dimension. They want a good *Flint-Glass Maker*. As this manufactory must be of great public utility, it is to be presumed they will receive the greatest encouragement from all (American) glass dealers. *p. 416.*

John Taylor Gilman, was Governor of New Hampshire, fourteen years, eleven of which were consecutive, commencing in 1794. His last year of service was 1815. Since that date no man has been Governor more than four years in succession.

V.—JOURNAL OF A TOURIST THROUGH THE EASTERN STATES, 1796.

BY THOMAS CHAPMAN, ESQ.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT, IN THE POSSESSION OF HIS GRANDSON, GEORGE TEMPLE CHAPMAN, ESQ., OF NEW YORK.

JOURNEY FROM TIROGG'S NECK, THROUGH THE WESTERN PART OF THE STATE OF VERMONT.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 7th. Left Mr Heaton's this Morning Accompy^d by his Son Robert and rode through East Chester to Major Pophams, at Scarsdale, 10 Miles from Frogs Neck, where we dined and Staid. We Walked over the Majors Farm, 140 Acres of poor Land, wch he is trying to improve by Swamp Earth of wch there is a large Quantity upon his Premises.

THURSDAY, JUNE, 8th. Rob^t Heaton rode with me to Mr Hatfields, where I left him and then Journey'd on 14 Miles through y^e White Plains, to North Castle, where I dined with W^m Bouran, a Quaker, who tooke charge a Stallion Colt for me. At 5 o'clock in the Even^g after viewing the Colt I proceeded 6 Miles to Bedford and Slept at Major Holley's Tavern. The Country from East Chester to Bedford is handsomely varigated with Hills & Dales, all the Land Cultivated except Wood Lotts left here & there for Firewood & fencing Timber. The Land is indifferent but not very Stoney.

FRIDAY. Left Major Holleys at 5 in the Morning and rode 12 Miles to North Salem, and Breakfasted at Mr Lockwood Tavern, a Civil, Intelligent Man, from thence rode 8 Miles to South East and dined at Mr Weeds Tavern, and then proceed 6 Miles further to Franklin, when I stop'd all Night at a Taven kept by Mr Havelin, one of the Proprietors of a Stallion called Victory, bred on long Island. Mr Achin, the other Proprietor, who keeps a Taven half a Mile from Havelin's shew me the Horse. I Examind him very minutely and think him a very grand Horse without any defects except is Neck wch is rather coarse.

SATURDAY, JUNE 10th. Mounted my Horse early and rode 10 Miles to Doctor Badcocks Taven at Dover, where Pay Master another Sallion, is kept; this, though a fine Horse is inferior to Victory. From that place I rode 8 Miles to Vandousahs Taven, on the Edge of the Nine Partners Township, here I baited my Horse untill 5 o'clock in the Aftirnoon when I departed and rode 12 miles to Sharon, the first Town in this rode in the State of Connecticut, where I tooke up my abode at Mr Patchens Taven, where I staid untill Monday Morn^g. The Country from Bedford to this Town is beautifully diversied with Woods, Meadows &

Arable Land, the rode wch is very good, lays chiefly along the Intervails, which in general is good Land. Staying at Sharing on Sunday, gave me an Oppertunity of seeing the place. It consists of 50 well Built Frame Houses, a handsome Meeting House, and Academy. The Street is wide and the Houses at such a distance as to admit a large Garden on one side with Outhouses & an Orchard on other, with Lotts of Land on the Rear of each Dwelling.

MONDAY, JUNE 12th. Left Mr Pachon, who is a very civil Land lord, early in the Morning. I rode 14 Miles and Breakfasted at Stantons Tavern in the Township of Saulsbury in this Town. Iron Ore is got and I passed by the Furnace and Forge where it is Manufactured. from Stantons I proceeded 12 Miles through Township of Sheffield when I entered into the State of Massachusetts, and bated my Horse at Coopers Tavern in Great Barrington, from whence I continued my Journey to 8 Miles, wch brought me to Stockbridge, A Still Handsomer Village than Shairing, and Stopped all Night an Excellent Tavern kept by Mr. Seymore, who is extreemly Attentive to his Customers, nor his Wife less Attentive. The Country from Sharing to Stockbridge is delightfull, for exclusive of the Hills that are all beautifully coverd with there is a wide Intervale of good Land, all along the Banks of Stratford River, through wch the Road chiefly lies, in some places 2 in other Miles one Mile wide.

TUESDAY, 13th of JUNE. Departed from Seymors at 6 o'Clock and rode 6 Miles to Lenox, from thence 6 Miles further to Pittsfield, where I breakfast at Mr Ritsels Tavern where are kept Jehu & Badger, two Stallions, from thence I went on 8 Miles to Halls Tavern in Ashford, dined, & then proceeded 5 Miles to Rossetters Taven in Williamstown, where I slept.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 14th. Sett of in Company with a Student in Williamstown Colledge, and rode 5 Miles to the thick Settled part of the Town where the Colledge is built. I understand from this Young Man that his Uncle, Mr Williams, at this Decease, about 4 Years agoe, bequeathed large Tracts of land for Building and support of a Free Academy in this Town, and these Tracts in Value and being Sold by the Trustees for a large Sum of Money, the Academy is not only compleated and Indwed, but a great surplus remaining the Legislature have Incorporated a Colledge and granted a Lottery, by the produce of wch the Buildings are already so extensive as to Admit 100 Students. At Present the Academy & Colledge are under one Roof, but they are now at Work upon another Brick Building 100 foot by 40, so that it bids fair to be an extensive Seminary of Learning. There is a President & two Tutors

belonging to the Colledge, but no Professors as yet. There are two large Taverns in this Town, at each of wch several of the Students board, and pay 10 Sh^s p Week. The Town lays low and is surrounded by high hills. From Williams Town I went three Miles & past the Line into the State of Vermont and brekfasted at Blins Tavern, 2 Miles further, in the Town of Poonal, from thence to Bennington is 9 Miles, where I arrived at 1 o'Clock & put up at Mr Douies Tavern Opposite to the Meeting House. The Country from Stockbridge to this Town is Hilly but the Land in general good, Well Wooded and Waterd and the Roads as good as can be expected. Bennington is a small Town but is beautifully Situated upon an Eminence, the Ground gradually decending from each side of the main Street as well as from the Entrence at each end. This and the Surrounding Mountains, wch nearly encompass the Town at a Miles dist^e, makes a complete Amphitheatre of the whole. The few House that are in Bennington are large handsome Frame Buildings, amongst the firmest o. wch is Mr Deues, who is an excellent Landlord, keeps a good House, but charges high. there are two other good Taverns in Bennington, besides Dueys. The Public Buildings here, viz^t Meeting House, Court House and Academy, are very Indifferent Buildings, and shew the Citizens of this Town have no Inclination to Ornament their Towns with Public Buildings.

FRIDAY, JUNE 16th. I Tooke my departure from Bennington early in the Morning, and rode through Shaftsbury, a fine Township of Land, well Cultivated, into Arlington, 14 Miles, where I breakfast at an Indifferent Tavern kept by one Heard, after wch I proceeded 5 Miles, was overtooke by the Rain wch obliged me to halt at Lockwoods Tavern in Sunderland Township. Here I fed my Horse, talked a little with the Landlady who I found a very Intelligent Woman, & then went on 10 Miles through Manchester, a capital Township to Demmans Tavern in Dorset, where I slept all Night. From this House to Rutland, for wch I bound my course the Next Morning, is 29 Miles, and rode through Harviche, Wallingsford, Danby and Clarendon, all wch, except the latter, are new Towns bordering on the Green Mountains, at the foot of wch runs the Otter Creek, and the Interval between the Green Mountains & those to the Westrd of the Creek, is very narrow untill you get to Clarendon, when it gradually opens all the way to Rutland, where I arrived in the Evening and put up at Mr Reeds, who keeps a good Inn. The Situation of Rutland is similar to that of Bennington, standing on an Eminence but the Mountains on the East & West are at a greater distance, wch gives a more dignified

appearance to the Town. It Contains double the number of Houses that are in Bennington, the greater of wch are large two Storey high, and seemingly very Commodious, but with regard to the Public Buildings I can say no more in favor of them than I have done of those in Bennington. The usual Terms of Boarding in Rutland are $1\frac{1}{2}$ Dollars p Week, except when the Assembly sits, & then the Tavern keepers & private Houses Charges the Assembly Men three Dollars. Mr Reed told me that a Twelve-month agoe they only charged their Yearly Borders at the rate of one Dollar p Week. Rutland being with Windsor the Alternate seat of Government, it is rapidly Increasing in size. The Merchts & Traders get all their Imported Goods from Boston & New York. I remained at Rutland untill Monday the 19th of June, when I bend my course a cross the Green Mountains for Windsor. I stop'd at Finny's Tavern, 9 Miles from Rutland, but my Horse, and 6 Miles further brought me to the Top of the Mountains where one Bent has a large Farm of 500 Acres & keeps a Tavern. Here I dined upon Gammon Eggs, wch Mr Bent got for me very expeditiously. This Man & his family, consist of himself, Wife & 11 Children, moved to this Wild Spot from Worster County in Massachusetts, 5 Years agoe. He has more than 100 Acres of cleared Lands part of wch is as fine natural Grass Pasture as ever I saw. from this to Duttons Tavern is 11 Miles, where I slep'd, the Roads been Hilly & Moody in many places made this a tiresome Days Journey for myself & Horse. The Inhabitants are but thinly scatter'd upon these Mountains. all the Land in general is good & well Waterd. Sugar Trees every were abound in these Mountains. There is also Pine, Cedar, Hemloc and Chesnut, but very few Oak Trees. from Duttons to Windsor, through Weathersfield, a fine Township of Land, is 16 Miles, where I arrivd at 1 o'clock in the Afternoon, & put up at Mr Allens Taven close to the Court House.

Windsor is pleasantly Situated upon a fine Interval of Land that extends up & down the Connecticut River about 3 Miles, but is very narrow, no where exceeding a quarter of a Mile in Breadth, the Soil being of a light Loomy Nature. There are upwards 30 good Dwelling House, several Stores, an Indiff Court House wch Serves for the Legislature when they sit, as also for the Courts of Justice, and on Sundays Divine Service is perf'd in it. On the 21st I left Windsor and rode up the Vermont side to Water Quitekey River, a dist^{ce} of nine Miles, and then cross'd a Ferry to Plainfield, New Hampshire, from thence to Dartmouth College is 9 Miles, where I arrived in the Even^g & tooke up my Abode at Genl Brewsters.

THURSDAY, JUNE 22d. Directed my route from the College through Hanover Lyme, & Oxford to Haverhill, 32 Miles up the River. I got to Bliss's Tavern early in the Even^g, found a most comfortable kept by an active Land lord and a very genteel well bred Land lady. The next day Col Hurd, a Boston Gentleman Accompany^g me to the New fallen Bridge that was Erected over the Connecticut River opposite to Newberry Meeting House. the Arch was 270 feet in Length, but owing to some defect in the Construction and Workmanship, a fel down in a few Days after the Stantions where Knocked away. We crossed the flery 1 Mile above the Bridge and went to Col Johnston's to Dinner where we had a fine View of the celebrated Ox Bow Meadow, 200 Acres of wch belongs to Johnstone, who came to this Country 25 Years agoe, with only his Axe on his Shoulder, and who has now Accumulated a very handsome Property, Consist^g of a good House, Barns, Stabling, a Handsome Store, &c. from this we recross'd the River, returned to Bliss's in the Even^g. Haverhill is handsome Elevated Township of Land wch comm^d a beautifull Prospect of the River & Country on the Vermont side—From Bliss's I departed on Saturday Morn^g, and returned to Genl Brewsters in the Even^g, and leaving this next Morn^g I got to Doctor Judds about 2 o'clock, where I dined Viewed his flarm and Slept there all Night. From Mr Judds I returned to Windsor the next dined, and the Even^g Crossed Cornish Bridge into New Hampshire and stop'd all Night at Capⁿ Cooks, in Clearmont 4 Miles from the Bridge.

TUESDAY, JUNE 27th. In the Morn^g mount'd my steed and rode 11 Miles to Breakfast at a single House in Charleston Town. from there proceeded through Charleston Street to Belasses Falls, & from thence to Walpole, and Dined at Johnston's, the Stage House. Walpole is a small Handsome Village upon the Connecticut River. there are three grand Taverns and some Handsome Dwell^g Houses. After Dinner & taking a 3 Hours Knap, I went down 1 Mile to the Ferry, Crossed the River and rode $2\frac{1}{2}$ Miles to my friend Squire Spooners, where I slept all Night. WEDNESDAY I got to Brattleborough, staid all Night & the greatest part of next, and in the Even^g rode 10 Miles to Browns. Here I tarry'd all Night and the next proceed on towards Greenfield but not intend^g to proceed further this Day, I turned out of the road 4 Miles dist^{ce} from Greenfield and went a Northerly course of 8 Miles to Colerain, wch lays over the Shelburne Mountains, and is a very uneven, Hilly Township of Land, but on Acct of the richness of the Soil, the Whole except a few spots of Wood Land is under Cultivation, Even on the

very Tops of the Mountains, there is fine Orchards Meadows and Arable Land. After dining at a Public House half a Mile beyond the New Meeting House, kept by Mr Lyon, & Stop^d untill 5 o'clock in the Even^g, I recrossed the Shelborne Mountains, from the foot of wch to Greenfield is 3 Miles of a very fine Level Country of good Land, the Crops of Grain upon wch looked well. The Grass was chiefly Mowed & got in. I staid all Night at my friend Mori's and in the Morn^g, being Saturday the 1st of July, I proceeded on & Arrived at Northampton in the Even^g. I noticed more part^y the face of the Country between Greenfield & Northampton then I did in my Journey through it last fall. the Land from Greenfield to Deerfield is fine and so it is with a very few exceptions all the way being extensive Level, & the Deerfield River Winding course all through it. * * *

VI.—REMINISCENCES OF THE CAMPAIGN ON THE RIO GRANDE.

BY MAJOR GEORGE DEAS, U. S. A.

The origin of the War with Mexico was the annexation of Texas to the United States, as a component part of the Federal Union. Texas had, some years previously, revolted from the other Mexican States; declared herself an independent Republic; and, as such, had been recognized by the Government of the United States, as well as by Great Britain and other European powers. But her independence was never acknowledged by the Government of Mexico. Against the rebellious Province a war was carried on for many years; never, however, with any good result to the Mexican arms.

Texas, from the scarcity of population over such a vast surface, found it extremely difficult to raise revenue sufficient to maintain herself. Hence the minds of her statesmen, who were nearly all Americans by birth and many of them of a high order of ability, were turned towards the project of annexing their adopted country to the Republic of the United States. For some years, this idea was entertained, not, however, without warm opposition, until, at last, in 1844, it became the leading political feature of the day. Upon this great question the people of the United States were divided in the Presidential election which took place in November of that year—Mr. Clay, the opponent of annexation, being defeated, and Mr. Polk, its advocate, elected, by majorities sufficient to command confidence in all quarters.

It now became necessary to carry into effect the terms of annexation. This was done by Act

of Congress, on the first day of March, 1845. In the meantime, Mexico had watched the course of events, with the deepest chagrin. She repeatedly declared, through her Minister at Washington, that the consummation of the Act of annexation would be, by her, accounted as a War declared. With these menaces before it, it was incumbent on the Government, having in view the ultimate success of the plan of annexation, to take some steps for the protection of the Southwestern frontier. Accordingly, a small force, consisting of a Regiment of Dragoons and two Regiments of Infantry, was, in the Spring of 1844, dispatched to the frontier of Louisiana, and there held as a Corps of Observation, under the command of Brigadier-general Taylor. It there remained until the following year, when, in the month of August, it moved to the Southern border of Texas, and, in conjunction with other forces, was constituted "The Army of Occupation," at Corpus Christi.

This place is situated at the head of a shallow bay, or inlet, of that name, on the Gulf of Mexico; and is distant about one hundred and sixty miles from Matamoras, the principal city of Northern Mexico. It is a good strategic point, looking to the roads coming to that city, as well as those through the country above. The force assembled consisted of six Regiments of Infantry, one Regiment of Dragoons, and three Batteries of Light Artillery—in all, between three and four thousand men. They had been drawn from very great distances—some from New York and the Atlantic sea-board, some from Florida, while others came from garrisons on the Great Lakes of the North. The camp was established directly upon the bay-shore, and formed a continuous line of about two miles. The soil was formed of powdered oyster-shells—an excellent foundation, in every respect. To the front, the ground was smooth and level, affording a fine field for the exercise of the troops. The water was slightly brackish—being the percolations of the sea—and wood it was necessary to cut at considerable distances from the camp.

The most extraordinary ignorance existed, on the part of the Government, concerning the country which the troops were ordered to occupy—not only in respect to its topography and resources, but also in regard to its relations to the northern frontiers of Mexico and the capabilities of the Mexicans to resist an invading force. No previous examination had been made. General Taylor landed at Corpus Christi, entirely in the dark, as respects the movements and designs of the enemy. Rumors abounded that a Mexican Army was moving to attack him. It was believed in New Orleans, that he had met with disaster. But, fortunately, no resistance was offered; no enemy appeared; and the two

Infantry Regiments comprising the advance, took up their position without molestation.

The attention of the General was, from the first, directed towards the Mexican frontier, with the view to select the most favorable military point, in the event of the advance of the Mexican Army. Being entirely uninformed of the country in his front, his determination could only be arrived at by extended reconnoissances. No dependance could be placed upon the information he received from the inhabitants of the country. The result of his observations tended rather to the selection of a point at Lando, a frontier town of Texas, on the Rio Grande, about two hundred and fifty miles from its mouth, and one hundred and fifty from the camp, in a direction a little South of West. This was a good point, bearing in consideration the command of the several roads leading from Northern Mexico into Upper Texas. But, upon further consideration, the General determined to occupy the lower country, opposite Matamoros, having the sea nearer to him; with depot for his supplies at Point Isabel. The question was, would the Mexican Army approach in that direction rather than by the more Northern roads. It turned out that the concentration of the Americans, near Matamoros, induced the Mexican General to advance to the attack, and thus the War was begun.

But, previous to breaking up at Corpus Christi and marching to the Rio Grande, it came to be understood in camp that a disposition on the part of the Mexican Government existed, to treat with the United States on the question of boundary. A Minister had been sent to the Mexican Capital; negotiations had begun; and it was believed, for a time, that military operations were to cease, and the Army of Occupation to be dissolved. General Taylor even thought of asking for a leave of absence to attend to his private affairs. But, suddenly, came the intelligence that all negotiations were ended. A revolutionary party, headed by Paredes, General of Division, had taken possession of the Government; driven Herrera, the existing President, from power; and declared War against the United States of the North.

Immediate orders were sent to General Taylor to move to the Rio Grande, and occupy its left bank. The road to Matamoros had been thoroughly examined, both by the sea beach and the interior. Copious rains had fallen, giving water in sufficient quantities, in ponds; and upon this the troops had to depend, for no living water there exists.

Before breaking up his camp, the General made a most minute personal inspection of the troops. The invalids and heavy baggage were sent by water to Point Isabel—the marching

force taking nothing with it but its equipage and subsistence for a two days march.

The uniform of the American Army then consisted of a light blue jacket and trowsers, and blue cloth fatigue-cap—the officers wearing blue frock coats and light blue trowsers. This was the ordinary undress uniform of the Army. The full dress was not worn by the troops during any of the campaigns in Mexico. The old flint lock was still in use—detonators not having, at that time, been generally adopted.

The Mexican Army was equipped in a very handsome manner—many of their uniforms being of a superb description. The prevailing color was light blue; and the soldiers wore a leather shako of a French pattern. They were armed with the British musket, having the Tower stamp.

But little music accompanied the American Army, on its campaigns, over and above the necessary drums, fifes, and bugles; while the Mexicans had an enormous band with each Regiment, beside a horde of trumpeters and buglers.

The Army at Corpus Christi was divided into four Brigades. But, before going farther in my narrative, I will, for the benefit of those who are not familiar with military subjects, endeavor to explain the various formation of an Army.*

The country lying between the immediate valley of the Nueces-river, which empties into Corpus Christi-bay, and the Rio Grande is, with the exception of here and there a small green spot, a howling wilderness; entirely incapable of supporting a population. Over this dreary region, the Army took its way: depending for water upon the ponds formed by rain. No springs or running streams were to be found. The surface of the country is level; and the distance marched was about one hundred and sixty miles to Matamoros.

Nothing, whatever, occurred, worthy of notice, until the advance had reached an *arroyo*, or creek, called the Colorado. This is an arm of the sea running a considerable distance inland. It is quite narrow and fordable, at the point which was crossed—about breast high to the men. Here it was, that General Taylor first met the Mexican authorities, sent out from the city of Matamoros (about thirty miles

* This portion of the MSS., having been useless to me, when the Major's *Reminiscences* were copied into my Note Book, it was omitted. The original has been lost, since I returned it to the author; and, this portion can not, therefore, now be employed.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

distant) to protest against the advance of the Army. He was informed by these dignitaries that they would certainly resist the crossing of the arroyo; that there was, on the other side, a force sufficient to oppose such a movement; and that the consequence of War must be on his head. To all this, the General had but a very simple reply to make, which was that his Government had ordered him to go to the Rio Grande, and that he intended to go; that his Second Brigade would soon be up with him; and that fifteen minutes after its arrival, he intended to cross. The General moreover added that, after his first soldier had entered the water, if they dared to show themselves, he would fire upon them. With this assurance, the Mexican authorities returned to the other side.

The arroyo is lined, on both banks, for some distance back, with a thick growth of trees and underbrush. It was impossible, therefore, to discover whether the assertions of the Mexicans, as to their having a force there, were correct or not; but, from the trumpeting and blowing of bugles, which they kept up from among the bushes, it was safe to suppose that they had men enough to carry their threats into execution.

The Artillery were therefore placed in Battery, to cover the crossing; and the Second Brigade, which soon arrived, took ground to the right. This was the first speck of war, and, consequently, it was an interesting moment of expectation. Of course, every one was anxious to see what would follow. A few straggling Rancheros were observed, moving about on the opposite bank; but, no sooner did they see our men begin to move towards the water than off they went, and no more was seen of them or their imaginary Army in the woods. The whole Army, with the trains, were crossed on this and the day following, and rested one day in Camp. About ten miles further on, the General encamped the main body; while, with an escort, he proceeded to Point Isabel, to make arrangements for establishing the Depôt, where, subsequently, the supplies from Corpus Christi and elsewhere arrived. A small field-work was thrown up there. On the twenty-seventh, the General returned; and, on the twenty-eighth, at about mid-day, the Army marched, and encamped directly on the banks of the Rio Grande, opposite the City of Matamoros.

This is a place of considerable importance; and is the commercial port of Northern Mexico. It contained, at that time, a population of about five thousand. A large portion is very well built of brick and stone; and the streets, as is the case with all Mexican towns, are laid at right angles. It was refreshing to see, once more, the evidences of civilization, after so many months of camp

life in the wilderness. The left bank of the river was lined by a succession of farms, thinly scattered, the entire population being composed of Mexicans. Upon one of these, the camp was established.

Of course the General desired to hold immediate intercourse with the Mexican commander, opposite; and for this purpose, General Worth, accompanied by several officers and an interpreter, was directed to cross the river. General Mejia, the commander of the Mexican garrison at Matamoros, would not permit the American officers to enter, or approach the city; and, therefore, General Worth was received by General La Vega, the second in command, on the bank of the river, with this intelligence. A conversation now ensued, between these Generals, of a very interesting nature—the substance of which was the continued protest of the Government of Mexico, against the march of the American Army into Mexican Territory, and the occupation of the left bank of the Rio del Norte. After an interview of about an hour, General Worth returned to Head-quarters with its result, for the information of the General-in-Chief.

Our position toward the Mexicans was now clearly defined. As yet, War had not been declared by Congress; nevertheless, the Mexican Government having, by their military agents at Matamoros, assumed a hostile attitude, it was left for General Taylor to report the fact to the President, and stand on the defensive. The question was, how to act in such an emergency. The idea of falling back to Corpus Christi, at the dictation of Mexico, could not be entertained for a moment; still less could the position be abandoned by retreating in any other direction. At last, the General resolved to carry into effect his instructions in the most literal manner; and to establish and maintain himself on the left bank of the Rio Grande, there to await further advice from Washington.

With this view, a large field-work—subsequently called Fort Brown—was immediately begun; and the camp was intrenched. The construction of the work occupied the Army incessantly for about three weeks. During this time, large reinforcements to the Mexican Army, opposite, continued to arrive—first under Ampudia, and subsequently under Arista, one of the most accomplished of the Mexican Generals, who assumed the chief command. Exact information as to their numbers and the composition of their force it was difficult to obtain; but enough could be seen to show that many thousands, splendidly equipped, were assembling at Matamoros.

The demands of the several Mexican Commanders were to the same effect as before, to all of which the General had but his former

reply to make. At last, towards the end of April, it came to be known that the Mexican Army was gradually crossing the Rio Grande and occupying the country between the Camp and Point Isabel. The vigilance of the Army was, therefore, increased; and every precaution taken to avoid a surprise. Pickets and patrols surrounded the camp; and, for many nights, the men slept on their arms. General Taylor could arrive at no definite information in regard to the numbers of the enemy, nor his exact location. There was no one to be depended upon.

To solve the doubt, he determined upon a strong reconnoissance of Cavalry, in two bodies—one to examine the country below, the other above, the camp. The former returned without material information. Far different was it with the other, under Captain Thornton. This body, consisting of a Squadron of Dragoons, left the camp at dusk, on the evening of the twenty fourth of April. Marching all night, they found themselves, early in the morning, near a large field, on the bank of the river, surrounded by a high picket fence. Some houses were to be seen within the enclosure. To visit these houses and, probably, to confer with any person who might be there, Captain Thornton entered the field, with his whole command. The only entrance was by a draw-bar gate-way. Having reached the houses, and after some little delay, during which time a large portion of the men had dismounted, the attention of the Commander was drawn to his rear, when, to his astonishment, he found himself completely cut off by a large Mexican force of Infantry. The gate-way was blocked up by them; and overwhelming numbers were around him. There was but a moment for reflection. "*To Horse*" was sounded; and, the charge was ordered; but it was impossible to cut their way through. Large masses of Mexicans completely enveloped the small force; and shut off its retreat by the gate. The fence was too high to be leaped. Some desperate fighting took place; but all of no avail. The Dragoons were forced to turn towards the river (which formed one side of the field, as it were) but escape in this direction was impossible; and a surrender of the whole command was the consequence, as prisoners-of-war. In this affair, a valuable officer, Lieutenant Mason, and several men lost their lives. It was the first blood shed in the Mexican War; and it created an immense sensation in the United States. Poor Thornton! He was afterwards killed, again on reconnoissance, by the first shot fired in the valley of Mexico.

The first intimation of this unfortunate encounter was conveyed to General Taylor by the Mexican Commander himself, who sent an ambulance to the camp with some of Thornton's wounded soldiers. There could be no doubt

now. The matter was very plain. A fight must follow; but *where* and *when* was the question. Had we strength enough to combat the large Mexican Army that we knew was around us? There was every confidence; still we could have wished for a few more Regiments. So closely were we approached, that an attack might be looked for at any moment; still none was made. This open act of War and the threatening position assumed by the Mexican Army left no doubt on the mind of General Taylor, if any had previously existed, that hostilities of a serious nature must be looked for immediately. Accordingly, the construction of the field-work was pushed forward with increased activity. Expresses were sent off to the Government, and also to the Governors of the neighboring States of Texas and Louisiana, with requisitions for troops to the number of five thousand. It may be asked, perhaps, why was not this done before, when the Mexican Army was seen to be assembling at Matamoros? To this it can only be said, in reply, that the General was placed by the Government in an ambiguous position. His instructions were to occupy the left bank of the Rio Grande; but he had no power to initiate a state of open War. He was to defend himself, of course, if attacked; but that was all. War had not been declared by the United States, in a formal manner; nor was it done, until the thirteenth of May, 1846, induced by the fact that Captain Thornton's party had been attacked. It is a singular thing that the Declaration set forth that War existed by the act of Mexico. No consideration was given to the fact that the march of the American Army to the banks of the Rio Grande was, of itself, an act of hostility. To be sure, that boundary had been claimed by the United States, by sustaining the pretensions of Texas to the same effect. But how unjust! No Americans nor Texans lived there. All were Mexicans, acknowledging none but Mexican laws. Yet we went there with an Army; drove these poor people away from their farms; and seized their custom-house, at Point Isabel; and yet our Government, in the most solemn manner, threw upon the Mexicans the odium of beginning the War!

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

VII.—AN UNPUBLISHED LETTER FROM SILAS DEANE TO PATRICK HENRY.

COMMUNICATED BY WILLIAM WIRT HENRY,
ESQ., OF CHARLOTTE C. H., VA.

WETHERSFIELD IN CONNECTICUT?
January 2d, 1775.

DEAR SIR:

I have for some time waited, as

well for a Subject worth sending you from this distance, as for a certain Opportunity of conveying a Letter to your hands. Though near the great Scene of Action, or rather oppression, yet nothing, can be as yet collected, by which to determine, with the least degree of certainty, what the Fate of Boston will be. The return of the *Scarborough*, gave us hopes of learning something of the disposition, of the Ministry, but nothing transpires. The men of War, in the Harbor which had taken down their Topmasts, yards, etc. to be in a snug winter rig, instantly on her arrival, went to running them up again, and getting into readiness for Sailing. The town of Boston continues firmly to pursue the measures, they, at first set out upon, and Town Meetings, instead of being suppressed by the late sovereign edict, are held more frequent than ever—donations are constantly making, to their poor, by the Neighboring Colonies, but I fear inadequate to their real sufferings which are immensely severe, and great.—I really question, whether History, can produce an instance, parallel, to the present Stand which Boston is making for their Liberties, for firmness, in resolving, patience in enduring, and forbearance under insults, added to the Oppression. The Militia of that, & indeed of all the New England provinces will be on a very respectable footing, before next Spring. The method taken in that province, is nearly this. All the Officers have resigned their Commissions to the Governor, in consequence of which the people within the Limits of each respective Regiment meet and make choice of others in their Room, where the Officer resigned is a person agreeable to the people, & of a Military turn, he is chose by them, afresh, after this, they make a draught of one Third of The whole, who are to hold themselves in readiness, with Arms, Ammunition, a good Horse, and Ten days provision, and to march at a Minutes Warning—their Militia as well ours consists of Farmers, and Farmers Sons, & are perhaps to a man owners of Horses so that this is no expensive article & is very essential as well for easy transportation of their provisions &c as for expedition, for by this means the whole body which will consist of between Twenty and Thirty Thousand of these in that province, may be assembled in Two Days time, at Boston—The Governor has rec^d a letter from Lord Dartmouth directing him to make seizure, of any Arms or Ammunition that may be imported, into this Colony, and I conclude it is Circular if so you will doubtless by this Time have rec^d one of the same Tenor. We have received an acc^t of a severe Battle fought on the Banks of y^e Ohio between your people and the Indians, and that is decisive the Indians having made their peace by ceding all the Lands

East of s^d River if so it is a vast addition of Territory, to people which you will doubtless be willing to receive Inhabitants from your Neighbours or from abroad. Reflecting on the conversations pass^d. between us at Philadelphia I am inclined to think that a Number of Inhabitants from this Colony would adventure on a Settlement on the Ohio if properly informed, and encouraged, and for this purpose, wish to know the particular Situation of the Lands you told me you had purchased there, and the Terms on which you would agree with them to settle.—The Character of Our people is imminent for adventures of this kind, and it is computed that not less than One Thousand Families or Four Thousand persons, annually emigrate to Neighbouring provinces.—They long since, took up, all the Lands formerly possessed by the Neutral French in Nova Scotia, since the last warr they have taken up the Lands in New York & New Hampshire as farr North as those provinces extend, and have made a very large Settlement on the Delaware and Susquehannah Rivers under the Connecticut claim of a Western extent to the South Sea, on which subject I gave you a book wrote by Mr Trumbull—were these Western Lands out of dispute, & the Title clear in the Colony to every one's Satisfaction and certainly they would afford ample Room for our Surplus of Inhabitants, and We should in a few years, break the Boundaries of the Quebeck empire, but the uncertainty of the Title discourages Men whose first principle, is, to possess, a disencumbered Freehold be it ever so small, in preference to the largest, under quit rents, & Landlords.—The Terms on which Our People would prefer settling are chiefly these. To transport themselves, on to the Land, at their own expense, To have a certain part or share of the Land free, & clear to them, on condition of their doing certain services upon it, such as Clearing, planting, building &c, the performing which, will render the other part of which of so much higher Value, as richly to repay, the original proprietor for the Share of Land which he assigned to them, this Share in New Hampshire, &c, has generally been the one half.—Thus supposing you own a Ten Miles Square which continuing uninhabited, & in a State of Nature can be of no Value, and the settling it at your Own expense must be a Vast Affair. Now by giving one half of it to a number of young industrious Farmers on condition of their sitting down, with their Families upon it, will immediately give a Value to the other half increasing, in proportion, to the settlement by the side of it, as these first Settlers would soon be desirous of purchasing, or if you choose to settle it with Tenants, such a neighbourhood, would be of the last consequence, for supplies, and assistance—

on such a plan the Lands given should be divided into Lotts, of about Two or three Hundred Acres to each Family, and not more, for a Connecticut Farmer with Two Hundred & Fifty, or three Hundred Acres of good Land, is a rich man, that is as rich as he wishes to be, for this Colony is now so full of Inhabitants, that there is not more, than Twelve Acres to a person—it will be necessary should any such Scheme, take place, to know, how great the Land Carraige, will be, from your nearest Seaport, and what the Roads, and probably the expense, of getting on to the Lands, for if practicable, without too heavy disbursements, and the Soil agreeable, I would engage a Number, to go on, the next season, and make a Beginning. We sometimes have vessels from this to Alaxandria, and should be glad to know how distant the Water Carraige of this River may be from the Lands you mentioned. I could procure a Number, Sufficient for one Town, who would incline to settle a little, (or rather as much as possible), on the New England plan—which would be to have a reserve of Land for a Minister, & for a School, and if consistant with your Constitution, to have such orders & regulations with respect to the domestic concerns, of their Settlement, as they should find most convenient—Our Trade, had even in the best of times, must be totally ruined, in the present and coming, and We have no employ so natural, for increasing Youth, as the forming of New Settlements. We are already extended to 45° of Latitude in the provinces of New Hampshire and New York, and the Country, though under the disadvantages of a Winter about as severe as as the Europeans feel in 55°, yet it is in a manner all patented out, and settled—if We extend Westward in our own Latitude Our Title will be disputed, and the Winters are severe, even in this parrallel, though the soil is inviting, and though strongly invited to go on to the River Mississippi in the provinces of West Florida yet, the distance discourages most of our young men, though several Hundreds are already gone there with their families—public, as well as private Interest, urge to extend Settlements of true, and well principled protestants Westward, in order to defeat the designed Operation of that most execrable Quebec Act of which you have a proper sense. Returning to Politics, you will see that the Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut have reappointed their Delegates for May with the addition of some others to their Number—I send you with this for your entertainment the following papers—the Charter of Connecticut the same which all the New England Charters originally were, & Rhode Island now is,—it is in a word an Epitome of the Patent granted by James the first

to the Plymouth Company in 1620 by which he granted to them all the Lands from 40° to 48° from one sea to the other, from which Plymouth Company We derive Our Title first by purchase, and then confirmed by this Charter. The original Plymouth Patent I have by me, but it is too lengthy to transcribe—I send you also some extracts from a Manuscript History or Diary wrote by the first Governor Winthrop, styled by Historians the Father of New England,—a letter from King Charles the Second to the Governor & Co of Connecticut, desiring that an act should be passed against Piracy.—The Number of our Inhabitants, taken by order of Our Assembly, & also those of Rhode Island, these may be relied on as exact—The confederation, or agreement of the people first settling this colony in 1638 under which they subsisted, untill the granting of the charter in 1661, without a single Reference to, or Notice taken, of King, Lords, Commons, or any other power on Earth, save that of the *United Colonies*, the Articles of whose Confederation, bearing date 1643. I also send you there with, which was never dissolved untill the year 1685, as nearly as I recollect, their Records, at Present being out of my hands.—I need not mention to you what would have been the Consequences, had this Confederation, have continued, untill now, and the other Colonies, early acceded to it—it is not too late to form such an one, that will suit Our present Circumstances, & which being varied as future Contingences arise may last forever, - something of this kind appears most absolutely necessary, let Us turn which way We will, if a reconciliation, with G Britian takes place, it will be obtained on the best terms, by the Colonies being united, and be the more like to be preserved, on just, and equal Terms, if no reconciliation is to be had, without a Confederation. We are ruined, to all intents, and purposes. United We stand, divided We fall, is our motto, and must be—One general Congress has brought the Colonies to be acquainted with each other, and I am in hopes another may effect a lasting Confederation which will need nothing, perhaps but time, to mature it, into a complete & perfect American Constitution, the only proper one for Us whether connected with Great Britain, or Not—a Sketch of this, I likewise send you with the papers mentioned before—I mentioned to to you a town on the New England plan, if you are not Tired I will describe the method of settling, and governing one of them from which Sample You will be acquainted with the whole.—All Lands in New England, (except in New Hampshire,) are absolutely in the gift, or disposal of the General Assembly—A Number suppose sixty apply for a township, or tract of Land Six, or Eight miles square. The Assembly grants

on the following Conditions. Seventy Families shall be settled within such a time Four or Five Years perhaps,—they being settled, shall support a Minister, or Clergyman, of some of the protestant professions, Dissenters to be preferr'd—also a School Master—when they become more Numerous and are desirous of it, they may send Deputies to the general Assembly, but when they do this, and not before, they are liable to be Taxed by the Assembly for the Support of Government—a Certain Tract or share of Land generally about Five or six Hundred Acres is reserved for the Use of a Clergyman & as much more for a School Master.

All their domestic police is under their own regulation, they meet at least once in each year & make choice of a number of the more steady of their number for Select-Men as they are called. These are officers not under Oath, but act in a judicial manner in conducting all the public affairs of the town, in which they are accountable to no one but to the Inhabitants in full meeting—their power is almost unlimited over the Poor, the idle, the dissolute, over Highways, Bridges, Public Nusances, &c—in all which cases they hear & determine absolutely, and without fee or reward, their power expires with the year, when New ones, or they are re-chosen, they are in short a sort of Censors on the manners of the people—they summon the people together as they judge proper, and when convened the Inhabitants have a right of taxing themselves, for such purposes as the time presents—in particular for all the expences of the Town, Civil, as well as Ecclesiastical for the supporting their school, their Clergy, their Poor, &c. &c. They choose other Officers under these such as Constables, Grand Jurors, Surveyors of Roads, Collector of the taxes they levy, a Clerk, a Treasurer, &c., all of whom are accountable to and removeable by the people in Town Meeting assembled—Justices of the Peace, Sheriffs & Judges of the Court are independent of the voice of the particular Towns,—Thus each Town is in some degree, a distinct republic with power even of passing what they call by Laws not repugnant to those of the colony pass'd in General Assembly, where all are united by a Representation chosen by each Annually, (or Twice each Year as is the case with Us in Connecticut.) All ecclesiastical matters, such as the choice of a minister, his mode of settlement, his support, his removal in case of dissatisfaction, is in the power of the Inhabitants, and yet disputes between the Clergy, and people, and their parting seldom happen, indeed I conceive a Capital Reason why they are not more frequent, is the entire Liberty at which they mutually are to leave each other on being dissatisfied.—Such a kind of

Domestic Government I conclude could not be expected with you, but should be glad to know whither the Inhabitants will be obliged to pay to the support of an Episcopal Clergy, whither they are of that persuasion or not? and also whither the quit rents will be immediately and rigorously exacted, and how large the Sum.—I say, immediately for the Day is not distant when these Quit rents will be little more than a Sound, for the Crown never having any constitutional Right, to exactions of the kind, and introducing them at first at a trifling sum & not being rigorous in the exactions they have been continued and tolerated to this Time, but will be shook off when America comes to the enjoyment of that perfect Liberty to which she is intitled.—I have wrote you a most Tedious Letter & will not go on to add one transgression to another by still lengthening it with Apologies, so will only add that I hope it will cost you Nothing More than the reading which you will do at your Leisure—if you are near *Col. Bland*, I pray you the favor, to obtain of him, and send me, The date of the first Virginia patent & its Boundaries—The protest of The House of Burgesses, signed by them & their Governor & ratified by Charles y^e 1st against the dismembering of the Dominion of Virginia, this was I think in 1642—The Second patent, or Charter of Virginia, was If I remember rightly, in James the 1st's Reign, I wish to see the date and Boundaries—*Col Bland* was kind enough to offer Me, such Charts from his Valuable Collection as I should send to him for, and I will Trouble him for No More at present, unless he has any Acc^t of Any Grant of North Virginia, so called at that day, afterwards New England, antecedant to the Year 1620, if he has I wish to See the date & Boundaries, if he has not, the Plymouth, or New England patent of 1620, & is desirous of it, I will forward him a Copy, as also of any other paper to be procured in these parts. There is No such thing as procuring a good History of Virginia in this Colony, I shall be greatly obliged to You to send Me the most Authentic extant, and in return will favor you with the History of New England in general but of *Connecticut* in particular, which will be soon sent to the press, and from the ingenuity of the Author, and the Attention he has for several years paid to it, will I trust be the best ever yet published.—I shall forward this packet to Mr. Millin, to whom I have wrote, to send it, by some private, but Trusty hand, to Virginia, To his Care, please to direct your Answer, unless some more direct conveyance offer.—I ought perhaps to mention, that We returned during the sitting of our General Assembly, who most Unanimously approved of the doings of y^e Congress and

recommended the Association, to the strict observance of the Inhabitants, who universally and without hesitation have determined to abide thereby—Please to present my compliments, to the Gentlemen with whom I had the happiness of being acquainted in Congress, if you see them. I am with great Truth & regard

Dear Sir your most obd^t
& very Hum^l Serv^t
SILAS DEANE.

PATRICK HENRY, Jun^r Esqr.

VIII.—GRANT'S CAMPAIGN FROM THE SOUTH, THROUGH RAYMOND, JACKSON, AND BY CHAMPION HILLS, AGAINST VICKSBURG.

BY GENERAL J. WATTS DE PEYSTER.

Badeau, in his elegant work, the *Military History of Grant*, (p. 293,) compares his hero's Vicksburg Campaign, *from the South*, with the first fifteen days of Bonaparte in Italy, in 1796; and mentions that Halleck, on the other hand, institutes a parallel between the same and Napoleon's Campaign of 1805, ending with the capitulation of Ulm.

As no siege followed the operations in the field, in either case alluded to, great similarities may be found, but no parallel can be drawn. Badeau, of the two, however, is much the most correct in his views; because just as Grant drove his Army in, like a wedge, between Pemberton and Johnston, and then fell with crushing weight upon the former in Vicksburg, just so Bonaparte, in 1796, pierced the allied center; threw Beaulieu aside, paralyzed with the concussion; and then fell upon the Sardinians, and frightened them into an Armistice, which saved him from a worse position than the Allies themselves supposed that they were in. Nothing could have been farther from the actual condition of our Army, than this precarious situation of the French, at the time that Grant had disposed of his Beaulieu, (Johnston) and stood ready to close the nippers on his Colli, (Pemberton) in the strong position of the *Stura*, representing the Vicksburg of the Rebels. Had Pemberton capitulated at once, as the Sardinians effectively did, by their Armistice, the parallel indeed would have been complete. But the Rebel did not thus "cave in;" and so the parallel fails, exactly at the same point as that drawn from the circumstances of 1805. Still all this shows that Badeau was able to apply what he had read, better than Halleck could.

No doubt, a very brilliant impression can always be produced by comparing the operations of any of our Generals with the most eminent

and highly-successful ones in the past, especially such an over-estimated commander as Napoleon; and every body flies to the histories of Napoleon's Wars for similes and analogies.

In 1796, Bonaparte, doubtless, displayed the greatest audacity, and fought his Army right well; but, after all, his success was owing to the moral exhaustion of one member of a coalition, at the very moment when a suspension of hostilities was much more of a saving necessity to himself than to his enemies. The most reliable historians admit that the Armistice of Cherasco relieved him from a most critical position. If any one doubts this, let him examine disinterested historians as well as his own admissions. The latter furnish as strong testimony of the fact of the desperate condition of his affairs, as those most inimical to the writer of them (Bonaparte) could desire.

In 1805, Napoleon had the finest Army which ever fought under the French tri-color. Veterans, fresh from their practice-grounds of nine years, —using the term as the Romans did, in speaking of Sicily, where they fought the Carthaginians and the French of Algeria—their exercise-ground of over fifteen months, [ALISON, ii, 280, (2,)] acclimated to suffering, acclimated to battle, acclimated to marches, and acclimated to labors. They were commanded by the best of Generals, old in experience and glory, young in years and in ambition. Indeed, Massena had anticipated Bonaparte's "tactics by four months; and, "through manœuvres, identical with those of "April, 1796, he had decided the decisive "victory" of Loano (23rd November, 1795.) without which the new General could not have inserted the wedge which drove his foes asunder.

In 1805, Napoleon's grand Army, over one hundred and eighty thousand combatants—Cust (I. i. 220) says one hundred and ninety-six thousand, four hundred and seventy-one—present with their colors, mobility itself, was precipitated upon a slow Austrian force, not over,—if, in reality, equal to—two-fifths or one-third the effective strength of the enveloping French. The Austrian Army, thus confounded—stunned, would almost be an allowable expression—had at its head one of the most obtusely, and even blindly, inefficient men who ever bore the title of General—one who had never shown himself worthy of commanding men; one whose antecedents were presages of the misfortunes that followed: one whose very name, MACK, (*Hebrew*) signified "an utter defeat"—NIEDALAGE (*German*) "a complete overthrow, "accompanied with ignominious rout or surrender." "er."

Again, in this Ulm Campaign, there was no splitting asunder in the Campaign; no counter-manceuvring to be met; no hard fighting, in

fact, except at Echlingen, on the road left open to escape by the incapacity of Murat—an avenue by which the Austrians could have *escaped*, had Mack been susceptible of a truly military idea.

There is much probability, indeed, that he could not only have got off at the last, to the Northeast, (through Nordlingen, as Kray did, in 1800,) towards Bohemia, through the blunder of the “dashing swordsman,”—which, in fact, was all Murat ever was—but he could, previously, have stolen away to the South, into the Tyrol, by which last course he would have traversed all Napoleon's grand plans. Impartially considered, this Campaign of Napoleon was a mere turning movement, like that of Moreau, in May and June, 1800, when the French advanced through Augsburg, turning the left flank, i. e. from the South (Napoleon, in 1805, turned their right flank from the North) menacing the communications of Kray, who had (THIERS, *i.* 368, Hochstedt) shut himself up, like Mack, in Ulm. In this case, the Austrians, Bavarians, and Wurtembergers numbered, on paper, seventy-six thousand men—Mack, in 1800, had eighty-two thousand under his control. Moreau crossed the Rhine with over, or about, one hundred and thirty thousand men. Finding his position too hot for him, Kray, a bold, brave, and comparatively able man, totally unlike Mack, in every particular, bolted; checked the French pursuit; and came back upon the French right flank, at Neuburg, on the Danube. Napoleon's operations, turning Ulm, likewise resembled those which culminated at Marengo, in 1800; and Jackson's flank march and crushing of the Eleventh Corps, at Chancellorsville, was a repetition of them, in miniature—simply this, and nothing more.

There was no relieving Army, in 1805, like that of Johnston, in 1863, to be taken into account by Napoleon; for the whole business was closed, on the twentieth of October; and it was not until the fifth of November, two hundred and fifty miles distant to the eastward, that the French encountered the Russians, the nearest approach to any force representing that of Johnston.

The writer rejects both these Napoleonic comparisons, of 1796 and 1805, as inapplicable and, in some respects, as even unjust to Grant; and now proposes one, himself—the Campaign of Frederic the Great, in July, 1762, against Schweidnitz, a fortress relatively as important to Prussia, as Vicksburg was to the Rebel Confederacy; which was held by a picked garrison of twelve thousand men, under a Captain particularly designated for his fitness. The commander, subordinates, and men, alike, were chosen for qualities and qualifications appropriate to the service required of them: just as Pemberton was an especial selection of the Rebel President, who, until he began to fail,

was regarded as possessing unusual powers of discrimination in the choice of instruments. The Austrian Army which covered or protected the fortress, was stronger than that of the Prussian King; and both comprised about the numbers, at the climax, under Grant. It was commanded by a General whom Austrian critics rank very high; whom his Government—or rather his Imperial mistress—styled “the Saviour of his Country,” “the Restorer of Discipline by Precept and Example;” and a glorious emulator—antitype of the heroes of antiquity—a first-rate organizer; a capital tactician; a very brave man, personally; and the only one of the Austrian Generals who ever defeated Frederic, in the field. His great fault was over-caution; and, in many respects, the character of Field-marshal Daun answers to that of Lieutenant-general Joseph E. Johnston. Moreover, Daun had by his side, one of the best Generals of the era, Laudohn, (afterwards, in 1788–9, the Austrian Generalissimo) a man equal to anything entrusted to him; a soldier who, on his own responsibility, stepped into Schweidnitz, one night, (30th September, 1761,) in a way which made Europe stare as much at the conception of such a plan, as at the audacity of its execution.

The chief marvel of Grant's success, in May, 1863, was his promptness, his utilization of time, his employment of his men's legs, his practical-strategy, his demonstrations—converted upon occasion into diversions—his flanking, and then, when the time came, his telling, crushing, blows.

All this applies, to the letter, to Frederic, whose celerity won him, among the Russians, so long his antagonists in the field, a title signifying something like “Son of Lightning”—a title which investigation will discover has been rarely applied by soldiers, even to the greatest commanders. The Turkish Janizaries, at their zenith, as a conquering power, conferred it on their Sultan, Bajazet; the Swedes, on the smartest of their uncrowned Generalissimos, who of all that ever wore it, deserved it most. The fighting Turks or Mamelukes, saluted Bonaparte with something akin to it in Egypt: Grant justly earned the same designation, by his celerity and force, in May, 1863.

Follow on the parallel: Grant had a thorn in his side; an antagonistic and, at first, powerful subordinate, forced upon him by political influence; a rival, placed in inferior command by circumstances, who, it is said, did not yield him a hearty or willing, a sufficient or efficient, support.

Although Frederic would not have tolerated such a condition of things, for a moment; he had, nevertheless, a serious difficulty to contend against, within his own lines, viz., the anomalously situated Marshal Chernichef. This commander, with his corps of twenty thousand Rus-

sians, had been lent to Frederic, by the Czar, Peter. He had scarcely joined the King, when Peter was assassinated and Chernichef recalled by the Czarina, Catharine, who succeeded her murdered husband. Thenceforward, the Marshal, however willing, could only add *moral* force to Frederic, and bolster his real fighting-power by the display of an apparent strength which could not be exerted, either aggressively or defensively, at the crisis. Indeed, at the *very* crisis, the Russian Marshal was compelled to leave the Prussian King to his own resources, while the decisive fighting was going on; but he accomplished his withdrawal so deftly, that the Austrians had not the slightest idea of what was thus transpiring to their advantage, although the Prussian lines were thus weakened under their noses.

It is true, that Grant fought several small battles, at divers distinct points, which Frederic did not; but the former won ten times more by outmanœuvring his adversaries than by actually beating them in the field.

Still, although Frederic did fight one battle as desperate, comparatively, as Champion Hill; and, although his Lieutenants had several sharp engagements, equivalent to those of Port Gibson, Raymond, and the Big Black; nevertheless, the great King accomplished his work, like Grant, by practical-strategy; and it is very questionable if his principal action, the storming of the Heights of Burkersdorf, "one of Frederic's prettiest "feats," did not amount to as much as Grant's whole series of fights, considering losses, gains, the qualities of his adversaries, and the difficulties, internal and external, which he overcame.

Just as Pemberton and his subordinates tried to make a diversion from the menaced fortress—the objective of the Campaign—Guasco and O'Kelly, on whom Frederic leaned, tried the same game with equal ill-success.

Grierson's raid from La Grange, fifty miles East of Memphis, to Baton Rouge, through six hundred to eight hundred miles of hostile territory, exercised a very favorable influence, at this time, on the fortunes of the main operations, South of Vicksburg. It made the South howl. In like manner, Wied, a Prussian officer, with a small force of regular Cavalry and a Pulk—i. e., a Regiment of five hundred Lances, or so—of Cossacks, carried devastation to the gates of Prague, two hundred to two hundred and twenty-five miles South-westward of Schweidnitz; and made Austria shriek, very like the Rebels did—who could see no horrors in such raids as those of Van Dorn, or of Forrest, or of Morgan, or of McCausland, which sent Chambersburg up in flames; but could appreciate the agony, when the steel, on hoof and in hand, was trampling on and slashing amid her own bowels.

Meanwhile, just as Rosecrans was occupying

the attention of another grand rebel Army, two hundred miles away, and clinging to Bragg and keeping him from reinforcing Johnston or interfering with Grant, Prince Henry, in Saxony, or Ferdinand of Brunswick, in Westphalia, was giving full occupation around Freiberg and Cassel, to Armies, respectively, two hundred and fifty and three hundred and fifty miles away—either Army corresponding in its action to that which had been beaten at Stone-river—and was occupying the Thermophylie, so styled, of Tullahoma, and barring the road to Chattanooga.

Finally, the covering Army once disposed of or cleared away, Grant closed in upon Vicksburg, just as Frederic, after his successful practical-strategy, enveloped Schweidnitz. And, even as Johnston hovered around, trying to find an occasion to do something, and did try to do something, but could accomplish nothing; just so Daun, with his Austrians, endeavored to bother Frederic, at Reichenbach, with anything but a satisfactory result to himself.

In the next place, Grant thought to carry Vicksburg by storm, by a *coup d'emblee*, but had to settle down to a regular siege, and was nearly two months at it, (*from the eighteenth of May to the fourth of July*) having reconciled his men to hard work in the trenches and regular approaches, by their own convictions, in dead and wounded, that digging under the works, delving on, day by day, to sure success, was better than dying on the works in vain attempts to carry them. Frederic, in like manner, expected at first to take Schweidnitz in eight days; but had to wait two months.

Guasco, who defended the place, after two weeks, offered to surrender on terms (*Oeuvres de Frederic, iii. 385*): Pemberton tried the same, after a longer delay.

Finally, the Austrians had to surrender as prisoners-of-war, as Frederic declared they should; even as Pemberton had to subside into accepting the terms of "Unconditional Surrender Grant."

* * * * *

The parity between the operations of Grant against Vicksburg, in March-June, 1863, and those of Frederic against Schweidnitz, in May-August, 1762, is very complete. Grant commenced his game to the North and East of Vicksburg; so did Frederic, in respect to the great Silesian fortress. The first moves were not entirely satisfactory or successful, in either case; but they disposed of pieces. Both then worked round to the Left, or West, until the decisive actions occurred to the South and East. Both drove their victorious columns in, between the Fortress in dispute and the Army covering or seeking to relieve it; threw the latter off to the Right; settled down to the siege; and consummated the capture of the strong-hold on whose

possession that of the region in contest depended. The acquisition of neither of Napoleon's objectives, in 1796 or 1805, was a necessity to cause or country; whereas Vicksburg and Schweidnitz were absolute necessities to the North and to Prussia. Daun (*Johnston*), meanwhile, so far from attacking or even disquieting the King (*Grant*), was so afraid of being attacked himself, that he actually fortified himself. Just so, Johnston concentrated but *reposed*, blinking, like a puma, at him from (*B. 355*) Jackson and Canton. It is true that Johnston only made feints of again advancing against Grant, while engaged in his siege, whereas Daun did actually attack Frederic, and was severely repulsed, at Reichenbach and Peile. Finally, both Austrian and Rebel rolled away without doing anything but making a show; the former, from forty to fifty miles away, to the South-west, abandoning the field and Province in contest, Silesia, to Frederic; the latter, driven fifty miles to the Southeast, (*Badeau, 397*) relinquishing to Grant, the Valley of the Mississippi and "the Father of Waters," liberated by the capture of Vicksburg.

The fact of the matter is, prejudice blinds the eyes as much as absolute ignorance; and glaring success dazes them as completely as a flash of lightning. Were this not the case, those who write military criticisms—this does not refer to Badeau, who presents his case most clearly, but to the majority of those who have discoursed in print, on our great War—would not restrict themselves to the meteoric career of Napoleon, and strain facts to create parallels, when they could find so much more apposite examples in the careers of abler men, who accomplished far greater and more lasting results, with very much less means, by will and brain-work, at other, previous periods.

Napoleon owed his first successes to men produced by a Revolution which emancipated mind: his subsequent triumphs were due to the weight of numbers, by rolling confederated nations upon single ones. In 1812, he actually made war upon Russia with subjected Europe under his eagles and satraps; and he fell, when Europe, tearing off her fetters, coalesced against him. On the other hand, Frederic fought Europe, banded against him; and, from first to last, Frederick was the brain and spinal-marrow of the comparatively scanty band which made little Prussia the match for two vast Empires, a Kingdom equal to either in population and resources, a Realm once the arbiter of Europe, and a Bund, or Confederacy, of Kinglings. He was all in all to his Army. When "disease, "want, and despair were creeping"—the Winter prior to this very Campaign—"into his camp, "the sound of his voice, the glance of his eye, "inspired his soldiers always with confidence and

"kept up their drooping spirits. They were frequently heard to say among themselves, " 'Fritz " 'is still with us: he is better than fifty thousand men.' "

In this connection, it is impossible to refrain from quoting Jomini (the great authority at West Point.) According to Sainte Beuve, he paid a compliment (*83 Text and Note 1.*) to Frederic which in a few words, presents the difference between the two great modern Captains, in the clearest light; and demonstrates Frederic's superiority to Napoleon: "Eylau" says he "for a [*truly*] wise man "or for capable of [*true*] wisdom;" [*i. e. common sense, judgment,*] "and if Napoleon had been a "Frederic, would have been one of those lessons. "which are [*or can be*] never forgotten.

Rogniat in his *Considerations on the Art of War*, (xi, 366-7) thus alludes to Frederic's Campaign of 1761; but his remarks apply as well to that of 1762. The French General takes that as an example of what a General can accomplish by what Decker styles "Practical-strategy." Frederic II. paid great attention to positions. The obstacles, which nature offered to him as aids, he used to the best advantage to fortify and protect his feeble Armies against the enterprizes of his numerous enemies. He is to be seen in one of his Silesian Campaigns, moving from one position to another, almost without losing ground, yet bringing to nothing all the projects of Marshal Daun, who had an Army three times as numerous as his own. The King occupied a strong position; the Marshal arrived at the head of his eighty thousand men; and, with his habitual slowness, employed the day in developing them, in making reconnaissances, putting off the attack until to-morrow. But the King decamped during the night, with his little Army, mobility itself, of thirty thousand men, and assumed another position, a little distance off, on the flanks of the Austrians. Thereupon the Marshal marched, and again prepared to attack the following day. Meanwhile, the King eluded him in the same manner. This game went on for several months, until the Austrians having concluded to divide their forces into two Corps, experienced a check [*Liegnitz 1860? Barkersdorf 1762?*] which put an end to the manœuvres. The same practical-strategy, applied to the aggressive, makes Grant's Campaign of May, 1862, worthy of comparison with Frederic's. It was, indeed, very much so, as to his moral influence with our Grant, in his May Campaign of 1863; and, therefore, to compare our Grant, in his operations, on the South of Vicksburg, with Frederic, the "Nonpareil," in his manœuvring and fighting around Schweidnitz, is to give to the former the highest credit that his warmest admirer could demand.

Thus, it must be conceded that *this* comparison of Grant with Frederic holds good throughout;

whereas it completely fails with the termination of the field-operations, in the two cases mentioned in Badeau's work.

In 1796, the Sardinians, representing Pemberton, and the Austrians, Johnston, had directly opposite motives and objects, after they were sundered—the one, to cover their own capital, Turin; the other, their Vice-roydom, the Milanese—whereas, in 1863, Johnston, to the East, had interests in common with Pemberton, and was ever watching an opportunity to succor the latter, even as Daun, in regard to Guasco.

In 1805, there was no sundering of a relieving Army and an Army serving as a garrison. The operation was simple as to objective; and Mack (*Pemberton*) having become enveloped in Ulm, (*Vicksburg*) surrender followed at once. In this second consideration, in the Campaign of October, 1805, as compared with that of May, 1863, there was entire antagonism of season. In 1805, snow fell in great quantities; and the weather generally was atrocious. On the other hand, in 1863, the time of the year was favorable: the wet season was over, and the intense heat of Summer yet to come.

In 1762, however, Frederic, like Grant, operated at the best season of the year, and, like him, had a double objective; and the solution of the double problem remained unsettled, exactly as it did one hundred and one years subsequently, until a fortress had been actually delivered up—Daun (*Johnston*) hovering about, watching an opportunity to relieve Guasco, (*Pemberton*) as long as there was the slightest hope of assisting the latter. Even in the relations of the preliminary field-operations, as well as of the siege, there was a constant resemblance, although, in the case of Frederic, they were more crowded together. Thus, in Lottum, close examination would discover poor Kinsman's successful flank-movement, followed by a pell-mell flight, exactly as that which occurred at the Big Black.

Moreover, it is very curious that the Battle of Reichembach, or Peile, which settled the question that Daun was not to be allowed to interfere with the Siege of Schweidnitz, was fought just about the distance from that fortress that Grant considered Johnston should be whipped away from Vicksburg—"We want to whip Johnston," said Grant to Parke, "at least fifteen miles off, if possible."

The same reasons which actuated Frederic, in rejecting Guasco's first offer to capitulate, influenced Grant in refusing to listen to Pemberton's propositions.

The royal historian, as well as commander, states that he would not permit the garrison to go free, because the Austrian Government "held itself under no obligation of keeping its word or

"fulfilling its engagements * * either relative to "the exchange of prisoners or any other object." This moral obliquity, common to the Austrians and Rebels, serves to confirm the appositeness of the writer's parallel; and, even as the Rebels never reformed in this respect, neither did the Austrians, for the reader will find Massena, in Genoa, in June, 1800, refusing to parole his prisoners, to whom he could only dole out starvation-rations of soup made of weeds, because (*Thiers' Consulate and Empire*, I. iv. 307,) those who had been thus liberated appeared in arms in the ranks of the enemy.

Frederic, just like Grant, demanded an "unconditional surrender." The analogy in this particular—paroling—respect, ends with the surrenders. Frederic held the captured garrison strictly as prisoners-of-war: Grant, after requiring an "unconditional surrender," paroled them.

Halleck, at this point alone, was partially correct. The rebel prisoners should have been sent North, and held in captivity until regularly exchanged. It turned out exactly as many Northern men predicted that it would. Many of the rebels broke their pledges; and we very soon found them in arms, confronting the very troops which had captured and paroled them, serving in violation of the most solemn obligations of military honor. Thus, at Chattanooga, Grant had to fight portions of the paroled garrison of Vicksburg; and, as one of our best war-historians relates, "all of Stevenson's Division, on Bragg's right wing, opposed to Sherman, at Chattanooga, in November of the same year, including its commander, must have violated their parole."—HARPER, 562.

In this connection, the reader's attention is directed to an error in Badeau's work, in which he says (*p. 391*) "in each case," [*Ulm and Vicksburg*] "the prisoners were paroled." Napoleon did not parole the Austrian rank and file, captured at Ulm, but only the officers. Savary (*ii. 98.*) is explicit on this point—"the Austrian Army was to march out with the honors of war; defile before the French Army; and depart for France. Only the Generals and officers had permission to return home, on condition of not serving until regularly exchanged."

HORNE (*i. 398*) goes more into detail: "The men were marched into France; and so great was the number of prisoners already made in this Campaign, amounting, it is computed, to fifty thousand in all, that the Emperor adopted the plan of distributing them throughout the agricultural districts of France, where their work in the fields supplied the place of the conscripts required for his Army. The experiment was found to succeed admirably well,

"with the docile habits of the Germans and the "good humor of their French employers."

In this disposition of prisoners, Napoleon and Frederic were altogether right and Grant wrong; and, as stated, events within five months proved this to be so.

Finally, there is another consideration worthy of attention, in this connection. When the lay-reader discovers how small a scene suffices for actions which affect nations, he will perceive, if he is a reflecting man, the importance of *key-points* and the necessity of comprehensive views in a General, embracing far vaster objects than the mere winning of a battle or the retention of a blood-wet field.

The extent of the arena of the Ulm Campaign, alluded to by Halleck, depends entirely upon where he considers the operations, comprised within his parallel, commenced. The points considered by Jomini, in his *Atlas portatif, Légendes*. Planche v, 10-14th October, 1805, lie about seventy miles asunder, North and South, and about as many miles apart, East and West. Napoleon's first fifteen days' manœuvring and fighting, in Northern Italy—to which Badeau likens those of Grant—beginning with Montebotte, (11th April, 1796), and ending with the taking of Cherasco, occurred upon a stage whose diameter was about forty miles, North and South.

In 1863, Grant's field of active campaigning, South of Vicksburg, constituted a triangle, whose respective angles were, North, at Vicksburg, East, at Jackson, and, South, at Bruinsburg—the former two less than fifty, [Jackson, forty-four miles East of Vicksburg—GREELEY, ii, 286,—the latter two less than seventy miles apart.

In 1762, Frederic's *own* operations, proper, were carried on within a circle whose radii, diverging from Schweidnitz, as a centre, scarcely exceeded twenty miles; while subordinate movements struck off on tangents to, or embraced, points hundreds of miles distant.

Reader, after all this, do you not think that Frederic's Campaign of 1762 is a more apposite parallel to Grant's in May, 1863, than that proposed, of Ulm, 1805, by our former Commander-in-chief who could praise Grant very highly after his success, but hampered, thwarted, and bothered him considerably, while obtaining it; or even than that of 1796, so well discussed by the accomplished Badeau?

IX. REMINISCENCE OF THE LAST WAR WITH ENGLAND.

[From *The Evening Post*, New York, Thursday, December 3, 1869.]

TO THE EDITOR OF THE EVENING POST:

When, in June, 1812, the United States de-

clared War against England, Commodore Hull was placed in command of the frigate *Constitution* and ordered to sea, for the purpose of placing himself alongside of the enemy, wherever he could be found.

July 21, 1812, Hull found himself off Egg-harbor, covered with a thick fog, when, as soon as it broke, he discovered himself almost within reach of an English fleet, composed of one line-of-battle ship, two frigates, a brig, and a schooner, all making chase for him. Hull was considered one of the best practical seamen in the service; and his wonderful escape proves it. From the eighteenth to the twentieth of July, from morning to night and night to morning, Hull watched every breath of wind; and, as he reported, his officers and men stood to their quarters, without a murmur. During these eventful hours, the British Admiral put out all his boats for the purpose of towing up his two frigates, to the *Constitution*; and thus it appeared certain that Hull must be captured.

Under this excitement, the two frigates being almost within shot of the *Constitution*, Mr. Morris, the first officer—the late Commodore Morris—suggested putting out sweeps, in order to gain every movement in keeping out of gunshot, under the hope that some breeze might strike them, all sail being set and kept constantly wet, and thus enable the ship to escape. As Hull said in his official Report, "the suggestion "of that valuable officer, Lieutenant Morris," was accepted; all the boats were instantly put in requisition; and they moved the ship a mile an hour out of reach of the frigates. The British officers saw that they had a sailor to contend with; and, for some time, they were puzzled to find what power Hull was using to take his ship out of their grasp—there not being a breath of wind upon either ship. At length, with the aid of their glasses, they discovered Hull's secret, upon which all the boats of the whole squadron were manned, to sweep up the two frigates within gunshot of the *Constitution*. Hull continued improving every moment, until a slight breeze struck his top-sails, which he instantly availed of, and thus made his escape, and ran into Marblehead, on Sunday, under the chase of the squadron.

The Rev. Doctor Bentley, the great oriental scholar, was in the midst of his Sermon, at the South Church, in Salem, when some one, under his pulpit window, called out, "The British "fleet is chasing the *Constitution* into Marble-head." Instantly, the Doctor closed his book and remarked to his hearers, "We can serve "God no way better than by defending our "country;" and, seizing his hat, ran down the pulpit-stairs and followed the cannon towards Marblehead. He being a short, thick-set man,

with the thermometer at eighty-five, soon gave signs of fatigue; when two of his Congregation lifted him upon one of the cannon, on which he rode to the beach where the defence was to be made. This illustrates the feeling of the people, at that time. The fleet seeing the defence making, hauled off; and the *Constitution* seized the moment to run into Boston, where the whole city turned out to do honor to Hull and his officers and crew.

Amid all this excitement, the merchants congregated at the Exchange; and, as Hull came up State-street, they gave him cheer upon cheer. At the rooms of the Exchange, a book was kept, in which were recorded all marine news, arrivals, departure of ships, etc. Towards this book, Hull gradually made his way through the crowd; took a pen; and, in his own hand, wrote the following words:

"Whatever merit may be due for the escape
"of the *Constitution*, from the British fleet,
"belongs to my first officer, Charles Morris, Esq.
"ISAAC HULL."

This noble liberality toward the officers caused all who heard it to cheer him, again and again; and Hull, thus armed with the confidence of his officers and crew, again put to sea; and, on the nineteenth of August, 1812, captured the *Guerriere*, under the following circumstances, to which I was an eye-witness, being then a prisoner on board the *Guerriere*, which had captured me, when in command of a merchant ship, about ten days before the battle.

It was about two in the afternoon, when the *Constitution* was discovered. The *Guerriere* at once hove to, to enable her to come up. In the meantime, there was great excitement and speculation, on the quarter-deck, among Captain Dacres and his officers, as to who the strange sail could be. As the *Constitution* neared us, Captain Dacres handed me his glass, and asked what I thought of her. My answer was: "I think, Sir, she is a frigate." Very soon, she came within reach of the long guns of the *Guerriere*, which gave a broadside, but with no effect, as the sea was high. The *Constitution* made no reply, but continued manœuvring for a position, during which Captain Dacres said to me, "Do you think she will strike without firing?" My reply was, "I think not, Sir."

At that moment, seeing a severe contest was about to commence, I raised my hat to Captain Dacres, and said to him, "With your permission, Sir, I will go below, as I, being only a prisoner, can take no part in this contest." "Oh, certainly," said he, "and, you had better go into the cock-pit; and should any of our officers or men chance to get wounded, I shall feel obliged by any assistance you can render

"the Surgeons or Surgeon's-mates." "Certainly, Sir," said I; and then descended into the cock-pit. There were the Surgeons, and Surgeon's-mates, and attendants, sitting around a long table, covered with instruments and all necessaries for dressing the wounded, all as still as a funeral.

Within one moment after my foot left the lower round of the ladder, the *Constitution* gave that double-shotted broadside, which threw all in the cock-pit over in a heap, on the opposite side of the ship. For a moment, it appeared as if heaven and earth had struck together: a more terrific shock cannot be imagined. Before those in the cock-pit had adjusted themselves, the blood ran down from the deck as freely as if a washtub-full had been turned over; and, instantly, the dead, wounded, and dying were handed down, just as fast as men could pass them, till the cock-pit was filled, with hardly room to pass them or to enable the Surgeons to work. Midshipmen were handed down with one leg, some with one arm; and others wounded in almost every shape and condition.

An officer on the table having an arm amputated, would sing out to a comrade coming down, wounded, "Well, shipmate, how goes 'the battle?'" another would utter some joke that would almost make the dying smile; and so constant and free were the playful remarks from the maimed and even dying, that I almost doubted my senses. Indeed, all this was crowded into a space of not over twenty-five or thirty minutes before the firing ceased. I then went on deck; and what a scene was presented, and how changed in so short a time, during which the *Guerriere* had been totally dismantled and otherwise cut to pieces, so as to make her not worth towing into port.

The *Constitution* looked fresh; and, even at this time, those on board the *Guerriere* did not know what ship had fought them. On the other hand, the *Guerriere* was a mere rolling log, almost entirely at the mercy of the sea—her colors all shot away, her main-mast and mizzen-mast both gone by the board, and fore-mast standing by the mere honeycomb the shot had made. Captain Dacres stood with his officers surveying the scene—all, all in perfect astonishment.

At this moment, a boat was seen putting off from the hostile ship for the *Guerriere*. As soon as within speaking distance, a young gentleman (Midshipman Reed, late Commodore Reed), hailed and said, "I wish to see the officer in command of the ship." At this Captain Dacres stepped forward and answered. Midshipman Reed then said, "Commodore Hull's compliments, and wishes to know if you have 'struck your flag.'" At this, Captain Dacres appeared amazed; but recovering himself and

looking up and down, he deliberately said: "Well, I don't know: our mizzen-mast is gone; our main-mast is gone; and, upon the whole, you may say we have struck our flag." "Commodore Hull's compliments, and wishes to know if you need the assistance of a Surgeon or Surgeon's-mates." Captain Dacres replied: "Well, I should suppose you had on board your own ship, business enough for all your medical officers." Midshipman Reed replied: "Oh no, we have only seven wounded; and they were dressed half an hour ago." Captain Dacres then turned to me, deeply affected, and said: "How have our situations been suddenly changed! You are now free, and I a prisoner."

As soon as Midshipman Reed could make his report to Commodore Hull, orders were issued for all the boats of both ships to make ready to remove the wounded on board the *Constitution*. So dreadful was the condition of many of them, that two days were nearly consumed in the removal, after which the *Guerriere* was burned, with all her stores, armament, etc., etc. The *Constitution* having recently come out of port, had room to take scarcely an article. Captain Dacres, in his official Report, said: "The *Guerriere* was so cut up, that all attempts to get her in would have been useless. As soon as the wounded could be got out of her, they set her on fire; and I feel it my duty to say that the conduct of Captain Hull and his officers to our men has been that of a brave enemy, the greatest care being taken to prevent our men losing the smallest trifle, and the greatest attention being paid to the wounded."

On Sunday, about noon, the *Constitution* arrived in Boston harbor. The ship and the wharves were soon crowded with boats to learn the news. To the first boat we neared, we hailed: "The *Constitution* has captured the *Guerriere*!" Instantly, the two men in the boat took off their hats and banged them on the side of the boat, and rising, gave cheers upon cheers. They hailed other boats; and thus the air was rent with cheers; and the victory passed along till it reached the shore, and then spread like wild-fire, over the city and country.

In almost every town and village, such was the importance placed upon this victory that, for a long time, the following lines were sung by the boys on the street:

"We raked them so clean they had no colors to strike,
"So a gun on their lee they were forced to let fly,
"To inform us they did not quite all wish to die."

Not only did Commodore Hull and his officers extend to their prisoners every reasonable indulgence and kindness; but Hull's magnanimity to Dacres, as he entered the *Constitution*, secured

his friendship for life. After the War, Hull visited Europe; and Dacres and his friends were among the first who came forward to do him honor. At a subsequent period, Hull was in command of a squadron in the Mediterranean. Dacres had then been promoted, in the English Navy, to a similar position. Their flag-ships were near each other, for weeks; and they often dined together.

OCTOGENARIAN.

X.—A LIST OF THE STREETS, LANES, AND ALLEYS, IN THE TOWN OF BOSTON, IN 1732.*

I.

THE STREETS FROM THE FORTIFICATION, OVER THE DRAW-BRIDGE, TO HUDSON'S POINT, AT THE NORTH END.

From the Gate to Eliot's corner, *Orange-street*.

To Bethune's-corner, *Newbury-street*.

To Haugh's-corner, *Marlboro'-street*.

To Colson's stone house, *Cornhill*.

To Sun Tavern, thence to Jackson's and Brooks's-corners, and back to Hutchinson's, *Dock-square*.

From Jackson's-corner, over the Draw-bridge, to the Cross Tavern, *Ann-street*.

Thence to the Swan Tavern, near Scarlet's-wharf, *Fish-street*.

To the North Battery, *Ship-street*.

To the old Ferry Way, at Hudson's Point, *Lynn-street*.

II.

STREETS FROM FROG-LANE, AT THE SOUTH END OF THE COMMON, OVER THE MILL BRIDGE, TO LYNN-STREET.

From Frog-lane to Clark's-corner, *Common-street*.

Thence, by Jekyl's, to the Orange-tree, *Tremount-street*.

To the Mill-bridge, *Hanover-street*.

To Clark's-corner, *Middle-street*.

Thence, across Lynn-street, to the sea, *North-street*.

III.

THE STREETS, LANES, AND ALLEYS, BRANCHING FROM THE STREETS ABOVE, RECKONING FROM THE SOUTHWARD.

(1.) *From Orange-street*.

Crossing Orange street, both East and West, *Castle-street*.

Running North-westerly, by the New Church, *Harvard-street*.

Opposite to Harvard-street, to the sea, *Bennet-street*.

The next running East, to the sea, *Hollis street*.

* The streets are reckoned in order, from the Southward to the Northward.

The next running East, by Loring's, to the sea, *Beach-street*.

From Welles's-corner, West, to the sea, at the bottom of the Common, *Frog-lane*.

Eliot's-corner, East, to Windmill Point, *Essex-street*.

(2.) *Leading from Newbury-street.*

From Barril's corner, West, to the Common, *Sheaf's-lane*.

Between Blin's and Durant's, North-west, to the Common, *Hogg-alley*.

From Cowel's-corner, West, to the Common, *West-street*.

Wheeler's-corner, East, to Blind-lane, *Pond-street*.

Ellis's-corner, North-west, to the Common, *Winter-street*.

Bethune's-corner, East, to the sea, *Summer-street*.

(3.) *Leading from Marlboro'-street.*

From Brisco's-corner, North-west, to Common-street, *Rawson's-lane*.

South of Church-corner, Eastwardly, to the sea, *Milk-street*.

From Hallowel's-corner, in Milk-street, South-east, by South Battery, to Gibbs's-lane, *Battery March*.

Haugh's-corner, North-west, to Whetcomb's-corner, *School-street*.

Thence, by the North side of the Common, to the sea, *Beacon-street*.

(4.) *Leading from Cornhill.*

From Clark's-corner, East, to Jolliff's-lane, *Spring-lane*.

Phillips's-corner, East, to Mackri'-lane, *Water-street*.

W... Arch, Westward, *Savage's-court*.

Round the Old Church, *Church-square*.

From the West end of the Town-house, East, to Long-wharf, *King-street*.

Deering's-corner, North-west, to the Orange-tree, *Queen-street*.

Thence North, to the end of Cold-lane, by the Mill-pond, *Sudbury-street*.

The way leading from Bill and Smith's-corners, into Cambridge-street, *Hawkins's-street*.

(5.) *Leading from Dock-square.*

From the Sun Tavern, East, to Merchants'-row, *Corn Market*.

Between Hutchinson's and Colson's, to Brattle-street Church, thence South to Queen's-street and North to Wing's Lane, *Brattle-street*.

From Pollard's-corner, in Brattle-street, West, to Green & Walker's-corner, in Queen-street, *Hil-ler's-lane*.

From Brooks's corner, West, to Hanover-street, *Wing's-lane*.

From the Conduit, at Dock Head, North-west,

crossing Hanover-street, to the Mill-pond, *Union-street*.

(6.) *Leading from Ann-street.*

From Pitt's-corner, round on the Dock, to Pitt's-wharf, *Fish Market*.

Chockley's Entry, North-west, to Creek-lane, *Scottow's-alley*.

Tyler's-corners to the Wharves, *Swing-bridge-lane*.

Simpkin's-corner, East, to the Wharf, *Royal's-alley*.

Tyler's-corner, West, to Middle-street, *Pud-dey's-alley*.

Allen's-corner, East, to the Wood-wharf, *Wentworth's-lane*.

At North end of Ann-street, from the sea, North-west, to the Mill-pond, *Cross-street*.

(7.) *Leading from Fish-street.*

From Doctor Clark's corner, North-west, to Middle-street, *Gallop's-alley*.

Edwards's-corner, North-west, to Middle-street, *Wood-lane*.

Mountfort's-corner, by the East side of North Church, to Fleet-street, *Moon-street*.

Gardner's-corner, North-west, to the North Church, *Sun-court*.

At the North end of Fish-street, from Scarlet's-wharf, West, to the upper end of Middle-street, *Fleet-street*.

(8.) *Leading from Ship-street.*

From Richards's-corner, West, by New North Church, to North-street, *Poster-street*.

Bill's-corner, West, to North-street, *White-bread-alley*.

Salutation Tavern, West, to North-street, *Salutation-alley*.

Parkman's-corner, West, to North-street, *Battery-alley*.

(9.) *Leading from Lynn-street.*

Through Greenough's Ship-yard, South-west, to Charter-street, *Greenough's-alley*.

From Aves's-corner, South, to Charter-street, *Henchman's-lane*.

By Williams's, South-west, to Charter-street, *Sliding-alley*.

From Atkins's Lime-kiln, South-west, to North Burying-place, *Lime-alley*.

From the West end of Lynn-street, round the beach, to the Ferry-wharf, *Ferry Way*.

(10.) *Leading from Hanover-street.*

From Harris's-corner, North-west, to the Mill-pond, *Cold-lane*.

Ballantine's-corner, South, to Fitch's-corner, in Union-street, *Marshal's-lane*.

The Star Tavern, South, to the Mill, *Link-alley*.

(11.) *Leading from Middle-street.*

From the Mill-bridge, Northerly, to Gee's-corn-

er, in Prince-street, *Back-street*.

Wales's-corner, to Back-street, *Beer-lane*.

Morril's-corner, North-west, to Charlestown Ferry, *Prince-street*.

Wadsworth's-corner, East, to the North Church, *Bell-alley*.

Clark's-corner, at the North end of Middle-street, North-west, to Salem-street, *Bennet-street*.

(12.) *Leading from North-street.*

From Stephens's-corner, North-west, to Salem-street, *Love-lane*.

Ransford's-corner, running by North side of the Burying-place, to Ferry Way, *Charter-street*.

From Ruck's-corner, in Charter-street, West, to Harrod's corner, in Prince-street, *Salem-street*.

IV.

OTHER CROSS-STREETS AND LANES.

(1.) *From the South end to Dock-square.*

Leading from Essex-street, South-west, to Beach-street, *Ransford's-lane*.

The next running North, to Pond-street, *Short-street*.

Crossing the East end of Essex-street, from Hill's-wharf, North, to Summer-street, *South-street*.

Leading from Summer-street, from Clark's-corner, North-west, to Brown's-corner, in Milk-street, *Bishop's-alley*.

From the New South Church, West, to Pond-street, *Blind-lane*.

Morey's-corner, North-east, to Fort-hill, *Cow-lane*.

The Rope-walk, running North-east, out of Summer-street, to Battery March, *Belcher's-lane*.

The bottom of Summer-street, South, to Wind-mill-point, *Sea-street*.

From the bottom of Summer-street, North-east, by the Sea, and running to the Rope-walk, *Flounder-lane*.

Ways leading from Belcher's-lane, North, to Cow Lane: 1. *Crooked-alley*; 2. *Gray's-lane*; 3. *Tilley's-lane*; 4. *Gridley's-lane*; 5. *Gibbs's-lane*.

Ways leading from Cow-lane, North, to Milk-street: 1. *Long-lane*; 2. *Atkinson's-street*; 3. *Hutchinson's-street*; 4. *Oliver-street*.

Ways leading from Long-lane, into Atkinson's-street, Easterly: 1. *Round-lane*; 2. *Bury-street*.

From Round-lane, North, into Bury-street, *Sister-street*.

From North-east side of Fort-hill, to Battery March, *Sconce-lane*.

Ways from Milk-street, North, to Water street: 1. *Jolliff's-lane*; 2. *Tanner's-lane*; 3. *Cooper's-alley*.

From Dummer's-corner, in School-street, South-west, to Rawson's-lane, *Governor's-alley*.

From Beacon-street, North-west, to Allen's Orchard, *Davie's-lane*.

From Alford's-corner to Century-hill, *Century-street*.

From Beacon-street, Northerly, to Cambridge-street, *George-street*.

Ways from King-street, Southerly, to Water-street: 1. *Pudding-lane*; 2. *Leveret's-lane*; 3. *Mackril-lane*.

From Maccarty's-corner, turning into Pudding-lane, *Half Square-court*.

From Mackril-lane, East, by Hallowel's-wharf, to the sea, *Crab-lane*.

From King-street, Northerly, into Dock-square, 1. *Wilson's-lane*; 2. *Shrimpton's-lane*.

— into Corn Market, *Peirce's-alley*.

From Faneuil's-corner, round to Woodman-sie's-wharf, *Merchants'-row*.

(2.) *From the Orange-tree, in Queen-street, to the Western part of the Town, leading from Sudbury-street, North-west.*

From Bowdoin's-corner, West, *Southack's-court*.

Emmons's-corner, running by the Wind-mill, to the sea, *Cambridge-street*.

Leading out of Cambridge-street, South-west, into Southack's-court, *Stoddard's-lane*.

The new way, leading North-east, from Cambridge-street, by Copelin's, into Sudbury-street, *Alden's-lane*.

From Well's-corner, North-west, to Barton's-point, *Green-street*.

Leading from Cambridge-street, Northerly, into Green-street: 1. *Staniford's-street*; 2. *Lynde-street*; 3. *Chamber's-street*.

From Green-street, North-east, to the Mill-pond, *Gooch-lane*.

(3.) *From Dock-square, to the North end, leading from Union-street.*

From Royal's House, West, *Minot's-court*.

Webb's-corner, East, to Creek-lane, *March-lane*.

Bows's-corner, East, to Creek-lane, *Salt-lane*.

From Jephson's-corner, in Marshal's-lane, East, to Scottow's-alley, *Creek-lane*.

From the North-west end of Cross-street, by the Mill-pond side, North, *Old Way*.

The space on the South side of the New Church, *Clark's-square*.

From Bell-alley-corner, North, to Fleet-street, *Garden-court*.

From Salem-street, North-west, to Snow-street, 1. *Shafe-street*; 2. *Hull-street*.

From Travis's-corner, in Prince-street, North, to Hudson's-point, *Snow-street*.

The number of Streets, 60; Lanes, 41; and Alleys, 18; besides Squares, Courts, etc.

XI.—THE GETTYSBURG CAMPAIGN, 1863.

GENERAL PLEASANTON'S REPORT OF OPERATIONS OF THE CAVALRY CORPS, ARMY OF THE POTOMAC.

NOW FIRST PRINTED, FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT.*

HEAD QUARTERS, CAVALRY CORPS,
ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,
August 31, 1863.

To

Brigadier-general S. WILLIAMS,
Adjutant-general, Army of the Potomac.

GENERAL:

I have the honor to submit the following Report of the operations of the Cavalry Corps, in the late Campaign, including the Battle of Gettysburg, with accompanying Reports of subordinate commanders:—

On the twenty-eighth of June, the Army being in the vicinity of Frederick, Maryland, the Cavalry Corps was placed as follows: The First Division (Buford's) was posted near Middletown, covering the left and watching the enemy in the direction of Hagerstown. The Second Division (Gregg's) was stationed at different points, from Frederick City to Ridgeville, on the Baltimore turnpike, covering the right of the Army. The Third Division (Kilpatrick's) was at Frederick City, and was assigned to the Corps on that day.

Orders having been issued for the advance of the Army, towards Pennsylvania, on the twenty-ninth of June, Buford's Division moved as follows, to cover and protect the left flank of the line of march: the Reserve Brigade was detached, under Brigadier-general Merritt, and moved to Mechanicstown, and afterwards to Emmettsburg. The First and Second Brigades passed through Boonboro, Cavetown, and Monterey Springs; and encamped near Fairfield, within a short distance of a considerable force of the enemy's Infantry. On the thirtieth of June, these two Brigades moved towards Gettysburg; met two Regiments of Rebel Infantry, with some artillery: and, after some skirmishing, not wishing to use artillery, they turned off and reached Gettysburg in the afternoon, just in time to meet the enemy entering the town, and to drive him back before he secured a position. The enemy withdrew in the direction of Cashtown, leaving his pickets about four and a half miles from Gettysburg.

By day-light, on the first of July, General Buford had obtained positive information of the enemy's position and movements, and made his dispositions to hold him in check, until the First

Corps, under Major-general Reynolds, could arrive upon the field. Between eight and nine o'clock in the morning, the rebels advanced with superior numbers, on Buford's position, but were gallantly checked in every attempt that was made, for more than two hours; when the troops of the First and Eleventh Corps began to arrive and to relieve the Cavalry from their perilous position. The Division continued in the fight, throughout the day, displaying great obstinacy in holding all their positions and splendid courage and skill in their treatment of the rebels.

On the second of July, Buford's Division held a position on our left, at Gettysburg, until relieved by the Third Corps, when it was directed to take post at Westminster, to assist in guarding the army-trains, at that point.

On the twenty-ninth of June, Gregg's Division moved by the right-flank of the Army, on Westminster, covering the country towards York and Carlisle, by reconnoissances and patrols.

Kilpatrick's Division advanced from Frederick City, on the twenty-ninth of June, direct to the front, on Hanover, by the way of Littlestown. On the morning of the thirtieth, they were attacked by Stuart's Cavalry, in full force. After a gallant fight, the enemy was repulsed, losing one battle-flag, and retreated in the direction of Carlisle. On the first of July, they were pursued as far as Berlin, by the way of Abbottsville, a detachment under Lieutenant-colonel Alexander, Chief of Staff, proceeding as far as Rosstown. Kilpatrick's Division, on the second of July, moved towards Gettysburg, from the direction of Heidlersburg, to prevent the enemy from concentrating his forces by that road and to protect our right flank from being turned. Late in the afternoon, this Division met the rebel Cavalry near Hunterstown; and, after a spirited affair, for two hours, the enemy was driven from his position. The Division was then ordered to the Two Taverns, which it reached at day-light.

It being now apparent that the rebel Army intended making a vigorous attack on the left of the position held by our Army, on the heights of Gettysburg, General Kilpatrick was directed to move to the right of the enemy's line; connect with Merritt's Brigade, ordered up from Emmettsburg; and attack the enemy in flank and rear, as well as prevent our own flank from being turned; Custer's Brigade of this Division remaining on our right flank, in connection with General Gregg. General Kilpatrick did valuable service with the First Brigade, under General Farnsworth, in charging the enemy's Infantry; and, with the assistance of Merritt's Brigade and the good execution of their united Batteries, caused him to detach largely from his main attack, on the left of our line.

It was in one of these brilliant engagements,

* We are indebted to our friend, General J. WATTS LE PRYSTER, for the copy from which this article has been printed. EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

that the noble and gallant Farnsworth fell, heroically leading a charge of his Brigade against the rebel Infantry. Gifted, in a high degree, with a quick perception and a correct judgment; remarkable for his daring and coolness; his comprehensive grasp of the situation, on the field of battle, and the rapidity of his actions had already distinguished General Farnsworth among his comrades in arms. In his death was closed a career that must have won the highest honors of his profession.

On the thirtieth of June, immediately after the fight of Kilpatrick, at Hanover, the enemy hastily withdrew his forces from York and Carlisle, and began to concentrate on Gettysburg. As soon as this was known, Gregg's Division was directed to leave one Brigade, (Huey's), to cover the dépôt at Westminster, and move with the two other Brigades towards Gettysburg; to take up a position on the right of our line-of-battle; and to prevent the enemy from turning the flank and gaining the rear. This position was established, about noon of the second of July; and was at the intersection of the Gettysburg and Hanover-turnpike with the road which ran in rear of our line-of-battle. The enemy attacked this point, late in the evening, with two Regiments deployed, but were compelled to retire.

On the third of July, Custer's Brigade of Kilpatrick's Division having occupied the position of Gregg's Division of the day before, the latter was posted three-quarters of a mile nearer the Baltimore and Gettysburg-turnpike. About noon, the enemy threw a heavy force of Cavalry against this position, with the intention of gaining our rear. This attack was met and handsomely defeated by General Gregg, who reports several fine charges made by the First Michigan Cavalry, of Custer's Brigade, and the First New Jersey and Third Pennsylvania Cavalry, of his own Division. The enemy withdrew from his position, with heavy loss, and evacuated his lines that night. Custer's Brigade then proceeded to join its Division, on our left.

The grand attack of General Lee's Army, on the third of July, on the left of our line at Gettysburg, having been successfully repulsed and defeated, orders were given for the Cavalry to gain his rear and line of communication, and harass and annoy him, as much as possible, in his retreat. Buford's Division started from Westminster; passed through Frederick City, where it was joined by Merritt's Brigade, from Gettysburg; and proceeded to the vicinity of Williamsport, on the sixth of July, where the enemy's pickets were driven in, to within half a mile of his trains, at the town. A small train and some forty mules were captured; but the enemy was in too strong force to permit farther damage, at this point.

From the seventh to the fifteenth of July, this Division had a succession of combats with the enemy, the particulars of which are fully given in General Buford's Report. These actions were always in *our* favor, and showed a decided superiority on the part of our troops.

Kilpatrick's Division passed through Emmetsburg, on the fourth of July, without halting; was joined by Huey's Brigade of Gregg's Division; and moved on, towards Monterey. After a series of fierce engagements with the enemy's Cavalry, in which this command was always successful and distinguished, a very large train was captured and destroyed, and one thousand, three hundred, and sixty prisoners, one battle-flag, and a large number of animals taken.

On the sixth of July, while Buford attacked at Williamsport, Kilpatrick's Division attacked the enemy at Hagerstown: the particulars of this engagement are given in General Kilpatrick's Report. Until the fourteenth of July, this Division was posted on the right of the Army, and was constantly engaged with the enemy, as was Buford's Division, on the left, and Huey's Brigade, of Gregg's Division, in the center.

In the pursuit of the enemy, from Gettysburg, Gregg's Division acted in detachments—Huey's Brigade, as above-mentioned, moved with Kilpatrick; Colonel Gregg's Brigade, of Gregg's Division, followed up the enemy, by the way of Cashtown; came up with him, near Greenwood; found the road filled with broken-down wagons, abandoned caissons, and limbers, filled with ammunition; a large number of prisoners were captured and sent in to Gettysburg; the pursuit was continued to Marion and Chambersburg; from thence this Brigade rejoined its Division, at Boonsboro: McIntosh's Brigade, of Gregg's Division, was placed at Emmetsburg, to prevent any raids on our rear by the enemy's Cavalry; it then formed part of General Neill's command, to follow up the enemy on the Fairfield-road, after which duty this Brigade joined its Division, at Boonsboro.

On the fourteenth of July, General Gregg, with McIntosh's and Gregg's Brigades of his Division, crossed the Potomac, at Harper's Ferry, and quickly drove a force of the enemy's Cavalry back upon Charlestown. The entire rebel Army having effected a crossing of the Potomac, on that day, Gregg was reinforced by Huey's Brigade, and directed to gain the flank and rear of the rebels, and harass them, as much as possible. He marched to Sheppardstown; found the roads to Martinsburg and Winchester strongly picketed; and, Huey's Brigade not having joined him, he awaited until the sixteenth, when the enemy attacked him in force. A spirited contest was maintained until some time after dark, when the enemy withdrew. A large quan-

tity of bacon and flour was captured by our troops, at Sheppardstown. General Gregg speaks of the high soldierly qualities exhibited by his officers and men, on that occasion.

On the fourteenth of July, both Buford's and Kilpatrick's Division pursued the rebels to Falling Waters, capturing many prisoners: a good deal of abandoned property also fell into their hands. The enemy's rear-guard made an obstinate resistance, near Falling Waters, but was dispersed by General Kilpatrick, who took from them, among other trophies, three Infantry battle-flags.

On the fifteenth of July, Buford's and Kilpatrick's Divisions moved to Berlin, to obtain supplies. Here the Campaign of Gettysburg properly ended. The pursuit of the rebel Army, through Loudoun-valley, to the Rappahannock-river, was made by the Cavalry, in detachments, of whose movements the Reports of the Division and Brigade Commanders give full details.

In reviewing the conduct of the Cavalry Corps in this Campaign, it becomes a proud gratification to call the attention of the Major-general Commanding, to the devoted spirit and resolution that animated the officers and men throughout all the difficulties, privations, toils, and dangers they had constantly to meet and which they overcame so gloriously. Not a single mishap occurred to mar that recollection of their noble and brilliant deeds.

* * * *

I am, General,

Very Respectfully,

Your Obedient Servant,

A. PLEASANTON,

Major-general Commanding.

XII.—A SCRAP OF INDIAN HISTORY.

By HON. J. ROMEYN BRODHEAD, LL.D.*

The Marquis of Denonville, then French Governor of Canada, having resolved to attack the Western New York savages, in the Summer of 1687, he went up the Saint Lawrence, with a colonial force, to Catarauqui, or what is now known as Kingston. The French expedition proceeded along the Southern shore of Lake Ontario, to keep the Iroquois doubtful which of their nations was to be attacked. After a week's coasting, it landed at "Ganniag-atorontagouat," or what is now called "Irondequoit-bay," in Monroe-county, the literal meaning of which, in English, appears to be "Opening from the "Lake."

Having palisaded their encampment—which was named "The Fort of the Sands," and garrisoned by four hundred men—the French pushed southward along Irondequoit-bay, through the superb "oak openings" of Monroe and Ontario-counties. After passing two defiles, the expedition reached a third, near the Seneca village of "Kohoseraghe," or Saint James, not far from what is now Victor, in Ontario-county. The Senecas had meanwhile sent away their women, children, and old men, to Cayuga and to a lake "to the Southward of their Castles." About five hundred—among whom were several wives who would not leave their husbands—remained in ambush near Gannagaro; and, as the French came on, they received them with a war-whoop and a fire of musketry. The European Regulars, unused to warfare with the American savages, were thrown into disorder. Instead of pushing on, as their Indian allies advised, the French halted on the battle-field. The next day, they marched into the deserted and burned village of Gannagaro. Two old Senecas, who had been left behind, were shried by the Father Bruyas, and then cooked and eaten by the French savages. All the maize that could be found was destroyed. Gandagaraç, or Saint Michael, was visited in the same manner. The invaders then moved their camp to the great Seneca village of "Theodehaeto," or Totiakto, or Conception, on a bend of the Honeyoye-creek, near what is now West Mendon, in Monroe-county. Here a pompous "Act of possession" of all the Seneca's lands, "conquered "in the name of his Majesty," was attested by the chief officers of the French expedition. At the gate of the small village of Gannounata, or Gannondata, near East Avon, in what is now Livingston-county, were found the English arms, which Dongan had caused to be placed there, in 1684. After destroying all the Indian corn they could find, and a "vast quantity" of hogs, the French expedition returned to Irondequoit without meeting any more Iroquois warriors. Thus far Denonville had only irritated the Senecas, but had not humbled the brave red Americans who had fatally disordered his disciplined European troops; whose wooden villages could soon be rebuilt; and whose yellow maize would spring again in quick abundance throughout the fertile valley of the Genesee. If he had been a General, he would have pursued the retreating Senecas, eastward, among the Cayugas and the Onondagas; and might have crushed the Iroquois. Instead of this, he sent back a part of his force to Cataracouy, and went with the rest to the East bank of the Niagara-river, where he built a palisaded fort, on the spot which La Salle had appropriated, in the Winter of 1678, and had named the "Fort de Conty." It

* At our request, Hon. John Romeyn Brodhead allows us to print, in this number of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, an extract from a Chapter in the forthcoming second volume of his *History of the State of New York*.—ED. HIST. MAG.

was "the most beautiful, most pleasing, and "most advantageous site on the whole of Lake "Ontario." An "Act" was drawn up, declaring that La Salle's previous possession was "reiter- "ated anew," in the name of Louis. The Fort at Niagara was mounted with some small cannon; and the Chevalier de la Troye was left in command of the garrison of one hundred men, with the Sieur des Bergères as his Lieutenant. Lamberville was appointed Chaplain. Denonville then returned to Montreal, by way of Cataracouy, where he left another garrison of one hundred men, in charge of D'Orvilliers.

XIII.—A NAVAL HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND.

BY HON. JOHN RUSSELL BARTLETT.*

I.

WAR WITH HOLLAND. PRIVATEERS SENT FROM NEWPORT AGAINST THE DUTCH, 1653. PROVIDENCE REMONSTRATES AGAINST THE GRANTING OF PRIVATEERS' COMMISSIONS. GOVERNOR STUYVESANT OF NEW YORK THREATENS TO MAKE REPRISALS. DUTCH VESSELS ILLEGALLY CAPTURED AND CONDEMNED. CROMWELL CLAIMS THE STATE'S SHARE OF THE PRIZE-MONEY. SEIZURE OF THE SLOOP *Desire*, OF PLYMOUTH, BY CAPTAIN MAYO. A COMMISSION SENT TO RHODE ISLAND TO ENQUIRE UNDER WHAT AUTHORITY PRIVATEERS' COMMISSIONS HAD BEEN GRANTED.

The earliest mention, in the Colonial Records of Rhode Island, of a movement for fitting out vessels-of-war, is in the year 1653, at which time Great Britain was at war with Holland. At the General Court of Trials, held at Newport, in May of this year, Privateers' Commissions were given to Captain John Underhill, William Dyre, and Edward Hull, with power "to goe against "the Dutch, or any enemies of y^e Common- "wealth of England." In granting these Commissions, they had in view the affording aid to the English Colonies on Long Island, as well as the taking of the vessels of the enemy. It was ordered that the force to be sent to Long Island,

"shall have two great guns and what murderers "are with us on promise of returning them at y^e "due valuation, and to be improved by instruc- "tions given by this Assemblée's authoritie; "provided they engage to the Commonwealth "and conform by subscription to doe their ut- "most to set themselves against all the enemies "of the Commonwealth of England, and to of- "fend them as they shall be ordered."

For the trial of prizes brought in, the general officers, with three Jurors, were to constitute the Court. The President of the Assembly and two Assistants were empowered to fix the time for the trial of prizes; and in case any of the Jurors failed to appear, the number was to be made up in Newport, where the Court was to be held. Power was also given to the President and four Assistants, (any three of them concurring) to grant Commissions against any of the enemies of the Commonwealth. The Towns of Providence and Warwick were empowered to hold similar Courts to those held at Newport, from either of which appeal was to be had to the General Assembly.

It would appear that the Towns of Providence and Warwick did not entirely coincide with those of Newport and Portsmouth, in issuing Commissions to Privateers, to cruise against the Dutch, even though they had been granted "by "virtue of a Commission from the Right Honor- "able the Council of State." At a meeting of Commissioners from Providence and Warwick, held at the former place, in the June following, a Remonstrance was drawn up to be sent to the Towns, chiefly against the Commission granted to William Coddington, as Governor of Rhode Island, whereby the Towns of Newport and Portsmouth "were disjointed from the Collonie of "Providence Plantations." In this, they say that their efforts to reunite Portsmouth and Newport with them, have been in vain. "The inhabi- "tants of the said two Towns, have, as we are "informed, in the name or by the authoritie of "the Collonie of Providence Plantations, grant- "ed and given unto John Underhill, Edward Hull, "and William Dyre, Commissions tending to War, "which is like, for aught we see, to set all New "England on fire, for the event of War is various "and uncertaine: and, although the honored "Council of State's direction to us is to offend "the Dutch as we shall think necessary, yet we "know not for what reason, or for what cause "the said inhabitants of the Island have given "forth the said Commission. Therefore, we are "enforced thus to declare, that if the said Island "shall attempt to engage us with them in the "said Commissions, or in any other like proceed- "ings, and shall use any force or violence upon "us on that account, that we will address our- "selves immediately to England, to petition for

* We have pleasure in presenting the first of a series of papers on the history of the naval operations of Rhode Island, from the earliest period, from the pen of her distinguished Secretary of State.

The series will extend through several numbers, possibly through those of the entire year; and its great interest, to all classes of readers, and its importance as valuable material for history, will secure for it a hearty welcome among our readers.

It was originally written for *The Providence Journal*, and published therein; but it will now receive the corrections and improvements which subsequent years of study enable its author to give to it; and it will thus acquire new interest and become, essentially, a series of original papers. EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

"their Honors' further directions unto us, which "they have pleased to intimate in their Honors' "pleasure, by the hand of William Dyre; for "we are resolved to use our utmost endeavor to "free ourselves from all illegal and unjust proceedings." It was further ordered, that those who owned the Commissions before mentioned, granted in the name of Providence Plantations, shall have no liberty to act until they have given satisfaction to the Towns of Providence and Warwick. Conceiving, too, that the Colony was in imminent danger, they adjourned until two Commissioners should see cause to call the Court together. No injury seems to have arisen to the Colony from the warlike steps taken against the Dutch, as we find that, in the following year, vessels had been engaged in trading with them.

In 1653, Samuel Mayo, Mariner, of Barnstable, in Plymouth Colony, complained to the Commissioners, that his vessel, the *Desire*, had been unlawfully seized by Thomas Baxter, under order of a Commission from Rhode Island. This vessel had been engaged in transporting the goods of William Leverich, of Sandwich, to Oyster Bay, on Long Island, within the English limits, where he was about to settle. She had also landed some cattle at Hempstead, on that Island.

The Commissioners of the United Colonies, in consequence of this complaint, sent Captain William Hudson to the Governor of Rhode Island, with orders to enquire by what Commission their agents make such seizures, which disturb the peace of the Colonies; by whom it was granted; and whether it was under the seal of the Commonwealth of England. The agent was further directed to write down all the answers to these questions, that he "neither mistake or forget "any part of it;" and also to ascertain to what extent, and by whom, these Commissions had been granted; and in what relation Rhode Island stood with Providence and Warwick Plantations.

II.

THE DUTCH SEND TWO VESSELS TO SEIZE CAPTAIN BAXTER'S PRIVATEER, LYING AT FAIRFIELD. DUTCH VESSELS PROHIBITED FROM ENTERING ANY HARBOR OF THE CONFEDERATE COLONIES. GOVERNOR EASTON'S REPLY TO THE COMMISSIONERS. WAR BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND HOLLAND, IN 1672. A DUTCH FLEET RETAKES NEW YORK. ALARM OF NEWPORT. THE COLONY ARMS ITSELF. NAVAL OFFICE ESTABLISHED IN NEWPORT, IN 1684. EFFORTS OF GREAT BRITAIN TO SUPPRESS RHODE ISLAND PRIVATEERS. THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY ENACT LAWS FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF PIRACY. GOVERNOR CRANSTON REPLIES TO THE BOARD OF TRADE, IN ANSWER TO ITS CHARGES AGAINST THE COLONY.

PERSONS CHARGED WITH PIRACY, ARRESTED, PROCLAMATION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, IN RELATION TO PRIVATEERS AND PIRATES. RANDOLPH MAKES A COMPLAINT AGAINST THE COLONY. THE BOARD OF TRADE NOT SATISFIED WITH THE VINDICATION OF GOVERNOR CRANSTON, DEMAND FURTHER INFORMATION.

Great was the consternation of the renowned Peter Stuyvesant, the Governor of New Amsterdam, when news was brought him that a vessel trading with that Colony had been seized by an impudent English Privateer, from the neighboring Colony of Rhode Island. Well was the term "headstrong" applied by the truthful historian of New Amsterdam, Diedrick Knickerbocker, to the worthy Dutch Governor; for we learn that his ire was raised; and, notwithstanding the dangers attending a voyage through the dreaded Hell Gate, to reach Long Island Sound, he ordered two vessels to be at once fitted out with such warlike implements as the people were wont to use, and, with one hundred and fifty men, to seize the offending vessel, which then lay in the harbor of Fairfield. The Commissioners of the United Colonies, alarmed at this proceeding, issued an Order that all Dutch ships be prohibited coming into any harbor belonging to any of the Confederate Colonies, without a License from the Governor or some Magistrate of the Colony. Any vessel that entered an English Colony after the issuing of the Order, was to be notified by a Magistrate or military officer to depart, failing to do which, within six hours, she was liable to be seized. The two Dutch vessels, lying off Fairfield, were notified to depart, within the same time or be liable to seizure and confiscation.

Governor Easton, in reply to the message sent him by the Commissioners, through Lieutenant Hudson, to know by what authority the Colony of Rhode Island had granted Commissions to Privateers and raised such a turmoil among their quiet neighbors of New Amsterdam, sent the following letter:

"NEWPORT, September 16, 1653.

"HONORED GENTLEMEN:—The Council not being present, nor without much difficulty could "be, therefore, for myself, being desirous to be "inoffensive to your honored authority, which I "know is the mind of our Colony, induseth me to "petition your Wisdoms for a favorable construction of our proceedings who are far from countenancing any incivility, much less insolency, of any "of ours; hoping that we shall approve ourselves "as to the supreme authority of the State of England, unto whom we are responsible; so also "unto your Wisdoms, in all serviceable humanity. "That, by our authority, received from the "Right Honorable the Council of State, any

"offences, duly given, I presume not; and hoping
 "that your Wisdoms will not impute particular
 "men's extravagancies to us, being ignorant there-
 "of, but rather suspend; and for sending a copy
 "of our Commission, I have no Commission, and
 "therefore desire to be excused. Yet this much I
 "shall presume to inform your ingenuities, that we
 "are authorized to offend the enemies of the Com-
 "monwealth of England, as we shall see neces-
 "sary; and against them only are our Commissions
 "granted, and so is Baxter authorized; and, as I
 "remember, for the Records are not with me, he is
 "prohibited to pass into the Dutch jurisdiction till
 "further orders be given. He is also bound to
 "bring his prizes, so taken, into our harbor, for
 "trial and that the State's part may be secured; it
 "being so joined on us by the supreme authority,
 "unto which we are also required to render an ac-
 "count of our proceedings, which we have done,
 "and unto whose right wise censure we submit.
 "Thus presuming to trouble your Wisdoms with
 "my rude lines, and desiring that your grave coun-
 "sels may produce glory to God, grace among
 "men, and honor to our illustrious mother State,
 "this is the true desire of your servant,

"NICHOLAS EASTON.

"I shall readily acquaint our Council with your
 "desires, the first opportunity."

It is evident from this letter, that Rhode Island
 had no authority or right, either by her Charter
 or Instructions, to issue Commissions to Private-
 teers: indeed the King and his Ministers disavow
 all such right, as will shortly appear.

Mr. Mayo, the owner of the vessel seized, ac-
 companied Lieutenant Hudson to Rhode Island,
 for the purpose of getting her released; but the
 authorities took no notice of his complaint. The
 Commissioners, however, finding Mayo could ob-
 tain no redress from Rhode Island, ordered a
 Stay of Proceedings on his giving bonds to pay
 all damages, in case the vessel should, on trial,
 be adjudged a lawful prize, under any Commis-
 sion issued by Providence Plantations, by au-
 thority of the Commonwealth.

In 1672, the breaking out of the War again,
 between Great Britain and Holland, aroused the
 American Colonies to renewed action. On the
 thirtieth of July, of the following year, the
 Dutch arrived with a large fleet, and re-took
 New York. Rhode Island became much alarmed
 at this success of their old enemy; and, fearing
 that an attack on Newport would follow, im-
 mediately organized military companies and took
 such other precautionary measures as seemed
 necessary in the emergency; but there is no re-
 cord of any naval exploits. The probability is
 that the Dutch, having a considerable fleet, had
 complete command of the adjacent waters.

At the May Session of the General Assembly,
 held in Newport, in 1682, an Act was passed es-

tablishing a Naval Office in Newport, in which all
 masters of vessels were "required, upon their ar-
 rival, to make entry of them and their loading,"
 and to give bond, as required by Act of Parlia-
 ment.

At the June Session, 1684, a letter to the Gov-
 ernor was read, from Sir Lionel Jenkins, one of
 the King's principal Secretaries, with a Proclam-
 ation for the suppressing of Privateers and
 Pirates which had infested the seas and involved
 Great Britain in serious controversies with nations
 with which she was at peace. This Proclamation
 was published in Newport, by the beat of the
 drum; and the Recorder was ordered to read it in
 three of the most public places there. The As-
 sembly, in consequence, passed an Act, in the
 Preamble of which it is asserted that his Majes-
 ty's subjects "have and do continually go off
 "from the Colony unto foreign Princes' services,
 "and sail under their Commissions, contrary to
 "their duty and good allegiance, and by fair
 "means cannot be restrained from so doing."

This Act made it felony for any person, inhab-
 iting or belonging to the Colony, to serve in any
 hostile manner under any foreign Prince or Poten-
 tate in amity with His Majesty, without a License
 from the Governor. It was further ordered, that
 all treasons, piracies, murders, etc., committed
 on the high seas, or in any haven, creek, etc.,
 shall be tried the same as if such offence had
 been committed upon the land, before the Court
 of Admiralty. It was also made a crime for
 any one, knowingly, to entertain, conceal, trade,
 or hold correspondence with, any one supposed
 to be Pirates or connected with Privateers.

There evidently was reason for the enactment
 of this law, not only that the Colonists had en-
 gaged in the service of foreign powers, but that
 they had given countenance, if not protection,
 to Privateers which had entered the waters of
 Narragansett-bay, for we find that numerous
 complaints were made to the Government to this
 effect. In a letter from the Board of Trade to
 the Governor and Company of Rhode Island,
 dated the ninth of February, 1696-7, they say
 that they have received such complaints, and that
 many persons have deserted their homes and
 joined Privateers, to the great dishonor of the
 English nation. They also direct that, in future,
 "no Pirate or Sea-robbers be anywhere sheltered
 "or entertained, under the severest penalties."
 In the trial of Avery's crew, in London, for Pi-
 racy, it was stated that "Rhode Island was a
 "place where Pirates are ordinarily too kindly en-
 "tertained;" and that several Privateers, whose
 names were mentioned, among them William
 Mayes, were actually fitted out in the Colony.

Governor Cranston, in reply to the Board of
 Trade, says "that things are misrepresented to
 "His Majesty and your Lordships, and that the

"Government of Rhode Island was never concerned in, nor countenanced, any such things;" that Mayes, the Pirate alluded to, "had his Clearance from the Custom-house at Newport, "to go on a trading voyage to Madagascar, "with a lawful Commission from the Government, "to fight the French, His Majesty's enemies; "and the best information we have is, that Captain Avery and his men plundered him. And "we very much suspect, too, that they have destroyed him and his company, for none of them are yet returned; nor has any news been yet received of said Mayes, or any of his party." The Governor further says: "Upon the receipt of your lines and the mandates from His Majesty, the General Assembly immediately issued a Proclamation for the apprehending of all persons suspected of Piracy, a copy of which Proclamation is herewith enclosed to your Lordships; and, furthermore, "that we have seized two persons and their moneys, Robert Munday and George Cutler, who, upon examination, do deny that they have been further than Madagascar. But we shall endeavor to search out the truth, and bring them to a trial," etc., etc.

The following is an extract from this document:

*"Proclamation of the Rhode Island Assembly
"concerning Piracy.*

"Whereas, his most gracious Majesty, William the Third, over England, Scotland, France and Ireland, King, hath formerly sent unto His Majesty's Government, a Proclamation for the seizing of all Pirates, and especially Henry Avery and his company, whereupon this His Majesty's Government did forthwith cause said Proclamation to be published throughout the Colony, and did take care for the search and the apprehending of them, if within the Colony. And now, "there being information that several persons have lately arrived here, who are justly suspected, by their great quantities of foreign coin and East India goods, to be robbers upon the high seas," ** "we, His Majesty's General Assembly of the Colony of Rhode Island, do order and require all Magistrates and ministers of justice, both civil and military, to do their utmost endeavors for apprehending such suspected Pirates, that they may be brought to condign punishment; and also to prohibit all persons within this said Colony from entertaining the said suspected Pirates or their goods; but, on the contrary, they are strictly required forthwith, upon the discovery of the said persons or goods, to give notice thereof to some person in authority; and, upon neglect thereof, or upon due proof made, that any person or persons, as aforesaid, do connive at or entertain

"any of the said suspected persons, and do not discover the same as aforesaid, they shall be proceeded against as abettors and confederates with them."

A few weeks after Governor Cranston had written to the Board of Trade, Mr. Edmund Randolph addressed the Board, on Rhode Island affairs, from Boston. He says that not long before he came to Rhode Island, "eight Pirates came from Fisher's Island with a great deal of money and East India commodities, which they brought in their brigantine from Madagascar, now lying in New York. That six of these men escaped to Boston, with their goods and money; but that Robert Munday and George Cutler were seized, and about £1,500 taken from them, which money was retained by the Governor" [Easton.] That they were put in prison, and, soon after, by the Governor's order, admitted to bail, one of the Governor's uncles, Gresham Clarke, being their security. Randolph further asserts that these men made their escape, "leaving their money to be shared by the Governor and his two uncles, who have been very great gainers by the Pirates who have visited Rhode Island; and that three or four vessels have been fitted out here for the Red Sea." He also asserts that several officers of the Government have enriched themselves by countenancing Pirates; and that the Deputy-governor, John Greene, had granted a Commission to one of the Pirates, without any security given by the Master. In a fortnight, Randolph says, he has been informed that the Governor of Rhode Island intends to appoint a Court for the trial of Munday and Cutler and, if no one appears to prosecute them, to acquit them and deliver them their money.

Governor Easton, in a declaration, states that John Greene of Warwick, while Deputy-governor, gave a Commission to John Bankes, a Privateer, who had come into Newport with Thomas Tew, as he, Easton, had refused them a Commission "to go out on any such designs as they went upon."

The Board of Trade was not satisfied with the explanations made by the Governor and General Assembly of Rhode Island, and addressed them the following Dispatch, in reply:

*"To the Honorable the Governor and Company
"of His Majesty's Colony of Rhode Island, in
"America:*

"GENTLEMEN—We have received a letter from you, dated the 8th of May last, in answer to what we writ you the 9th of February, 1696-7, upon which we cannot but observe the long interval between the date of our said letter and your answer; especially knowing certainly by the receipt of one of your officers, that our said letter

"did lay some months unanswered in your hands.

"The subject of your letter is principally in vindication of your conduct, in relation to Pirates and Pirates; for which end you send us copies of an Act and Proclamation made by that Government, about these matters, and further seem to say that the Colony of Rhode Island was never concerned in countenancing any such persons or things. And upon the naming of William Mays, as a person said to have been guilty of Piracy, you answer, that he had his clearings from your Custom House, to go on a trading voyage to Madagascar, with a lawful Commission to fight against the French, his Majesty's enemies.

"All this is very well, and therefore, in order to your more full and perfect vindication from the aspersions that have been, and are still, cast upon that Colony and Government, our Commission obliging us to inquire into the true circumstances of these matters throughout all his Majesty's Plantations, and you offering the instance of William Mays's Commission as a proof of the legality of your proceedings, we are very desirous to see the copies of all such like private Commissions which have been granted at any time, during the late War, by the Governor or Deputy-governor of that Colony, to any person whatsoever; as also copies of the bonds given by all such Privateers, upon their receiving their respective Commissions. And we accordingly require you, forthwith, upon the receipt hereof, to send on true and authentic copies of all the said Commissions and Bonds.

"You write also, in your foresaid letter, that you had seized two persons and their money (by name Robert Munday and George Cutler), who denied, upon examination, that they had been any further than Madagascar; and that you intended to bring them to a trial, and would then give us an account. We wish you had seized also the other six of their comrades, who were under the same suspicion, and the East India goods and the money that they had with them. But, however, since these two are in custody, and you promise to give us a particular account, we desire and require you to do it accordingly. That is to say: that you send us, without delay, authentic copies of all the proceedings relating unto them, from first to last, viz: their examinations, imprisonment without bail or mainprize, according to the tenor of your forementioned Act; or, if they were admitted to bail, copies of the evidence upon which that was allowed, and of the security given for their appearance, together with a full account of their trial and sentence, and of the circumstances, and persons, and things, that relate to this matter.

"Your full and explicit answer to these things, will tend much to your justification, and we

"therefore expect you will dispatch it with all possible diligence. In the mean time, bid you heartily farewell.

"J. BRIDGEWATER,

"PH. MEADOWS.

"JNO. POLLEXFEN.

"ABR. HILL.

"WHITEHALL, October the 25th, 1698."

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

XIV.—UNPUBLISHED PAPERS, FROM VARIOUS SOURCES.

1.—Governor Clinton to Major Newbank.*

FORT RENSELAER 11 O'clock 20th October.

SIR,

It is proposed to send a small Party across the Country to destroy the Enemys Boats which we are well informed are sunk at this End of Onondaga Lake. I think you told me that you was well acquainted with the nearest and best Route to that Place and that you would be willing to conduct a Party for that Purpose. I therefore wish you to wait on Gen^l Renselaer & Col^l Du Bois with the Bearer Major Woolsey & confer on this subject that a proper Party may be despatched without loss of time for this service.

I am your most obed^t serv^t

GEO CLINTON.

Maj^r NEWBANK.

2.—General Robert Howe to Governor Clinton.

WEST POINT, 8 June, 1781.

DEAR SIR,

Capt. Stephens has applied to me for a Flag to go down to New Rochelle. As I have made it a Rule not to give this Permission to the Citizens of the State without their having the approbation of Civil Authority, I have referred him to your Excellency, & in order to save him the trouble of coming to me again have taken the Liberty to enclose you a Letter to the Officer Commanding on the Lines, to grant him a Flag, which your Excellency will please deliver to the Captain or suppress as He has, or has not your approbation.

I have the Honor to be

with the greatest Respect & Regard

Dear Sir

Your Excellencys

most obedient Servant

ROBERT HOWE.

3.—General Gates to Governor Clinton.

HEAD QUARTERS, PEEKSKILL, June 29, 1778.

9 O'clock P.M.

SIR,

Inclosed I have the Honor of transmitting to

* From No. 1, to No. 10, are from originals belonging to Charles I. Bushnell, Esq., of New York City.

your Excellency a Copy of a Letter I rec^d this afternoon from General Washington.

I should be extremely happy to see your Excellency, with all the Force you can collect, as soon as circumstances will permit.

At two O'clock in the morning, I shall march, with the Troops at this Post, for the White Plains.

I beg your Excellency will acquaint Judge Jay, in answer to his Letter which I, this moment received, that the present situation of the Army puts it out of my Power to inform Miss Bayard exactly of the Time, she and her Brother can be permitted to go to New York—she may however rest satisfied that this Indulgence will be granted them, as soon as it can be done consistent with the Good of the service.

I am Sir,

Your most obedient

Humble Servant

HORATIO GATES.

His Excellency

Governor CLINTON.

4.—Colonel Marinus Willett to Governor Clinton.

ALBANY 16th June 1783.

SIR,

Mr. Mather Patau a Gentleman who left Canada about the time our army retreated from that Province and has since served several Campaigns as a Subaltern officer in our army is desirous of going to Canada on business for himself. He has requested me to apply to your Excellency for a pass for that purpose. Should there be no Impropriety in Gratifying Mr. Patau, I would wish to be furnished with a pass for him from your Excellency.

I have the honor to be your Excellencies most obedient and humble Serv^t

M. WILLETT.

His Excellency

Governor CLINTON.

[Addressed:]

Public Service.

His Excellency Governor CLINTON,
favoured by Poughkeepsie,
Jeremiah N. Renselaer, Esq.

5.—From Governor Edmund Randolph to Governor George Clinton.

RICHMOND December 1, 1786.

SIR

I feel a peculiar satisfaction in forwarding to your Excellency the inclosed Act of Legislature, As it breathes a spirit truly federal and contains

an effort to support our general Government which is now reduced to the most awful crisis, permit me to solicit your Excellency's cooperation at this trying moment.

I have the honor to be

Your Excellency's

most Obed^t Hble Serv^t

EDM^d RANDOLPH.

6.—From General Heath to Governor George Clinton.

HEADQUARTERS HIGHLANDS,

November 29th, 1781.

SIR,

Dick, a negro man belonging to John Hunt of Frog's-neck and Cats, belonging to Gideon Palmer, a refugee officer, left their masters on Saturday last, and have come here, as they say, because they were called upon to carry arms and do military duty. They are forwarded to your Excellency to be disposed of as you may think proper.

I have the honor to be

with the highest respect-

Your Excellency's

most obedient servant,

W. HEATH.

P.S.

Inclosed is a letter addressed to Mr Terbos, brought up by the flag. captain Jackson, who carried down Mrs Colden and family. By this letter it seems Terbos has been in New York, but when I do not know.

W. H.

His Excellency

Governor CLINTON.

[Addressed:]

on public service

His Excellency

Governor CLINTON

W. HEATH.

Poughkeepsie

7.—From Aaron Burr to G. A. Shufeldt.

I.

On Board the Steam Boat *Kent* bound to Albany. 7 Aug. 1825.

I am greatly obliged to you, MY DEAR SIR, for your punctual attention to my request respecting my Ward Miss Eden. Your letter of the 28th July was duly received and I have delayed for a whole Week my Journey northward in the hope of receiving the promised communication from your Reverend Friend—but nothing has yet been heard from him & I am obliged to be at Utica on Tuesday the 9th & propose to remain.

there until the tuesday following (16th) Please to address a line to me at that place advising me of the final determination of the holy man. The young Lady is with me & I shall not seek any other establishment for her until your answer or that of the Rev^d Dr shall be received.

If I can be useful to you at Utica, you may command me.

Very respectfully

Y^r ob^t S^t

A. BURR.

GEORGE A. SHUFELDT, Esq.

II.

UTICA 17 Aug. 1825.

DR. SIR,

Having heard nothing from you, since our interview at Albany, respecting the disposition of your rev^d friend concerning my Ward Miss Eden, I take the liberty of troubling you Again, merely to say, that I propose to leave this place tomorrow morning for Albany—there to remain till the morning of tuesday the 23^d, before which time I shall hope to receive from you a line addressed to me at Albany advising me of the determination of the holy man.

The Court have gone *through* the Calendar!—every cause having been called & either argued, submitted, defaulted, or passed, no one answering on either side.

Very respectfully

Y^r Ob^t S^t

A. BURR.

GEO. A. SHUFELDT, Esq.

III.

1 Sep. 1825.

DR. SIR,

I write from on board a Steam Boat on my way to Albany merely to say that I shall remain there till Sunday when, if nothing shall be heard from Dr P. it is my intention to return with Miss Eden to New York.

With many thanks for the very kind interest which you have taken in this negociation.

I am respectfully

Y^r ob^t S^t

A. BURR.

GEO. A. SHUFELDT, Esq.

[Addressed:]

GEO. A. SHUFELDT, Esq.

Red Hook.

8.—From Gouverneur Morris.

FISHKILL, 6th Jan^y 1777.

DEAR GEN^L

Livingston at the Request of a number of members hath written you their thanks for your agreeable Intelligence. We intend publishing an

accurate account of the various successes since crossing the Delaware in our Retreat and therefore wish you would send us all the Intelligence in your Power for that Purpose. But let us take Care to say nothing by authority but what is strictly true. I wish to God Heath was over a great stroke might be struck in Conjunction with Maxwell and yourself.

I am my Friend

most respectfully yours

GOUV^R MORRIS.

9.—From Robert Morris to Richard Varick.

DE COL^L

I should have faulted you for quitting the profession on any account after you was fairly in it, had I not heard that you was personally urged to your present station by so great & good a man as the General. It will nevertheless be injurious to you: I speak from experience. But if you have leisure an hour in the day for professional attention you will hold your ground.

The reason of my present interruption is, that a young Gentⁿ of my acquaintance originally from New York, and till very lately attached to the army has heard you have a vacant birth in your office, which he is informed will be removed to head quarters when it is convenient to you. If this information is true, he would wish to occupy it with your approbation, provided the terms & emoluments are such as will be proper for him & equal to his support. To be informed in these particulars he requested me to write to you.

From the acquaintance I have with him I believe him to be adequate and that you will not disapprove him, but he is not willing I should mention his name for the present.

Your answer by the Post will confer a favor on Dr. Sir

Your Affectionate Friend &

very humble servant,

ROBT MORRIS.

MORRISTOWN, Nov^r 8th 1781.

COL^L VARICK.

Much of my time is engaged in business but it is not very productive.

[Addressed:]

Lieu^t Col^L RICHARD VARICK

Pokiepsie

10.—From General Schuyler to Governor Clinton.

SARATOGA July 17th 1786.

DEAR SIR,

I am informed that Mr Hopkins has been

much imposed upon by Mr Sherwood in forming the list that was made for militia officers in Washington County—That except such as were recommended by Colo. McCracken a majority of the others are persons who had joined Genl Burgoyne's Army—That old and Good Officers willing to serve have been neglected—that petitions are preparing on this subject to the council of appointment. Altho It is probable that the whole of this account is not founded. Yet I fear there is so much truth in it as to Justify a wish that the secretary should not send up the Commissions to those already appointed until the business can be investigated for which purpose I shall write to Mr. Hopkins and advise him of this communication. I have the honor to be with Great respect

Your Excellencies

most Obedient Servant

PH. SCHUYLER.

His Ex : Governor CLINTON, &c &c

[Addressed :]

To the Excellency

GEORGE CLINTON, Esq.

Governor of the State of

New York &c &c

NEW YORK.

11.—*Lund Washington to General Washington.**

MOUNT VERNON May 15th 1782

DR SIR

In my Last weeks Letter I omitid a pretty considerable charge Agust Mr Custis Decs^d.—it is as follows

1775 Febr ^y 2. To mak ^s a suit of	
Pompadore Cloaths.....	£1. 2. 6
May 18—To mak ^s a Coat.....	10. -
June 17—To mak ^s a Waistcoat & p ^r	
of Breeches.....	10. -
Altering a Coat.....	2. 6
Aug ^t 17 mak ^s 2 p ^r of Breeches for	
you.....	8. -
Make ^s a Suit for self.....	1 - -
Make ^s 2 waistcoats & p ^r of	
Breeches.....	15. -

4. 8. -

To 3 Hh^ds of Jamaica Rum imported in the Brig: *Farmer* Captⁿ Curtis in 1774—contain^s 120, 118, and 117½ Gallons—355½@4s.....

71. 12. - he also had a Case of Claret from here, which was to be repaid, one of those Sent you by Frazier from France.—I fear the Bay Horse you left here (the one sent by Posey) will never get over a Complaint he labours under— It is a

* From the original in the possession of J. A. Russell, Esq., of New York City.

swelling of the Bones in his head nothing that I can do appears to be of any advantage to him, two Horses have Died here with the same Complaint within six months, the first was a horse of my own—the other was a young Horse of the Dewy Breed belonging to you which we workd in the waggon, they are first taken with what we suppose the distemper common of late years to Horses, but nothing ever Runs from their heads, the Bones below the Eyes swells and continues to do it for two Months or more before the Horse Dies, during which time he never loses his Appetite but constantly eats as much as if nothing was the matter with him—he certainly suffers much pain he walks about with much caution and seldom steps over any thing a foot from the ground—he loses flesh gradually until he Dies your Horse does not grow better therefore I fear he will grow worse.—nothing yet fix^d between Dulany and me respect^s the Land, I believe the sure way is to purchase Dows for I believe it is the women that keeps Dulany from settling the exchange—I suppose Mr French and her friends want too many Acres in exchange for their Land as they hold—I expect Dulany will determine before next whether they will take Dows Land or not—I wrote yesterday to Dulany to say whether he woud or not if not I hoped he woud comply with his promise to you and abide by the Value that shoud be fixd by Little & Triplett, for I had not a doubt that but Dows Land woud be adjudged to be worth much more than his—and that it woud be to your Interest to stand to their determination in preference to giving Dows for his.—If the Reports now among us be true, I hope peace is not far distant. God grant us peace on good terms— Betsy joins me in every good wish for Mr Washington & yourself—Am Dr Sir

Your affectionate Hbl : Servt

LUND WASHINGTON.

12.—*Benjamin Franklin to his Son-in-law, Richard Bache.**

PASSY, June 27, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

I have just received yours of May 2, with the Newspapers which you sent by M. Mease. He sent them up from the *L'Orient*, not coming to Paris himself. I have desired that you might send me the German Newspapers, but I suppose the Letters did not get to hand. Pray take them in and send them by Duplicates. They will much oblige some of my friends among the foreign ministers. I wish also to have some

* From the original in the possession of William Duane, Esq.

Graffs of the Newtown Pippin, when it is seasonable to cut them. They may be sent in a Tin Case solder'd up tight. When I was last in Philadelphia, Mr. Miller printed a little Book, containing a Number of Phrases of the Delaware Indian Language. I want a Copy of that. Send me by two or three different Ships that I may be more sure of receiving them.

You have never given me a particular account of the State in which you found my Papers that were entrusted to the care of Mr. Galloway. There were among them 8 Volumes of Manuscript Collections concerning Agriculture, Manufactures, Commerce, &c which I much valued. They cost me £60 sterling. There were also all the Books of my Letters containing my publick and private Correspondence during my Residence in England, I wish to know whether these are left or taken away. I shall show every Civility in my Power to the persons you recommend, particularly Messrs Fox and Foulk. If the Regiment of deux Ponts, or its Col. & Lieut Colonel should come into your Parts, I recommend earnestly those two Gentlemen to your best Services. They are sons of a Lady my very dear Friend,—Madame la Comtesse de Forback, Dowager of the late Prince de deux ponts, whom I formerly recommended to you. I have wrote all about Ben in my Letter to Sally. We continue well, & I am ever

Your affectionate father

B. FRANKLIN.

XV.—INDIAN NAMES IN VIRGINIA.

By HON. J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL, PRESIDENT
OF THE CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The language of the Powhatans was nearly the same as that of the tribes of southern New England. Judging from the specimens given by Captain John Smith and from a few others, gleaned from early accounts of the Colony of Virginia, the Powhatan and the Massachusetts did not differ more from each other than either differed from the Delaware. Some of the local names which have been preserved show the resemblance, and also indicate some of the differences, between the northern and southern languages.

The POWHATANS and their "great Emperor" derived their name, Smith informs us, from a place near "the Falls" in James River, where is now the City of Richmond. "*Powhat-hanne*," or "*pau't-hanne*," denotes "falls in a stream." The first part of the name is found in the Massachusetts and Narragansett "*Pawtuck*" (*pau't-tuk*) "falls in a tidal river,"—whence the name of *Pawtucket*, "at the falls," etc., and its diminutive, *Pawtuxet*, "at the little falls:" and again, in the Chippeway name of the Saut Ste. Marie, "*paw-*

"*ateeg*," and with the place-termination, "*paw-ating*," "at the falls." The Algonkin name for Indians who lived near the Saut (among whom were reckoned the Chippeways) was "*Pawitagou-ek*," or "*Pawichtigou-ek*" "Saut-eurs," or "people of the Falls."

WEROWOCOMOCO, on the North side of the river "Pamaunkee" (*York*), was one of the residences of Powhatan, and the place to which Captain John Smith was carried as a prisoner. The name means, "the *werowance* house," or house "of the Chief," who was called "*werowance*" or "*weroanse*," by the Powhatans, and "*Sachem*" by the northern Algonkin tribes of New England. "*Werowco-comoco*" is the equivalent of the Narragansett, "*sachimma-comock*," "a Prince's house" (ROGER WILLIAMS), and Massachusetts, "*sachimo-comaco*," "for so they call the Sachem's place, though they call an ordinary house "*witeo*" (E. WINSLOW, in *Good News from N. England*). On Smith's Map of Virginia, several names which have this termination, "*comoco*" "house," or rather, "enclosure," are marked as "King's-houses:" "*Wighco-comaco*," South of the Potomac, near its mouth; another, "*Wighco-comoco*," on a river of the same name, East of Chesapeake-bay—now Wicomico, in Maryland—called in Smith's *Generall Historie*, p. 55, "*Tants*" [for "*Tanks*," "little"] "*Wighcocomoco*;" "*Secowocomoco*," North of the Potomac; "*Macocomoco*," on the Patuxent. "The *Machacomoco*," i. e. "great house" (Massachusetts, "*Mashe-komuk*" or "*comaco*") is explained in the margin of the *Generall Historie*, p. 125, as "the Church and Store-house" of an Indian town: and Beverly informs us that the "great Council" of the tribe was called by the same name, from its place of meeting.

The name of the island and the river ROANOKE appears to have been taken from "*Roenoke*" or "*Rawrenock*" (as Captain John Smith wrote it), the common shell-money of the Indians, corresponding to the white ("*wompom*") "*peag*" of the northern tribes. Beverly describes this sort of "*peag*," as "made of the cockle-shells, broken into small bits with rough edges, drilled through in the same manner as beads." Its name was given to the island for the same reason, probably, that the Indians of New Netherland and part of New England called Long Island "*Sewan-hacky*,"—because it supplied the material for the manufacture of "*sewan*," or bead-money.

A word here, as to the meaning of the several names of shell-money, which were used, indiscriminately, by the English and Dutch. "*Peag*" was the generic name, without regard to color or quality. "*Wompompeag*" or "*wompom*" was the white ("*wompi*") or inferior sort of "*peag*." The shell-beads, white and purple,

were either *strung*, or passed from hand to hand *loose* ("seirauūn"), by count. The English very generally gave to all "*peag*" the name of the *white*, calling it "*wompom*;" the Dutch called all bead-money by the name of the *unstrung* or loose beads, "*seiran*" or "*zeerand*."

CHESAPEAKE,—written Chesapeack, Chesupioa, Chissapiacke, etc.,—is the equivalent of the Massachusetts "*k'che-scippog*," Abnaki "*k'tsi-sou-békon*," "great salt-water," "great sea," or "bay." The prefix frequently loses its initial *k*, in every Algonkin dialect. Heckewelder's etymologies are so seldom correct that he ought to receive due credit for a nearly accurate translation of this name, which he writes "*tschischurapéke*," or, more fully "*ktschischurapéeki*," from "*kitschi-schurapeek*," "a superior or greater saltish bay."

ACCOMAC ("ACCOWMACK," on Smith's Map) is "the other-side place," or "place on the other side of the water," that is, on the opposite side of Chesapeake-bay to that on which the English were seated. Massachusetts, "*ogkomé*" or "*a kaciné*," Abnaki "*agammioué*," and Chippewa, "*agamé*" mean, "on the other side," "beyond." The Narragansetts called England "*acarmen-auke*," "other-side land." The site of Plymouth, Massachusetts, is marked on Captain John Smith's Map of New England as "*Accomack*." If it ever received this name, it must have been given, as in Virginia, not by Indians of the place, but by those who lived "on the other side" of Plymouth-bay.

The "CHAWONS" or "CHAWWONOCKS,"—whose country was the southern limit of Smith's Map of Virginia,—were "the Southrons," or "south-land people." Their seat, on what is now Chowan-river, was "*chowan-ohke*;" the Massachusetts "*sowan-ohke*," (used by Eliot for "the South Country," *Gen.* xxiv. 62), Narragansett, "*sowdénaki*," and Chippewa, "*o shárun-ong*," "at the South." The French name of the *Chawanons* or *Ouchawonag*, a tribe of the "Nation du Feu," or Mascoutins, and that of the *Shawanoes*, *Shawnoes* or *Shawnees*, are equivalents of Smith's "Chawons."

Not far West of the "Chawons," on Smith's Map, was the country of the "Mangoes." Both these tribes are supposed to have been Iroquois,—the same known to us, respectively, as the *Nottoways* and *Tutelos*. The name "*Mangoes*" suggests that which the more northern Algonkin nations gave the Iroquois; "*Mingos*," or "*Maquas*," of the Delawares (corrupted to "*Mingos*"); "*Miponak*" of the Abnakis; "*Mau-quáwog*" of the Massachusetts and Narragansetts, which Roger Williams translates by "man-nibals, or man-eaters,"—whence the English name, "*Mohawks*."

Powhatan told Captain Smith of "a mighty na-

"tion" called "POCOUGHTAONACK," who were the enemies of the tribes on the Potomac; "a fierce nation, that did eat men!" Strachey wrote the name, "*Bocooturwicanauks*." There can be little doubt that these are forms of the Massachusetts, "*paguateáenuog*," "destroyers." Another "fierce nation," of Mohican stock,—the terror of southern New England, until it was destroyed by the English, in 1637,—was similarly designated by the neighboring tribes, as "*Paguatooog*" or "*Pequutloog*," "destroyers," corrupted by the English to "*Pequots*."

"WEANOCK," "WYANOKE," or "WYNAUK," a low meadow-point, on the Powhatan (*James*) river, about twenty miles above Jamestown, was "the going-around place," or place about which the river "wound itself." Eliot would have written this name "*waén-ohke*" or "*weenohke*"—from "*waénu*," "going around," "winding about," and "*ohke*," "place." By doubling the first syllable, the word became intensive or frequentative. We find this form in the Abnaki "*waénuiré*," "*tout à l'entour*," "all about," and in the Chippeway name of the site of Detroit, "*Wáweatun*" or "*Warciiátun*;" with place-termination, "*Wáweatun-ong*," "at the place of going-round, or winding about,"—"indicating," as some suppose "the circuitous approach to the Indian village."

The root, "*waén*" or "*ween*," "winding-about," is found in many local names in New England.

Heckewelder gave a curious translation of "TUCKAHOE," the name of several Creeks in Virginia, Maryland, and New Jersey: "*Tucká-choe*;" "deer are shy, difficult to come at." (*Transactions American Philosophical Society*, iv. 378). "*Tuckahoe*" was a generic name of esculent "corms" and bulbous roots. It means, literally, "something round" or "globular." The Massachusetts and Delaware form is "*ptukqui*"; the Cree, "*pitikayoo*," "it is rounded." Smith writes the Indian name of the roots used for food, "*Tockawhoughé*" and "*Tockahogh*" (*Generall Historie*, 26, 86). The species most common in Virginia was, probably, the Golden Club or Floating Arum (*Orontium aquaticum*).

One or other kind of "Tuckahoe" has given a name to various localities where it was formerly abundant, and, especially, to water-courses. It is doubtful, however, whether the vegetable production found in the Middle and Southern States, called "Virginia Truffle" and, sometimes, "Tuckahoe" and "Indian Bread" (*Sclerotium giganteum*?) was ever used for food. See Kalm's *Travels*, by Forster, i. 225.

J. H. TRUMBULL.

HARTFORD, CONN.

XVI.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.]

GENERAL JOHN S. MOSBY'S DEFENCE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN :

SIR : I am really amused at the piece in your valuable paper from "A UNION SOLDIER," for it shows how hard-pressed my enemies are for something to say against me, when they can find nothing worse than the stuff he has had published.

I will notice them in their order :

First : The capture of the train, in October, 1864, on the road between Harper's Ferry and Martinsburg, Va.

This was on a military road, and used by the Federal Army, which was then in the Shenandoah-valley, for transporting troops and supplies. I was in command of about three hundred men, and was charged with the duty of impeding the advance of the Federal Army, by intercepting their communications. If I opposed Sheridan in front, my small force would count for nothing ; but, by throwing it in his rear and on his communications, it became a tremendous power, because three hundred men, under a skilful commander, operating in the rear of an Army, are equivalent to ten thousand in front. It was just as legitimate for me to attack Sheridan, in his rear, as for Early, to attack him in front; and Sheridan, in his Report to the Committee on the Conduct of the War, has testified to the efficiency of my command, for he says that, after the defeat of Early, he could have gone on to Richmond, but that he had to detail two-thirds of his force to guard his communications against my attack.

The train I captured was on the way to supply Sheridan's Army. It had on it, besides a large number of officers and soldiers, a considerable number of passengers. Among the officers were two Paymasters, with one hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars, going to pay off Sheridan's troops. Of course, it was just as legitimate War to capture and destroy this train, as to kill or capture Sheridan and his men. I penetrated far in rear of the Federal Army, and captured this train, within a mile of a large camp, and burned it. The object of my command was not so much to capture trains as to compel Sheridan to detach heavily from his front to guard his rear. If Mrs. Tolles and the other passengers on this train "were turned out, destitute and unprotected," as this "UNION SOLDIER" avers, it was Sheridan's fault, and not mine; for he ought to have had it properly guarded.

Again : These female passengers only suffered a little inconvenience—no violence was offered them—and if they chose to subject themselves to the hazard of riding on a military railroad, they had nobody to blame but themselves; otherwise, Sheridan might have guarded all his trains by putting a few females on board. He might as well have put women in front of his line of battle, to keep us from shooting at the men. I was, myself, present when this train was captured; and there is no incident of my military life to which I refer with more pride and pleasure. If it was right for Sheridan to capture railroad trains, why shouldn't I do it? Sherman justified the burning of the city of Atlanta; and, in reply to Hood's complaint, said that "War meant cruelty." Is there more wrong in burning a train of cars and subjecting a few passengers to a temporary inconvenience, than in the destruction of a whole city and turning a whole population out of doors?

Second Charge : He says : "At the same time, Colonel Tolles, General Sheridan's Quartermaster, was shot by this same outlaw, at "Cedar-creek," etc.

Now, a small detachment of my command met Colonel Tolles, with a small detachment of Cavalry, near Newtown, on the Valley-turnpike. Tolles and his party retreated and were pursued by my men; Tolles, while running, was *shot in the back*. All right: he took the chances of escape in preference to surrender. I suppose, if Colonel Tolles could have had the opportunity, he would have shot me. That is what men go to war for; and I can't see how there is any greater crime in killing Colonel Tolles, in the rear of Sheridan than in his front.

Third Point : "This outlaw hanged five "stragglers at Berryville."

In September, 1864, General Custer captured and hanged seven of my men, in the streets of Front Royal, Virginia. Immediately on hearing of this, having a lot of thirty prisoners on hand, I made them draw lots for seven to be hanged as a measure of retaliation to protect my men. These men were hanged on the Valley-pike, along which Sheridan's troops travelled, every day, as a warning of what they might expect, if any more of my men were hanged. At the same time, I wrote a letter to General Sheridan, which was published in the newspapers of the time and can be found in the Memoir of my command, by Scott, avowing my responsibility for the act, and stating my reasons for it. Sheridan acknowledged the justice of the deed, by ordering my men to be treated with the humanities of War. I have never been called in

question for this act, although I assumed all the responsibility for it.

The "UNION SOLDIER" pretends that these "exploits of the chivalric Mosby" have never been given to the world. If he will only consult the Memoir of my command, by Scott, he will see that the death of Colonel Tolles, the capture of the train and the incidents connected with it, and the hanging of the prisoners, are all spoken of. They were all legitimate acts of War. I think it high time for a people who glory in "Sherman's march from the 'mountains to the sea,' in which he made a desert of the country that lay in his track—who received, with huzzas, Sheridan's triumphant Despatch "that he had burned three thousand 'barns and mills, and made the Valley of Virginia so desolate that a crow could not fly 'over it without carrying his rations,'"—to cease objecting that anybody did not observe the rules of mitigated War.

Very truly,

JNO. S. MOSBY.

WARRENTON, NOV. 6. [1862.]

A REMARKABLE FAMILY.—The Rev. R. H. Morrison, D.D., of Lincoln-county, who was the first President and, more than any other man, the father of Davidson College, raised a family of six daughters and four sons. His eldest daughter is the wife of General D. H. Hill; his eldest son, William W. Morrison, now dead, was a Major in the Confederate service; his second daughter, Mrs. James P. Irwin, of Charlotte, is a writer of some celebrity, and is also the inventor of an improved mode of architecture; his third daughter is the widow of Stonewall Jackson; his fourth, now dead, was the wife of General Rufus Barringer; his fifth is the wife of Colonel A. C. Avery, of Burke; and his youngest has recently been married to Colonel J. E. Brown, of Mecklenburg. His two sons, J. G. and R. H. Morrison, Jr., now in California, were both Captains in the late War, and saw hard service, one of them losing a limb; and his youngest son, Alfred J. Morrison, graduated at Davidson College, last June, with the first honors of that institution, and will enter the legal profession, in North Carolina.

The recent marriage of Dr. Morrison's youngest daughter has suggested these facts; and it is hoped that we do not transcend the bounds of propriety in publishing them. "The 'seed of the righteous shall be established.'"—*North Carolina Presbyterian*.

DR. HOPKINS, THE HOPKINSIAN.—In 1793,

Doctor Samuel Hopkins, of Newport, Rhode Island, published his *System of Doctrines*, in two octavo volumes. It was issued by subscription; and among the eighteen columns of subscribers' names—no less than twenty-eight in South Carolina—are found those of seventeen "free blacks," of Newport and Providence—such as Prince Amy, Mrs. Wishee Buckminster, Congo Jenkins, Solmar Nulia, Zingo Stevens, Mrs. Duchess Quamine, Nimble Nightingale, and Bristol Yamma.—*Examiner and Chronicle*.

GENERAL ROSECRANS ON THE BATTLE OF STONE-RIVER.—The following letter appears in the *San Francisco Alta*, of September 19:

"It seems desirable that the statements detracting from the true lustre of the Nation's achievements, in the late 'little unpleasantness,' should not be accounted as history. Swinton, in his *Twelve Decisive Battles*, says the Rebels had 'about thirty-five thousand men at the 'Battle of Stone-river.'"

"*First*: I know that we took prisoners from one hundred and ninety-two Regiments of Infantry, twelve Battalions of Sharpshooters, twenty-three Batteries of Artillery, twenty-nine Regiments of Cavalry, and twenty-four Cavalry commands, less than Regiments. By any reasonable computation of the strength of these organizations, can they aggregate only thirty-five thousand men? Try it.

"*Second*: General Bragg's official Report, published in the newspapers, gives his loss in that battle at fourteen thousand, seven hundred men, *hors du combat*. If he lost as large a percentage as we did—say twenty per cent. of his command—he must have had five times fourteen thousand, seven hundred, or seventy-three thousand, five hundred men.

"*Third*: General Bragg's official Map of that battle represents his line considerably overlapping ours, on both flanks; and yet he gives us all the ground we really occupied, and about one Division more. We had forty-three thousand men in that battle.

"Is it creditable that any General, much less General Bragg, would have attempted to cover all our line, the imaginary overplus, and several hundred yards beyond, on each flank, with thirty-five thousand men? Even a military Report would fail to make me believe it.

"My official Report estimates the Rebel force at about sixty-two thousand.

"Please call public attention to the foregoing in your journal, and oblige your friend,

"W. S. ROSECRANS."

THE BAPTISTS OF MAINE.—We have a history. In 1681, several persons were baptized in Kittery, and united with the Baptist-church in Boston, which was nearest to them. One of their members, William Screven, was licensed, by the Boston-church, "to exercise his gifts at Kittery, or elsewhere, as the providence of God may cast him."

As soon as the design of these few Baptists was known in town, Mr. Woodbridge, the Congregational Minister, and Mr. Huche, the Magistrate, summoned those who had attended the Boston meeting, and threatened to fine them five shillings each, for every such offence in the future. The same year, the General Court placed Mr. Screven under bonds for good behavior, that is, not to hold meetings; but not being careful to comply with these tyrannical requirements, he was fined ten pounds. In 1682, a Church was organized, whose history is soon told. Persecuted by Church and State authorities, it soon disbanded, and most of its members removed to other localities.

It was eighty-five years after the Church at Kittery was scattered, before any further attempt was made to gather another. Doctor Smith, of Haverhill, Massachusetts, accompanied by one or two of his members, visited Maine. Their missionary labors were blessed; and, as a result, a Baptist-church was organized at Berwick, in 1768, which is now the oldest in the State, and which held its Centennial Anniversary last year. The early members suffered greatly from the "Standing Order." Some of them were imprisoned, whose property was seized and sold for Parish taxes.

From this time, Baptist sentiments prevailed; and Churches were organized, which united in forming the New Hampshire Association, in 1785.

At the present time, we have thirteen Associations, two hundred and sixty-nine Churches, one hundred and forty-three Pastors; one hundred and eighty-two ordained Ministers, and nineteen thousand, eight hundred, and thirty-three members, as reported in 1868—returns for present year not yet published:—Sabbath-school teachers, one thousand, eight hundred, and ninety-eight; scholars, seventeen thousand, and ten; contributions, about four thousand dollars each to Foreign and Domestic Missions, and several thousand to other objects.—*Examiner*.

A QUAIN PRESCRIPTION.—Doctor Upham, at a recent meeting of the Massachusetts Medical Society, read the subjoined old-fashioned prescription, sent by a famous London physician to John Winthrop, Governor of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, A. D. 1643. It is called

a "*Remedie against fevers, poysons, small-pox, the plague, and such like*": "R. In y^e month "of March take Toades, as many as you will, "alive; putt them into an earthen pott; cover "with a broad tyle; then overwhelm y^e pott, "so y^e bottom may be uppermost; putt char- "coales round about it, and in y^e open ayre, "not in an house. Sett it on fire; when cold "take out y^e toades and in iron mortar pound "them well, and *tearce* them"—[*whatever that may be*]"—a black powder will result. Of this, "you may give a dragme inwardly in any affec- "tion. For prevention, $\frac{1}{2}$ a dragme will suffice. "Moderate y^e dose according to y^e strength "and constitution of y^e partie." *College Review*.

ROBERT SANDEMAN, founder of the sect who took from him the name of Sandemanians, was a native of Perth, in Scotland, where he was born, 1723. He was educated at the University of Edinburgh; and having married a daughter of the Reverend John Glass, became a follower of his opinions, and an Elder in one of his Churches.

The subject of controversy which led to the formation of this party was a particular view of the nature of Justifying Faith; but they differ also from other communions, in the matter of discipline and church-fellowship, especially in the administration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Their fundamental tenets were Calvinistic.

Whatever subjects may have engrossed the general attention, there never has been a period when the people of Boston lost their interest in those of a religious nature. The letters of Robert Sandeman to Mr. Hervey had excited a desire in some people, to see the former in this quarter of the world. Pressing solicitations were sent to him, from different parts of New England, by letter from some of the Clergy as well as of the laity; and he arrived in Boston, on the eighteenth of October, 1764, in the ship *George and James*, Captain Montgomery, from Glasgow. On the next Sabbath, he conducted religious service, at Masons' Hall.

Those who first associated with him, in Boston, were Edward Foster, Alford Butler, and George Ogilvie, with their respective wives and families; and, very soon after, Edward King, Henry Capen, Adam Chireau, Ebenezer Allen, Barnabas Allen, Hopestill Capen, Benjamin Davies, Isaac Winslow, Collurn Barrell, Walter Barrell, Mr. Peck, Hannah Robinson, Susannah Davies, Mary Cotton, Mary West, Kerial West, Mrs. Stayner, and some others, of both sexes. Mr. Joseph Howe and Samuel Harris and wife joined the Society, at a later period.

They first met in a large room, at Mr. Fos-

ter's house, in Princee-street, near Hanover; but, as much attention was excited, they removed to the Long Room, at the Green Dragon. They soon built a house at the bottom of a lane leading to the Mill-pond, somewhere between the two Baptist meeting-houses: it is now called Veazie-place. It was erected for the sole purpose of a Meeting-house, by assistance of many friends.

This house was burned in a fire which happened on Sunday afternoon, the fourth of April, 1773, and destroyed a large number of wooden buildings.

The Sandemanian Society afterwards convened at a Mr. Townsend's, in Cross-street. They subsequently built a house, in the rear of Middle, now Hanover-street, where they met till 1824; when the attendance became so thin as to occasion the discontinuance of their meetings. A primary-school was afterwards kept in the same building.

As to church-officers, they always had two Elders (teachers) and Deacons. No Deaconesses are recollected. Daniel Humphries, Esquire, brother to the late Colonel Humphries, was early a Deacon here; but soon removed to Danbury, Connecticut, to officiate as an Elder. Mr. Humphries was afterwards United States District Attorney for New Hampshire, and resided in Portsmouth, and was Elder of a small Society there.

Mr. Sandeman died at Danbury, Connecticut, on the second of April, 1771, aged forty-eight.

Part of their Creed was to keep open house, and help all their brethren that needed assistance.

Hopetill Capen was a dry-goods dealer, in Union-street.

Isaac Winslow was father of Isaac, who was a Long-wharf merchant, thirty or forty years ago.

Samuel Harris was father of the late Isaac Harris.—*Boston Transcript*.

RELICS OF THE SPANISH SETTLEMENT OF FLORIDA.—We learn that the workmen, in overhauling the old fort, at St. Augustine, Florida, discovered several subterranean cells or prisons, each of which contained a long, iron, upright box and a human skeleton in irons. It is supposed these were refractory Spanish soldiers, or perhaps prisoners of war, who were incarcerated in these sweat boxes and left there to die, hundreds of years ago.—*Charleston Courier*, July 31.

SCRAPS.—At the Centennial Celebration of the John-street Church, New York, the Bible

which Philip Embury used in its pulpit was exhibited—a small quarto, black-letter book, dated 1611, in good preservation, generally, but, rebound in light calf.

The impression has gone out that it is a copy of the first edition of our present translation, which appeared in that year; but this is not the case. It is a copy of the Genevan translation.—*Christian Advocate*.

—The Savannah (Georgia) *Republican* publishes a curious document. It is a Grant of the present territory of Georgia, to Sir Robert Montgomery, Baronet, by the Palatine and Lords Proprietors of Carolina, under the name of "The Margravate of Azilia." The Grant is dated the nineteenth of June, 1717, fifteen years before the advent of Oglethorpe.

—Upon a white marble monument, near the street, in Stonington, is the following inscription: "When Rhode Island, by her Legislature, from 1844 to 1850, repudiated her Revolutionary debt, Doctor Richmond removed from that State to this Borough and selected this as his family burial-place, resolving that the remains of himself and family should not be disgraced by being a part of the common earth of a repudiating State."

On the reverse of the monument, is the following: "A trust fund is given to the Town of Stonington, to keep this ground, walls, etc., in good repair, forever. See Town Record."

The Cemetery is triangular in shape, and is cared for, faithfully, by the authorities of the Town.

—In the Boston Town Records of the fourteenth of March, 1653, after the great fire, there is an Order that "Every household shall provide a pole, of about twelve feet long, with a good large swob at the end of it, to reach the rofe of his house to quench fire."

—An engraved fac-simile letter of Martha Washington, among the historical curiosities of the Capitol, does not speak very well for her literary culture—albeit she was one of the most elegant ladies of the Old Dominion. It was written to an intimate friend, during her husband's Presidency, and when New York was the seat of Government. Most of the peculiarities are due, it is true, to old-fashioned spelling and customs:

"NEW-YORK, October the 22d, 1789.

"MY DEAR FANNY

"I Have by mrs. Sims sent you a watch it is one of the cargo that I have so long mentioned to you, that was expected, I hope is such a one as will please you—it is of the newest fashion, if that has any influence on

"your tast, the chain is of mr. Lears choosing
"and such as mrs. Adams the vice-presidents
"lady and those in the polite circle wear.

"mrs Sims will give you a better account of
"the fashions than I can—I live a very dull life
"hear and know nothing that passes in the
"town—I never goe to any public place—in-
"deed I think I am more like a state prisoner
"than anything else, there is certain bounds
"set for me which I must not depart from—
"and as I cannot doe as I like I am obstinate
"and stay at home a great deal.

"the President set out this day week on a tour
"to the eastward mr Lear and major Jackson
"attended him—my dear children has had
"very bad colds but thank god they are getting
"better my love and good wishes attend you
"and all with you—remember me to mr & mrs
"L Wn how is the poor child—kiss marie I
"send her too little handkersheefs to wipe her
"nose.]

"adue — I am my dear Fanny yours
"most affectionately
"M WASHINGTON"

—The oldest tannery, it is said, in the United States, is located at Bethlehem, in Pennsylvania. It was built by the Moravians, in 1743, and enlarged by them, in 1762. Eleven vats, sunk at that time, are still in use, though they have been repaired on several occasions. The building is of stone, three stories high.

XVII.—NOTES.

ANCIENT BALL-TICKET.—We have copied the following, as a matter of curiosity, from the original, belonging to John W. Hammersly, Esq.Fifth-avenue, New York City. D.

COMMEMORATION BALL.

The HONOR of *Miss E. Hammersly's Company* is requested on FRIDAY EVENING, the 22d of FEBRY at the *City Hotel*, to celebrate the Anniversary of the BIRTH of

GENERAL WASHINGTON.

—MANAGERS.—

JAMES FARQUHAR,	{	1799 {	WILLIAM M. SETON,
JACOB MORTON,			JOHN R. LIVINGSTON,
AQUILA GILES,			WILLIAM ARMSTRONG.

NEW-YORK.

GENERAL GREENE.—The writer lately met with an old volume of Rollin's *Ancient History*, which appears to have once belonged to the celebrated General Greene. On the margin of one of its pages is drawn an index, pointing to the following passage, with the word "*Rhode-Island*" written underneath, in the hand-writing, as it is pre-

sumed, of that illustrious hero. "Here [*Carthage*] "the genius of a State composed of mer-
"chants discovers itself, who know the full val-
"ue of money, but not the merit of soldiers;
"who make a traffic of their blood, as though
"they were goods; and always go to the cheapest
"market. In such a Republic, when an exi-
"gency is once answered, the merit of services
"is no longer remembered."—*The Rhode Island Literary Repository*, i., 607. February, 1815.

NEW YORK CITY.

W. K.

TALLIES.—In London, forty years ago, the ancient Tally was (and possibly still is,) in general use by the Milk-maids: each, bearing two tin-pails suspended from a yoke across her shoulders, gave at every customer's door, a shrill oral notice of her presence. The house-servant came out with a pitcher in one hand and the tally in the other—a smooth and thin piece of wood ten or twelve inches long and two inches wide. For every pint or quart poured into the pitcher, a long or short mark was drawn with red chalk across it.

NEW YORK CITY.

T.

CONVICTS SENT TO AMERICA.

London, October 26. This Morning 118 Felon Convicts were carried from Newgate and put on board a close Lighter, in order to be transported in the *Caesar* to his Majesty's Plantations in America.

Dublin, October 7. Several Criminals indentured themselves yesterday for his Majesty's Plantations in America.—*The New-York Gazette*, February 13. 1732.

Philadelphia, July 26. We hear from Cape May that last week the Bodies of three Men drove ashore there, one of them had good Cloaths on, Gold Buttons in his Shirt sleeves, two Gold Rings on his Finger, a Watch and some pieces of Gold in his Pocket, and Silver Buckles in his Shoes, but was shot thro' the Head, the other two had their Heads cut off. About the same time a Sloop drove on shore about 15 Miles to the Northward of the Cape, but it is not known who she or the Men are. We also hear that a Brigentine sailed up our Bay as far as *Bombay-Hook*, then tacked about and stood to Sea. Some think it was the Brigentine bound from *Bristol* with a number of Convicts, and that they had mutined, and Murdered the Master and Men.—*The New-York Gazette*, July 30. 1733.

London, January 17. This Morning about 120 Felons were carried from Black-fryers Stairs, in a close Lighter, to Woolwich, in order to be put on board the *Caesar*, now lying there, which Ship is to transport them to his Majesty's Plan-

tations in America.—*The New-York Gazette*, April 29, 1734.

Dublin, Sept. 9. On Tuesday last ten Coaches full of convict Felons were shipp'd at the Quay, in order to be transported to his Majesty's Plantations in America.—*The New-York Gazette and Weekly Post-Boy*, November 13, 1749.

NEW YORK CITY.

W. K.

THE LEE FAMILY OF VIRGINIA.—In one of the April numbers of *The Nation*, W. H. W., noticing a book on the *Lee Genealogy*, published by Richardson, of New York, points out the mistake of the Editor of the work, in supposing that Richard Lee, the emigrant, was the son of Lancelot Lee.

Manuscript records in the Maryland Land Office state that, early in 1639, Richard Lee and his wife came with the Province; and he seems to have secured land on the Maryland, as well as the Virginia, side of the Potomac. An inscription, on the tombstone of one of his sons, in Westmoreland-county, Virginia, says he was descended of an old family of Merton-Regis, in Shropshire, like Robert Lee, Merchant-tailor and Mayor of London, in 1602, who was the son of Humphrey Lee, of Bridgenorth, Shropshire.

Campbell, the most accurate of the historians of Virginia, designated the story of Richard Lee, as a Cavalier visiting Charles the First, at Breda, as a fiction. Since he wrote, the *Calendar of British State Papers. Colonial Series*, has been published; and from it we learn that, in 1654, Richard Lee, the settler, visited England and was a Cromwellian. In September, 1655, his trunk, containing some silver, was seized on board the ship *Anthony*, at Gravesend. The Records, in the State Paper Office, say it was restored, "Colonel Lee 'being faithful and useful to the interests of the 'Commonwealth.'—*Calendar State Papers, Colonial Series*.

ANACOSTIA, D. C.

E. D. N.

NEW YORK CITY, IN 1820.

Extract from a letter of J. Bogert Jr., New York, February 20, 1829.

The great pear-tree was brought from Holland, by Gov. Stuyvesant, in 1650, & planted by him on his then Bowery, now the corner of 13th Street & Third Avenue. It occupies the same spot & is alive.

The house, No. 176 Water-street, in which I was a clerk two years, was the first in this city, to exchange leaden window-sashes for wood.

The population of this city, by the last census, taken in 1825, was 166,086 souls: it is now, upward of 180,000, perhaps 190,000.

The following facts I transcribed from the city Comptroller's books, viz:

The assessed value of real estate in this city, in 1808, was..... \$ 21,740.170
Personal estate..... 3,373.550

25,113.720

Taxes thereon....\$138,984.18

Assessed value, in 1828, Real estate..... 77,139.880
Personal estate..... 36,879.653.

\$ 114,019.533

Taxes thereon....\$485,751.72

The streets on the North or Hudson-river, extend to 13th Street.

On the East-river, to Dry Dock.

On Broadway and Bowery, to 13th street.

Registered tonnage of this city,
for 1824, was..... 128,285 tons.
Enrolled..... 172,112 tons.

300,397 tons.

Steam boats..... 10,482

PORTLAND, ME.

W. W.

THE VERMONT "LAND-JOBBER."

(The following article appeared in *The Western Star*, a paper published at Stockbridge, Massachusetts, and was reprinted by Cobbett in *Porcupine's Gazette*, Monday, November 27, 1797.

NEW YORK CITY.

W. K.]

Few individuals have been more the subject of general conversation for some time past, than General Ira Allen, of Vermont. By his late letter to his friend in Fairhaven, it appears that the principal officers in this nation have transmitted such vouchers and information as will save that gentleman from the capital punishment which was expected about the time that McLean was executed in Canada.

General Allen was born in Salisbury, in Connecticut; and, not long before the late War, he went into Vermont, where he had a large share in effecting the independence of that State, from the State of New York. His lot was to become the chief agent in the Land-office, and he thereby procured large Patents and Grants for himself. Vermont neglected to make restitution to those who were deprived of their honest claims under the New York title; and the people of Vermont obtained a quitclaim of all further title and jurisdiction, for thirty thousand dollars. The lands and public money thus engrossed and expended, left General Allen with the largest estate in Vermont, and some said, the largest in New England.

In his attempt to build furnaces and mills and make improvements on his estates, he became in-

volved in debt, first in Quebec, and then in New York. He was pushed into both places by his creditors, and made many efforts to rescue himself, by mortgaging his property. Lands he would not sell, because they were rising in value: taxes were levied upon them, but he found expedients not to alienate any.

In this distress he embarked for England, having previously sent out a nephew, to negotiate a credit. He procured a small quantity of goods, which arrived with his nephew, at Boston; but the young man took them for his own use, in reward for his services to his uncle. A second quantity were shipped to New York; but, wanting money to pay the impost, his agents intrusted some merchants, in General Allen's behalf: these paid the public debenture, and attached the merchandise for the debts due to themselves. In this dilemma, he retreated to the French Directory—his party, in Vermont, were ready for war with Canada, and wanted arms; these General Allen procured, with artillery, tents, camp-kettles, etc. The military feathers were shipped into Boston, by Mr. John A. Graham. The General and one of the aides-de-camp of Governor Chittenden were in London together. The latter wrote and printed, upon vellum paper, a *History of Vermont*, in a series of letters to the Earl of Montross, a branch or head of the Graham family. In that volume, attempts are made to exculpate General Allen from treasonable designs against the Government of Great Britain. Mr. Graham also mentioned General Allen as the brother of the late General Ethan Allen, whose prowess and infidelity were so well-known in the States, Canada, and England. General Ira Allen was offended with this information of Mr. Graham, being well aware it would do him no good.

Some time previous to the departure of General Allen, he presented a Petition to the Legislature of Vermont, for certain lands reserved for propagating the Gospel, for the use of a College which he was patronizing in Burlington, near his own dwelling, in the neighborhood of Lake Champlain. He was defeated in his wishes; but his movements ended in a seizure of the glebes belonging to the Episcopal Church. Democracy and Genet's spies and agents had spread French politics, infidelity, and avarice too far for the claims of religion and justice to be heard. Part of the lands were in possession of the Society in London, who had not alienated them. General Allen and Mr. Graham hoped to have obtained the agency and superintendence of that property; but information had long before been transmitted to England and the British Minister in the States, which put those concerned on their guard.

Great distress had been given to those who had settled in certain townships in which General

Allen was interested, because he neglected to resign the property devoted to religious uses, into proper hands, that religious and other important institutions might be obtained, as easily as possible.

General Allen thus engrossed large Grants from the State to himself, and the land of the Church; but, in addition to this, he had in his possession, the property of the heirs of two of his brothers.

All this immense property is now involved in almost inextricable difficulties, by his great graspings, by his disappointments, and by his absence. He is dismissed from all places of honor and profit; and his property is conveying into other hands.

Such is the short history of a *Democrat*; and such is the history of many others. General Allen's leading trait is low cunning, a secret conducting of his business, and an artful endeavor to draw others into his measures by an apparent indifference as to the issue, or disposition to further the favorite wish of his neighbor. He introduced himself to the late Bishop elect of Vermont, who is in London. The College in Vermont was a darling object with General Allen; and he therefore flattered Bishop Peters with the idea of making him President—a measure which was not practicable, as that gentleman's zeal and opinions were not acceptable to Calvinists, Deists, or Democrats.

The solicitous public are now waiting to hear further intelligence from the General. All humane men shudder at the idea of an halter; and many honest men will rejoice if General Allen's liberation puts an end to his restless career in future. Should the French Directory have no opportunity to reel in their property, purchasers in England or the merchants in Quebec may obtain the arms, artillery, tents and kettles.

AN INCIDENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

THE following singular incident of the Revolution, was furnished for the press by the Rev. Doctor Rodgers, of New York, about the year 1800:—"Colonel John Bayard, an eminent Merchant in the city of Philadelphia, sent a vessel to France, early in the year 1777, to purchase military stores, under the command of Captain Stocker, who had sailed some time in his employ; and Mr. William Hodge, his brother-in-law, went as Supercargo. His vessel arrived safe at her destined port, and was loaded with powder, muskets, bayonets, gun-flints, etc. The British spies in the several ports of France, gave notice of this vessel leaving there, her cargo, and of the time of her sailing, to their administration; and two vessels were sent out from England, to cruise off

"the mouth of the Delaware-bay, to intercept and take her. For several days before she came on the coast, the weather was so thick and *hazy*, that Captain Stocker could not get an observation, and therefore had no other way to know his situation, than by throwing his lead: this he did with great diligence and care, when he found himself in soundings, and the water was sometimes deeper and sometimes shallower. Thus the vigilance of the two British vessels was eluded. In this situation, a dark night came on, and he went on throwing his lead, and in the morning, to his great surprise, he found himself near the upper end of Redy Island, one hundred miles up the Bay, and within fifty miles of Philadelphia. Thus the United States was furnished with a seasonable supply of the most essential articles for carrying on their War, at an early period of their struggle for Independence."

NEW YORK CITY.

DE V.

XVIII.—QUERIES.

GENERAL WOLFE AND GRAY'S ELEGY.—[*H. M. II. v. 302.*—May, 1869.] Can any of your readers tell in what number of the *Gentleman's Magazine* is to be found the mention, that General Wolfe repeated this Elegy, as he was floating down to the base of the Heights of Abraham; and said he would rather have been the author of that poem than to be the captor of Quebec? The fact was first brought to light before the American public, by a now deceased grandson of Major-general Stark. B.

DELAWARE, OR MARYLAND?—A current history of wrong operations, in 1781, stated that "General Lincoln had reached Worton-creek, which is thirty miles from the head of Elk." Sabine's *American Loyalists* includes one Samuel Worden, of Murderkill, Delaware, prosecuted in 1778.

Can any one inform me of the location or origin of the name of said Worton-creek, or further respecting said Samuel, who got on the wrong side? O. N. WORDEN.

PLYMOUTH PURITANS.—Benjamin Scott, F. R. A. S., Chamberlain of the City of London, in 1866, before the Friends' Institute of that City, supported the historical proposition that the *Pilgrim Fathers were not Puritans*; but Separatists, like Brown and Penry. On the title-page of his published Address, he quotes a paragraph from the pen of the Rev. Doctor Waddington, beginning with these words: "The ignorance still ex-

isting on this subject is almost incredible. We find men of education, who seem to have no exact information respecting the Pilgrim Fathers."

May not the ignorance be upon the part of Scott and Waddington? Brown, Penry, and the Leyden people were all known as Puritans. James the First, who was on the throne when the Puritans landed at Plymouth, expressly says, in the *Basilicon Doron*: "As to Puritans, I am not ignorant the style of Puritan properly belongs to that vile sect of the Anabaptists, called the Family of Love. Of this special sect, I principally mean when I speak of Puritans, divers of them as Browne and Penry."

In the tractate against Vorstius, he also stated that "Amongst the ancient heretics there was a sect that called themselves Catharoi; and there was also another one, among the Anabaptists, that were called Puritanes whence the Precisions of our Kingdom, who, out of ill-will and fancy, refused to conform themselves to the orders of our Church, have borrowed their name."

ANACOSTIA, D. C.

E. D. N.

WHO WROTE IT? A few years ago, Hurd and Houghton re-published an old work, similar in character to *Robinson Crusoe*, and some think superior to it. It was *edited* and revised by Cecil Hartley. "*Swiss Family Robinson*."

A friend enquires when that book was originally published, and when and by whom written?

STATESVILLE, N. C.

E. F. R.

XIX.—REPLIES.

"THE FIRST CITY GRANT IN AMERICA."

[*H. M. II. vi, 101.*]

MR. DAWSON: The article of your correspondent, page 101, of the August number of the *MAGAZINE*, entitled "First City Grant in America," contains three errors:

First—In the date of the Charter for Gorgeana.

Second—In spelling the name, which should be Gorgeana, not Gorgiana.

Third—In making Thomas Gorges the last Mayor.

Thomas Gorges returned to England in 1643; and was succeeded, in the office of Mayor, by Edward Godfrey, the first settler, a large proprietor of York.

There were *two* Charters granted to that territory, with City privileges; the first on the tenth of April, 1641, in which the name given to it was "*Acomenticus*," and Thomas Gorges appointed "*the first and next Mayor*," and Ed-

ward Godfrey and seven others, Aldermen. This Charter, at length, is in Hazard's *Historical Collections*. i., 740.

The second Charter, dated the first of March, 1642, created a "City or towne," by the name of Gorgeana; and provides that the Mayor, twelve Aldermen, and *twenty-four Common Councilmen*, be chosen by the Common Council and free Burgesses, *Hazard* i., 480.

You will also perceive that your correspondent's commendation of Gorges, for omitting a Common Council, is alike erroneous; for the second Charter makes provision for a large one.

The first Charter does not call the place a City, though it invests it with all the forms of a City: it speaks of the *Towne* of Acomenticus, while the second Charter speaks throughout of a "Citie or *Towne*."

WILLIAM WILLIS.

PORTLAND, November 19, 1869.

THE TRANSLATOR OF CHASTELLUX [*H. M.*, I., i. 55, 90; ii. 88; iii. 252; vi. 371, 382; vii. 30].—These references show that the question of the authorship of the English translation of *Travels in North America*, by the Marquis de Chastellux (London, 1787), has not been without interest to readers of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. This question has lately been answered by Mr. J. Hammond Trumbull, in a letter to the Honorable Robert C. Winthrop, which is printed in the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, for April, 1869.

Mr. Trumbull shows that Watt was wrong, in ascribing, in the *Bibliotheca Britannica*, the translation to "J. Kent, Esq.;" and that Ebeling, (to whose note, in a copy of the French edition, Mr. Winthrop first called attention,) was right, in naming 'Grieve' as the translator.

GEORGE GREIVE, born about 1750, was the younger son of Mr. Richard Greive, attorney, at Alnwick, Northumberland. "A young gentleman of great promise," he was placed, at a premium of a thousand guineas, as an apprentice, to the great London merchant, Peter Thellusson. At his father's death, he inherited some £20,000, "most of which (it is stated) he spent in search "of popularity." He became a member, and the Secretary, of the Bill of Rights Club; took an active part in the famous Westminster Election contest, in 1780; was an unsuccessful candidate for the Sheriffalty of London; and was employed by Almon, on the *London Courant*. Some criminal offence—political or other—compelled him to fly from England to Holland; and from Holland, he came to America, in 1781. He remained in this country till the close of the War; and, in December, 1782, sailed for Bordeaux, France, in the *General Galvez* from Salem, Mass. Mr. Trumbull quotes from a letter ad-

ressed by Greive, from Bordeaux, on the twenty-first of January, 1783, to Silas Deane, then at Paris, in which he mentions having been in Hartford, the preceding October. It does not appear that he ever returned to England. He was still living in France, when his elder brother died, in 1793, "where," says the *Gentleman's Magazine*, (lxiii., 1216), "he had long lamented his "youthful levities; and was then, at Bordeaux, "sighing for the sweets of his native land and "of a virtuous liberty." He had "employed "himself in literary pursuits;" and, among other things, had translated the once popular *Memoirs of Baron Tott*.

"WOOLBALLS," "HAIRBALLS" AND "WITCH-BALLS." [*H. M.* II., vi.]—When I was a boy of nine years old, my father resided in New Jersey. The inhabitants generally were quite intelligent, though quite a number had been taught the belief in witchcraft. My father was not among the number; and my mother, good woman she was (whose mother was not?) could not, for a moment, harbor the thought that the Father in Heaven, in whom she trusted, would permit Satan or any of his satellites to exercise such control over His children; and we were taught to reverence and love that Holy Being, and not be afraid of witches nor of any supernatural beings, so long as we had Him for our friend.

A circumstance, however, occurred in the neighborhood, of which I was an eye-witness, and which was the subject of remarks, and served to strengthen many persons in their belief of the power of witches.

I will state the facts, and leave your readers to make their own conclusions.

In the month of August, A.D. 1817, Mr. L., a near neighbor, came in haste to my father's, to request him to hasten to his place and see for himself, the result of witchcraft, upon a fine young heifer, five months old. My father was not at home; and I obtained permission from my mother to go and see the bewitched calf. I well remember the excited looks, and almost the words, of Mr. L.—, as he came in haste to my father's house.

"I want the Squire to come immediately. I "saw the old witch pass through the field, two "hours ago: the calf was then as well as ever she "was: looking at it, shortly after, it began to "moan piteously; tumbling about as if crazy; "and, finally, fell, unable to rise! and it was "almost dead when I left: and it will surely "die! But I'll burn the witch! I will! I know "her! Yes, I know her;" and away he ran towards home. I followed him, to see the bewitched animal. The calf was dead; and Mr. L—

proceeded, with a large knife, to open the carcass, to find the witch-ball. No orifice, nor even puncture of the skin, was visible, but, within the maw or stomach, he found the "witchball," a round substance, two inches in diameter, made of hair, matted and pressed together, so that it could not be pulled apart: with a large stick, I tried to break or mash it; but a heavy blow made no perceptible impression: agreeably to the direction of Mr. L—, I carried it on a small board to the house, to put it in the fire. The old lady was ironing clothes, heating her irons in front of a large fire of coals, on the hearth. She would not allow me to put it on the coals, but directed me to lay it on the hot stones, near the fire. "Now," said she, "as soon as it begins to roast, the old witch will feel the flame. No matter if she does burn! She ought to burn! All the witches should be burned. I wonder if your father will now believe that witches exist. The Bible tells of witches: they were not all destroyed by Saul." I ventured to remark, that I had often heard that witches could not get over the broomstick, though they frequently rode astride of one; and playfully took the broom and laid it athwart the outer door, which stood wide open. Of course, I got a reprimand, for my unbelief and for my boyish acts in so serious a matter. I only laughed and stepped outside the door, ostensibly to look for the appearance of the witch or some one of her aids, but really to have a good laugh by myself. Imagine my surprise, to see two little ragged urchins, grand-children of the identical named witch, coming in great haste; and wanting to see Mrs. L—. I accompanied them to the door, and invited them to walk in: they approached the door, but there laid the broomstick: they stopped, and hung down their heads. I urged them to come in, and led the way over the broomstick; but they stood still, and could not, or *did not*, move. The old lady stepped to the door, when the eldest of the children, nearly of my age, said, in pleading terms, "Mrs. L—, 'won't you please to give mother a little hog's fat' [*lard*];" but the old lady told them "No, go about your business: do not come here for lard, nor for anything else: leave here at once: tell your mother and your *grand-mother*, too, 'they can't have anything here.'" The children left with downcast looks, and wended their way homeward, nearly a mile distant. Now came my turn for a lecture for my waywardness, and being, just like the old 'Squire, unbelieving even when the evidences were so plain. "Why," said she, "did these children pass three farm houses 'to get lard here? Why not get it at Mr. A's, or Mr. H's, or at The 'Squire's? Evidently they were sent here for a purpose; but let the old hag burn! Yes, let her burn!"

And yet, after seeing all this, the truth of which I can vouch for at any time, as here related, I remain, like the old 'Squire, my father, in regard to witches and their power. ~~an~~

TARRYTOWN, N. Y.

UNBELIEVER.

P.S.—There were two calves, about the same age, pasturing in the lot, which had often drunk milk from the same pail. They had a great fondness for each other, and indulged very freely in smoothing each others coats, by frequent licking. About the ears and flanks, much of the hair had disappeared and, very probably, had entered into the stomach, and gradually formed a ball, which, at the time mentioned, had so increased in size as to cause choking and pain, from the effects of which the animal died, as before stated.

"The old witch" resided with her daughter, but had been absent, with a relative, some weeks; and, returning homeward, her path lay through the field or lot where the calves were feeding. They were fine ones, and attracted the attention of all who saw them, especially their ears, destitute of hair.

When grandma came home, children and mother wanted to have a good time; and they must have some peach-pie—peaches were plenty, at three levy's (37½ cents) a bushel—but lard was scarce; they were very poor people—witches are always poor—and they must have lard to make pie-crust. Mr. A., Mr. H., and the Squire had large families, and were not generally over-supplied; but Mrs. L—always had an overstock; and was very liberal to the poor. So off they ran to accomplish their errand, with bare heads and bare feet, carrying a little *blick-ye*—a two-quart tin pail—for the lard. When they came to the door, their courage failed—they were ragged and sweaty—and could scarcely muster courage to ask for the "hog's fat" outside the door—certainly they were too timid to enter the house of Mrs. L—, who was a large, fine-looking old lady of sixty summers. She was generally noted for her liberality to the poor; but, from the time of the calf being "bewitched," she would never allow any of her family to give "a cent," or its worth, to the "old witch" or any of her relatives. The old woman lived several years after the occurrence I have related; but I never learned that she had suffered from the effects of my burning the witch-ball. Mrs. L—was a Christian, indeed, a Bible-reader, but was trained from childhood in the belief of witches: but I still remain an

UNBELIEVER.

"MILITARY." (*H. M.*, II., v., 335).—
"The Governor's Foot Guard, of Hartford, Conn., is one of the very oldest Companies in the country. It was formed in 1771; and has

"appeared in the same uniform since its organization, * * * The next oldest military Company in the United States is the Fayetteville Independent Light Infantry, at Fayetteville, N. C. For its services in the War of 1812, the Legislature conferred, etc."

The writer of the above speaks of the Governor's Foot Guard of Connecticut, organized in 1771, and the Fayetteville, N. C., Light Infantry, first known in the War of 1812, as about the oldest military Companies in the Country. It is not known that the Fayetteville Company still exists. He seems to have forgotten the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Boston, which was organized in 1637, nearly a century and a half before the Governor's Foot Guard of Connecticut. Besides the old Artillery referred to, I think there are half a dozen military Companies, in Boston, that were organized before the War of 1812. The "Cadets" were formed long before the Revolution; and were commanded by John Hancock, before that event; the "Boston Fusiliers," formed in 1787, have just celebrated their eighty-second anniversary; the "Boston Light Infantry" was organized in 1798, during the quasi belligerent troubles with France, during John Adams's Presidency; and some other Companies that I cannot refer to, at this moment, have kept up their organizations from the early part of this century. I had occasion, last Summer, to look into the history of the old Artillery Company alluded to, in preparing an article for the *Boston Transcript*; and perhaps an abstract of it may interest the readers of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

The "Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company" of Boston is probably the oldest organization of any kind, in this country; and, with the exception of two or three organizations in the British or Austrian service, it is undoubtedly the oldest military organization in the world. When it was formed, and for many years after, it comprised the most distinguished men of Boston and the neighboring towns,—to use the Puritanical language of that time: "shining ornaments of the Church of Christ, as well as the strongest bulwarks of society." For many years, till within half a century, its anniversary was observed in Boston and its vicinity as a holiday, with almost as much interest as the Fourth of July. About a century ago, the mode of notifying the company for its "training days," was peculiar—no printed notices were issued, but the Company was reminded of its duty by the beating of the drum and the playing of fifes and drums through the principal streets of Boston; and displaying the standard of the Company, at Major Henchman's, at the South-east corner of State-street and Cornhill, was for a time, an auxiliary method of

giving notice. It was also the custom, in the forenoon, previous to their mustering, for Ichabod Williston, long celebrated as the Company's Drummer, to march down Middle-street, to Winnisimmet Ferry, between the hours of eleven and one, beating his drum, unescorted, except by an innumerable crowd of boys. On his arrival at the Ferry, he solemnly beat the roll, three times, then shouldered his drum, and silently went his way. This was called "the first drum," which became a bye-word amongst the mechanics at the "North End" of the town, who, when they began to feel the want of their forenoon-grog and luncheon, used to ask each other "if it was not about time to beat the first drum."

The uniform of the Company has, of course, varied largely in two centuries. Tradition says, that on its organization, in 1637, officers and privates all wore large white wigs. One hundred years later, scarlet, crimson, and buff were the prevailing colors of their uniform, which was very rich, such as a scarlet coat, crimson silk stockings, with large gold clocks, and shoes with silver buckles, and large cocked hat trimmed with gold lace. In 1754, white hose were adopted. In 1770, white linen spatterdashes, to which black buttons were affixed, in 1785; wigs and hair were ordered to be clubbed, in 1772; and "the cock of the hat to be uniform with the militia officers." In 1787, a permanent uniform was adopted, viz., coat, deep blue cloth, faced with buff, with shoulder-straps to secure the belts, and hooks and eyes at the skirts; buff vest and breeches; with plain yellow double-washed buttons on the whole; plain black hat, with black buttons, loop, and cockade; "cocks to be soldier-like and uniform as possible;" white linen spatterdashes, fastened under the foot, and reaching partly up the thigh, with black buttons and black garter, buckled below the knee; white socks and white shirts, ruffled at the wrist and bosom; "the hair quened;" the musicians' uniform the same, the coats only being reversed. This lasted for over twenty years; but the ruffles were dispensed with, in 1798. In 1810, the French "*chapeau de bras*, with fantail cockade, silver loop and button, and a full black plume, eighteen inches long," was adopted. The plume was soon changed to white, ten inches long; deep blue superfine coats, with red facings and white trimmings, were adopted; also white Marseilles vests, single-breasted, with standing collars; white cassimere small-clothes; white gaiters; etc.; "the hair braided, turned up, and powdered."

Compared with the neat, snug, and comfortable uniform of the present United States Army-officers, the Ancient and Honorables, in some of

their old uniforms, would make as grotesque an appearance as a Company of Cavalry that volunteered in Connecticut, in the American Revolution. They were sturdy farmers, armed, generally, with long, old-fashioned shot-guns, and dressed "with large, white, full buttoned wigs." They reached Washington's camp, at New York, in the Summer of 1776, laying by, on Sundays, during their march. An unlucky trooper of this Company was taken prisoner at the battle of Long Island; and his awkward appearance caused great merriment amongst the British officers, who asked him, what under heavens could be the use of such troops in the Rebel camp? He innocently replied, "*To flank a little, and carry tidings!*"

In 1762, on muster-day, refreshments of "punch, wine, and bread, and nothing more," were provided: no one to be invited, unless he belonged to the Company: "pipes and tobacco intirely excludet:" "the Company to dismiss themselves as seasonably as possible, to prevent the unnecessary expense of candles." Soon after, "cheese was added to the above refreshments; and the officers were authorized to invite their friends, as they think fit." As the Company's treasury was flourishing by fines, etc., a more generous supply of refreshments was voted; and, in 1768, at their anniversary, "nine bottles, that is, two gallons of wine, eight gallons punch, 4s. 8d. worth of biscuit, & ten pounds of cheese," were voted, "and thought to be fully sufficient."

The same year (1768) several British Regiments were encamped on the Boston Common, where the Ancients and Honorables met, under Lieutenant Heath, afterwards Major-general Heath, of Revolutionary fame. The British commander ordered them to retire, without beat of drum; and forbade the usual firing at depositing the standard. After consulting with the Company, Lieutenant Heath considered it the part of prudence and duty to comply; and they marched to Faneuil Hall in silence, and deposited their standard without firing. This gave great dissatisfaction to some of the members; and one of them, Hopestill Capen, then Orderly-sergeant, resented it so highly, that he went to to the top of his house, after the Company was dismissed, and loaded and fired his musket three times; and, many years after, he refused to vote for General Heath, for Lieutenant-governor, because of his compliance with the order of the British commander. All honor to the memory of Hopestill!

In 1819, Major Bumstead, then seventy-nine years old, invited the Company to an entertainment at his house, at which many Revolutionary veterans were present, and "fought their battles over again," entertaining each

other with stories of their youthful times, amongst which was the following, by Major B: When the news of Burgoyne's defeat reached Boston, in 1777, some doubted its authenticity. A number of the Company being present, one of them offered a bet of a bowl of punch, which was accepted. In the afternoon, when the rumor was confirmed, the members assembled at Major B.'s house, to drink the punch. It was prepared in an old-fashioned china punch-bowl, that held *ten gallons*. When assembled, a new bet was made, that no member could singly lift the bowl, filled as it was, to his mouth, drink, and replace it in safety on the table. Several tried to lift it, but without success, until Daniel Rea, an athletic man, though not stout in appearance, lifted the bowl, without difficulty, and

"Took a long and solemn draught,
Then wiped his yellow beard,"

replacing the bowl safely on the table, thus winning the second bet

Fifty years ago, the productive funds of the Company exceeded three thousand dollars.

By the original Charter of the Ancient and Honorables, they were possessed of a singular "vested right," or, as William Wirt described a similar case, a "vested wrong," by which no military Company, within certain limits, was permitted to parade, on either of the field-days of the Company! In former times, this right was claimed, in its fullest extent, and supported and maintained with great exactness. Even as late as 1808, when the Company was paraded in upper Faneuil Hall, under Captain Melzar, it was found the "Winslow Blues" were assembled in their Armory, for a drill. Captain Melzar sent an Order to them to disperse; and, after consultation, the "Winslow Blues" were dismissed till another day! Say nothing about red tape at Washington, after this.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

J. B. R.

ALBANY INSTITUTE SERIES. (*H. M. II. v. 336.*) In reply to "Dick," I beg to state that Doctor Hough did not get encouragement enough to make a sure thing of it; and, as he takes no risks, the project of issuing the works referred to was abandoned.

J. M.

ALBANY, N. Y.

XX.—BOOKS.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

[Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same either direct to "HENRY B. DAWSON, MORRISANIA, N. Y.," or to MESSRS. CHARLES SCRIBNER & Co., Booksellers, 654 Broadway, New York City, as shall be most convenient for them.]

A.—PRIVATELY PRINTED BOOKS.

1.—*The Salem Witchcraft and Cotton Mather.* By Hon. Charles W. Upham. Morrisania, N. Y.: 1869. Small quarto, pp. viii, 91.

Our readers will have learned, before this, the character of this work and its importance to all who are interested in either the general history of New England or the particular history of Massachusetts. There are some, too, who will find in it some simple element which will interest them—such, for instance, as the new example, which it exposes, of that peculiar mode of treating history and historians which has hitherto been noticed in our pages as peculiar to the notorious William Frederic Poole and those whom he serves so grimly.

The work originated in the elaborate article which appeared in *The North American Review*, for April last, in which the recently-published volumes, by Mr. Upham, on Salem and the Witchcraft Delusion were so recklessly reviewed by this Poole; and it consists, simply, of Mr. Upham's vindication of his well-earned reputation, as a historian, from the studied misrepresentations to which it was exposed in that article.

We need not comment elaborately on the successful treatment of his subject by the venerable historian: the text of the work is before our readers and it speaks for itself, more eloquently than we can speak for it. There has been no attempt, as far as we have seen, either to suppress the truth or to mystify and conceal it; and, as far as we understand the subject, the vindication seems to be perfectly successful.

The copy before us, in separate form, is one of a small edition which has been printed for the author, for circulation among his personal friends.

2.—*George Henry Moore, LL.D. A Memoir.* By Howard Crosby, D.D. Morrisania, N. Y.: 1870. Octavo, pp. vii, 8.

This beautiful little tract contains a memoir of one of our nearest and dearest friends, whom to know is to love. It is from the pen of his brother, Rev. Doctor Crosby, whose qualifications for the discharge of such a service, commemorative of one whom he, too, has learned to esteem as highly as we esteem him, are so widely and properly recognized; and the character of the memoir—brief as it necessarily is—is therefore of the highest character.

As a passing recognition of the peculiar abilities, as a historical writer and as an executive officer, and of the many virtues, as a man, which are combined in the widely-known Librarian of the New York Historical Society, this tract will be very welcome to those who shall possess it; and the life-like portrait, so beautifully engraved by young Alfred B. Hall—a son of the

veteran, Henry B. Hall, Esq., whose handiwork in portraiture is so widely and honorably known among our readers—will add to the interest which Doctor Crosby has thrown around his subject.

The edition numbered only thirty copies; and was printed for us, exclusively for private circulation in the family and among the more intimate friends of Mr. Moore.

3.—*An Oration, delivered at Salem, Mass., on Washington's Birthday, February 22, 1793.* By Rev. William Bentley, D.D. Morrisania, N. Y.: 1870. Octavo, pp. viii, 19.

Like the tract which we last noticed, this is a re-print, from the pages of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, for private circulation among the personal friends of the Editor.

The wide-spread reputation of Doctor Bentley, as well as the occasion which called forth this *Oration*, will serve to make it among the most highly-prized of the privately-printed tracts of the day; while collectors of Washingtoniana will search in vain for any thing which is better entitled to their respect.

As we have said, this is printed for private circulation only; and the edition numbers only thirty copies.

4.—*Martha Preble Oxnard, eldest child of Brigadier-general Jedidiah Preble and Mchitable Bangs, 1744-1824, and her descendants to 1869.* Prepared for the *Genealogy of the Preble Family in America*, by George Henry Preble. [Boston: 1869.] Octavo, pp. 8.

Our friend, Captain Preble, U. S. N., is engaged on a family-history; and this tract seems to be a portion of that yet unpublished volume, which has been printed separately, for advance circulation among the members of the family.

The pamphlet is a neat one, but is without a title-page; and the edition numbered fifty copies.

5.—*Quentin Durward, the Loser and the Winner.* Privately printed. Albany: Joel Munsell, 1869. Small octavo, pp. 69.

This is an interesting little volume, which was evidently the product of a fire-side discussion concerning the moral of an unfinished tale—the story of Quentin Durward, as told by Sir Walter Scott. The narrative, in the words of the Preface, is as follows: “About Christmas time, ‘a gentleman was reading to his family, at his home on the banks of the Cayuga, that glorious historical romance of *Quentin Durward*, in which Sir Walter Scott, by his learning as by his genius, woke Louis XI. out of the dusty chronicle of French Kings, and made him illustrious, as a ruler, however deep the doom over him of the world's judgment, as a man. ‘Fascinated with the story, the book was only

"too brief. It was felt as if the scene of Quentin's success should have been prolonged and his triumph made more enduring enjoyment to the reader. The book was the theme of thought and conversation, when one of the young ladies declared that, after all, according to the rule of chivalry, Quentin did not fairly win the beautiful Countess of Croye, for he kept to himself the secret information which the Countess had caused to be conveyed to him, that De la Marck was to wear his dress of battle copied after that of Dunois; that, in all right, had he been a thoroughly honorable man and true knight, he would have given that secret out to all, that all might have contended on equal grounds; and that he ought not therefore to have won the Lady of Croye.

"The gentleman thought that Quentin was a modest and a young man, and that he was entirely blameless in 'taking the good the Gods provided;' and that in her loveliness he had a prize too exquisite to be hazarded in a sublimated question of perhaps suicidal generosity.

"And thus differing, it was agreed that, as an intellectual exercise, the young ladies should prepare Chapters in continuation, reversing Quentin's good fortune; and the gentleman furnished Chapters, establishing his brilliant destiny; and that these literary tasks should be exchanged by the tenth of January, which was done. They are now printed only for private circulation among friends, who, perhaps, may be amused or instructed by them."

Such was the curious origin of the volume; and the ingenuity with which the respective theories are maintained by the rival parties, is really interesting.

The little volume is from the Munsell Press and is very neatly printed.

6.—*Julius Cæsar; Did he Cross the Channel? Reviewed.* By John Wainwright. London: John Russel Smith. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. i. xl, 9, 126.

The recent appearance, in England, of a small pamphlet, entitled *Julius Cæsar, did he Cross the Channel?*, has excited some comment, inasmuch as its author removes the Morini of Cæsar from off the coast of Kent to that of Norfolk, on the North Sea; and boldly maintains that Cæsar never set foot at Boulogne nor Calais, and never crossed the Channel nor set eyes on Deal or Dover. That pamphlet was presently reviewed by Mr. Wainwright, in a series of letters addressed to the *Doncaster Gazette*; and these were replied to, by the original disputant, Rev. Mr. Surtees, in two or three letters, addressed to the same newspaper, and, subsequently, in a thin pamphlet of eighteen pages.

The volume before us is a rejoinder to the last-

mentioned pamphlet; and its purpose is declared to be "to elucidate and defend the position so long and so universally entertained by our best historians and most astute antiquaries and archæologists, in relation to Cæsar's embarkation at a port of the Morini, South of the Schelde, and his disembarkation on the shore of Kent, against the errors of Mr. Surtees," the author of the opposite theory.

We have no inclination, nor have we the ability, to enter into all the details of this interesting discussion; but we may be allowed to enter our protest, as we do, against the indistinctness of the question at issue, as stated in this volume.

We really supposed, when we read the question, as stated herein, that Mr. Surtees had insisted that Cæsar had never crossed from the mainland to Britain; and not until we had read several pages did we discover that such was not the case; that the contest is only concerning the *places*, respectively, of a mutually conceded embarkation and debarkation; and that, while Mr. Surtees *denies* that the conqueror crossed *the Channel*, he promptly *admits* that he crossed the *North Sea*—Britain, in either case, feeling the weight of his heel, either in Kent or in Norfolk.

Mr. Wainwright evidently perceives that the key of his position is the port of the conqueror's departure from the main-land; and his great struggle, therefore, is to establish his theory that the Morini were *not* seated near the Schelde, or Rhine, or Walcheren, as maintained by Mr. Surtees, but lower down the coast, between Dunkirk and Boulogne, as maintained by himself and those whom he follows. This point he very manfully defends; and if we had been less used to the emptiness of great names than we have been, we should have supposed that he had fully established himself, within it.

Having very cleverly made a case, on this branch of the subject, Mr. Wainwright proceeds to occupy still more advanced positions in the domain of his opponent; but we confess that we are not wholly satisfied, even with his *ex parte* argument, that he is right and Mr. Surtees wrong. Yet, we may be wrong; and he right.

Taken in connection with all its side issues, the main question is very elaborately discussed in this little volume; but our space does not admit of a more elaborate analysis of the relative positions occupied by the disputants, much less to examine the merits or the demerits of either.

The mechanical execution of this little volume is not at all creditable to King and Baird, of Philadelphia, who printed it; and their apology for their short-coming does not mend the matter. It is such a job as no master-printer, hereabouts, who cares anything for his reputation, would have allowed to leave his office.

The edition numbered three hundred copie

7.—*Occasional Thoughts and Fancies*. By C. C. D. New York: 1869. Small quarto, pp. 84.

Our friend and namesake, Charles Carroll Dawson, Esq., sometimes varies his amusements by thinking and writing; and in this beautiful little volume, which he has caused to be "printed for private use," we have the record of some occasional *Thoughts and Fancies*.

The opening, and longest, of the series is a poetical Address which was read at the closing of Brooklyn Evening School, No. 1., in December, 1855; and several shorter pieces follow, devoted, respectively, to personal friendship, to the family ties, to the memory of deceased friends, to the legend of St. Anthony, to the Church of which he was probably a member, to the social ties which bind him to his neighborhood and neighbors, to the cause of education, to the cause of his Country, etc.; and all of them are well-written and reflect the highest credit on the heart and head of the author as well as on his good taste and skill as a versifier.

There is evidently a train of sadness running through the entire series—even in his most cheerful moments, the excellent author never loses sight of the solid realities of life, as well as its cares, and anxieties, and sorrows—and he never allows himself to forget either his accountability to God, wherever he may be, or his duty to his fellow men.

The volume is very handsomely printed; and, in every respect, it is a pattern of neatness.

It is exclusively for private circulation.

B.—PUBLICATIONS BY SOCIETIES.

8.—*Jamestown of Pemaquid: a poem*. By Mrs. Maria W. Hackleton. Read on the site of Fort Frederic, on the reception of the Committee of the Maine Historical Society, by the citizens of Bristol, August 26, 1869. Published under the direction of the Society. New York; Hurd and Houghton. 1869. Small octavo, pp. 40.

During the past Summer, a Committee of the Maine Historical Society was appointed to examine and report on the remains, in the town of Bristol, of the ancient fortification at Pemaquid, the paved street, and indications of the original settlement connected therewith; and the occasion of the visit of the Committee to the site of the ancient settlement was marked on their calendars, by the inhabitants of the surrounding country, as "a red-letter day," of the greatest importance.

The Committee was greeted with a hearty welcome; and it conducted its investigations amid the collected crowds who then heard, many of them for the first time, the details of the early history of many of the localities among which they lived and daily moved.

This little volume records the welcome which was extended to the Committee; but it does not pretend to give the formal result of the Commit-

tee's investigations—that remains for future publication. It contains, however, a *Prefatory Note*, by Doctor Ballard, the Secretary of the Society, in which the narrative of the Committee's visit is given in a condensed form, and a *Historical Sketch* and a beautiful and very appropriate *Poem*, both by Mrs. Hackleton, which added so much to the pleasure of the visitors.

There is something so complete and elegant about the *Sketch* and *Poem* of Mrs. Hackleton, that we feel that the Committee and Society should have done *their* part to make this volume a more fitting memorial of the visit of the former to ancient Pemaquid. As it is, the result of the visit is still unknown; the "succinct narrative" which Professor Johnson, evidently prepared at the expense of much labor, is left only in the author's manuscript and the fleeting recollections of those who heard it, notwithstanding a copy was asked for, for publication; and the "addresses of great practical interest," especially that of B. K. Sewall, Esq., of Wiscasset, are daily becoming less distinctly remembered and will very soon be forgotten. It is to be regretted, therefore, that what was evidently done so well, in all its parts, has not been recorded, with careful fidelity, in the same volume, for the benefit of those who shall come after us.

The little volume is from the Riverside Press, and is elegantly printed and neatly bound.

9.—*Minutes of the Forty-third Annual Meeting of the General Conference of the Congregational Churches in Maine*: with the Sermon before the Maine Missionary Society, by Rev. Alfred E. Ives, of Castine, and the Report of the Trustees, at its Sixty-second Anniversary, held with the Hammond-street Congregational Church in Bangor, June 22 and 23, 1869. Portland: 1869. Octavo, pp. 112.

Its elaborate title-page describes, both accurately and fully, the contents of this volume; and it only remains for us, therefore, to say that the materials were arranged for the Press by Deacon E. F. Duren, of Bangor, whose perfect fitness for the peculiar duties of Secretary of such a body cannot be disputed by any one who will run over these pages.

The arrangement of the ample supply of material is excellent, and may be taken as a model by Secretaries, generally: the typography, by Thurston of Portland, is exceedingly good.

10.—*The Collegiate Dutch Church*. Proceedings at the Centennial Anniversary of the Dedication of the North Dutch Church, May 25, 1869; and, also, at the laying of the corner-stone of the New Church, on Fifth Avenue, corner Forty-eighth street, on the same day. Published by order of the Consistory of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church, in the city of New York. 1869. Octavo, pp. 76.

We are indebted to Rev. Talbot W. Chambers, D.D., for a copy of this very beautiful volume, recording the doings of the venerable Collegiate

Dutch Church—the remnant of those who dare be *Dutch* in the midst of a city where the spirit of the Dutch controls—in the celebration of the one hundredth birth-day of one of her Meeting-houses, and in the laying of the corner-stone of another which is now in progress.

The corner-stone of the North Dutch Church was laid in 1767; and the edifice was opened for worship on the twenty fifth of May, 1769; and, on the Centennial Anniversary of its Dedication, that event was duly honored by appropriate services, the record of which is in this volume.

On this occasion, with the greatest propriety, the venerable Dominie DeWitt presided and delivered the opening *Address*, after which Dominie Chambers read the *Memorial Discourse*—a paper which indicated considerable research, a more than usual candor of statement, and an aptitude for historical writing which is as unusual as it is desirable.

Doctor Chambers opened bluntly, as he should, with the subject matter of his discourse. No flourish of rhetoric heralded the approach of his history; but the statement of the day, and date, and newspaper, in which appeared the original notice of the event which the Church had assembled to commemorate, appropriately opened the words of his *Memorial*.

A survey of the period when the structure was dedicated, follows—it was the same year in which Napoleon Bonaparte, Ney, and Soult, Wellington, Cuvier, and Humboldt, Sir Thomas Lawrence, Brunel, and the younger Watt, were born: it was the year when the elder Watt patented his condensing steam engine, and Arkwright his spinning-jenny. Clement XIV. was Pope; Frederic was resting on his laurels; Joseph II. was the reigning Emperor of Germany; the Dauphin was not yet united to the beautiful, but ill-fated Maria Antoinette. Sir Henry Moore and Cadwallader Colden ruled New York; the illegitimate son of Benjamin Franklin was Governor of New Jersey.

The contest, concerning the use of the English language in the Churches, was next referred to, with the call of Dominie Laidlie; the rapid growth of the Churches; the necessary construction of new Meeting-houses; and the preparation for building the North Church, for the especial accommodation of the English-speaking worshippers.

The character of the Harpending legacy and the purpose of the testator next received attention; and then the preacher turned to the matter especially before him—the preliminary subscription, which was secured before even the plans were called for; the plans of Mr. Brestede; the laying of the corner-stone, on the second of July, 1767, by James Roosevelt, Esq.; the prosecution

of the work; the individual contribution of the ten pillars which support the Galleries, by prominent members of the Church; the apportionment of the pews, etc., successively receiving due attention; and the call of Dominie Livingston being particularly referred to.

The War of the Revolution was noticed; and, with unusual frankness, the fact that a Dutch Church, served by a Dutch Dominie, Garret Lydekker, existed in the city, during the whole period of that War, is particularly and minutely referred to—very much to the disgust, we doubt not, of many who would have every Dutchman to have been a refugee, no matter how disloyal it would have been, and every Dutch Meeting house a bear-garden or a riding school.

The restoration of Peace and its results are noticed—the death of Dominie Laidlaw and the withdrawal from active duty of Dominies Ritzenma and DeRonde; the call of Dominies Linn and Knypers; and the subsequent services of Dominies Abeel, Schureman, Brodhead, Milledollar, Strong, Knox, Brownlee—four of them very well remembered by us—were appropriately noticed. The Noon-day Prayer-meeting also received the speaker's attention; and the growing smallness of the stated congregation and the consequent provision for a new disposition of the property, were announced.

The entire discourse was appropriate, unusually accurate in its statements, and more than ordinarily minute in its terms.

In the afternoon of the same day, the corner-stone of a new edifice was laid by Dominie DeWitt; and Dominie Ludlow delivered an appropriate address.

In the evening, the old North Church was again filled to hear the closing services of the Centenary; when Addresses were delivered by Chancellor Ferris, Dominie Hutton, Professor Woodbridge, and Dominie Ludlow; and the celebration ended.

In all these services, and in all that the venerable Collegiate Church does, we rejoice to see, the *Dutch* are never forgotten; and we pray that she may be strengthened as she shall need strength, as long as she shall support, on her front, the manly recognition of those from whom she sprung, which she now boldly carries there.

The pamphlet is from the Aldine Press, and is a very handsome one.

11.—*Catalogue of the Officers and Students of the State Agricultural College of Michigan.* 1869. Lansing: 1869. Octavo, pp. 27.

A very neat pamphlet descriptive of the institution which Michigan has reared for the instruction of her rising generation of farmers. We hope it may prove as useful as it ought to be; yet we fear it will not, as the world goes.

12.—*Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society, Second Series*, Vol. I. 1867–1869. Newark, N. J.: 1869. Octavo, pp. iv, 188.

Prominent among the Historical Societies of the country, both in character and usefulness, is that of New Jersey; and it circulates some of the results of its labors in the semi-occasional volumes of *Collections* which it has issued and the more systematically issued volumes of *Proceedings*, of which the volume before us is the last issued.

In this volume, we find discussed the name of "Neversink;" together with a letter to George H. Moore by W. A. Whitehead, on "Staten-Is-land and the Jersey boundary" and the reply of the former; divers Military Returns and Orders; a paper on the operation of the Stamp-act; remarks on the MS. Journals of the Commons of Great Britain, which are in the Society's Library; various epitaphs, from old Jersey grave-yards; the Notes on New Jersey, in 1776 or 1786—we don't know which*—of John Rutherford; an Address on the late James Parker, by Judge Field; a review of Doctor Hatfield's *History of Elizabeth*, by W. A. Whitehead, who may justly claim the honor of being the greatest scold in Newark; and certain letters of John Rutherford, on "The Commercial prospects of New Jersey, "during the Confederation."

The volume is creditable to the Society; and it entitles that body, notwithstanding the controlling cause which cripples it and impairs its usefulness, to more than it will probably receive and enjoy—the unqualified confidence of Jerseymen, everywhere.

The volume is printed only tolerably.

13.—*Journal of the Proceedings of the Bishops, Clergy and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, assembled in a General Convention, held in the City of New York, from Oct. 7th to Oct. 29th, inclusive, in the year of our Lord 1868. With an Appendix.* Hartford: Printed for the Convention. 1869. Octavo, pp. lxvi, 564.

Digest of the Canons for the Government of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. Passed and Adopted in the General Conventions of 1859, 1862, 1865, and 1868. Together with the Constitution. Printed for the Convention. 1868. Octavo, pp. 122.

Pastoral Letter of the House of Bishops to the Clergy and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. A.D. 1868. Hartford: 1868. Octavo, pp. 10.

We are indebted to the Secretary of the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies, Rev. William Stevens Perry, D.D., for this series of the records and documents of the last General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the United States; and we have pleasure in calling the attention of such of our readers as are interested in it, to its well-printed pages.

14.—*A Memorial of the Semi-Centennial Celebration of the founding of the First Presbyterian Church, Utica, N. Y.* Utica, N. Y.: Ellis H. Roberts. 1867. Octavo, pp. 25.

We notice this volume, although not of recent publication, in order that it may be brought to the attention of our readers, as a local history of unusual interest.

It is a very neat volume, containing the reminiscences of various old settlers of Utica, each telling his own story, in his own way, rather than a systematic narrative of the establishment and progress of Sunday Schools in Utica; and it consequently contains very much that relates to the actions and purposes of individuals, as well as to the localities, the popular ideas, and the struggles for existence, of a by-gone age.

15.—*The Publications of the Prince Society.* Established May 25th, 1858. The Andros Tracts. Volume Second. Boston: Printed for the Society. 1869. Small quarto, pp. xxxvi, 346.

We noticed, some months since, the first volume of this series of *Andros Tracts*; and we considered it to be our duty, at that time, to point out sundry omissions therefrom, which should not have appeared in such a work, prepared for the Press by so excellent an Editor, in so well-supplied a city as Boston; and we find in this volume, no reason for changing the views which we then expressed, both concerning the evident imperfections of that portion of the collection which was then presented, and what might have been the reason for omitting papers of the very highest importance to students of the subject to which the volume professed to be devoted.

If the Prince Society really occupies the place of a partizan, whose great purpose is to establish a theory, no matter how baseless in fact nor how unjust in its effect, and if that purpose is to be carried out by the suppression of some of the facts with which it professes to deal and by the re-setting of some others, it has done well, as such a partizan, engaged in such an undertaking, and in the use of such means, in the issue of what it has been pleased to term *The Andros Tracts*. But, as one of the oldest members of that Society, we do not understand that to have been its particular object; nor do we conceive that, under any circumstances, whether partizan or otherwise, it has any right to treat the materials for history which it undertakes to handle and employ, as it has treated the materials concerning Andros and his administration of the Government of New-England, in the two expensive volumes which it has published and which are now before us.

Andros may have been a bad man and a worse Governor; but his memory, and the cause of Truth, and the demands of genuine History, alike require that he shall not be made to appear

* Compare pages 79 and 89. Ed. His. MAG.

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worse than he really was, by such means as this Society has employed, nor by any others.

As a Royal Governor, he was necessarily controlled by the written instructions of the Home Government, whose servant he was; and to that extent, at least, the Government was responsible and not he. Why, then, were not those Instructions admitted into this Collection, which would have enabled those who employ it, to understand the entire case, properly, and to judge for themselves, wherein and to what extent Andros was individually blameworthy, and to what extent and wherein the Government, whose servant he was and whose Instructions were the secret power by which his action was controlled, is to be held accountable?

Again, the not altogether lovely disposition of "the Governed," in New-England, about that time, is an element which this Society should have ventilated while it was engaged on Andros and his times; and it would have probably done so, if the partizan character of the Society had been less manifest than it has been. But that does not seem to be the temper of "Boston," as that body makes itself known to the rural districts of Massachusetts and to those of us who are not of that ancient Commonwealth.

This "Boston," as our readers know, is not the aggregate of that venerable Municipality which is impatiently huddled around Beacon-hill and joyfully pushes its way into the Back-bay, in the absence of any better place to which it can go; but, comparatively, an insignificant number of pretentious men, generally of what assume to be "the first families" of the city, although very seldom of the most ancient and honorable of the number: men who forget the short-comings of their own ancestors in their zeal to talk about the assumed virtues of the ancestors of those who make no such pretensions: men whose successful want of integrity, in one occupation, no longer pestered with their presence, has been too often transferred, with themselves, to another profession, which has not yet gotten rid of either. These, *by aggregating what are assumed to have been the virtues of the community*, both in ancient and in modern times, are enabled, without challenge from any one, to claim a share in that to which, if considered apart from the aggregated community and on their own merits, they could lay no claim whatever, even to the very smallest amount.

Thus "Boston" has an idea that it is improper, in any one, to look into the records of other days, if the effect of it is to impair the standing of any of the heroes or of the saints which it has invented; and it seems to suppose, too, that it possesses an unquestionable license, whenever it shall please to do so, to add such testimony of its own invention as it shall need, to make its

case, *ex parte*, and as much of it, too, as shall be necessary to establish that case before the world. In imitation of those of their neighbors who assume to exercise that rather questionable franchise, the managers of the Prince Society have ventured to issue two expensive volumes of "The Andros Tracts"—not a selection of them—from which they have diligently excluded everything which would possibly tend to illustrate "the other side," either of the assumed tyranny of Sir Edmund or the concealed lawlessness of the Colonists of Massachusetts; exactly as the history of Slavery, and of Nullification, and of attempted Secession, within the borders and with the hearty approval of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, have been studiously concealed, in these our days, by her historical writers, both by the suppression of ugly truths which would tell against their present pretensions to superiority, and by the invention and circulation of more palatable falsehoods, which may serve to promote them.

As materials for history—very largely nothing more than that which, in another form we had already on our book-shelves—these volumes, *as far as they go*, are very well; but, *for the cost of them*, the members of the Club should have had what was promised—"The Andros Tracts"—without abridgement, or mutilation, or omission, whether "Boston" was pleased or displeased, whether Sir Edmund was or was not a rigid Executive among a lawless and unprincipled community, whether the invented reputation, for superior godliness, of the predecessors of "Boston" was or was not damaged, by that publication. As it is, these volumes serve chiefly to provide, in more elegant form, but without affording any essential service to close and honest students of the history of the Andros Administration, a portion of the "Tracts" referred to, and those of the class which are the least important to those who are seeking a knowledge of the exact truth of the subject.

Typographically considered, these volumes are very handsome, as they should be, at seven dollars per volume.

16.—*Memoirs of the Long Island Historical Society, Volume II. The Battle of Long Island: with preceding and subsequent events.* Brooklyn, N. Y.: Published by the Society. 1869. Octavo, pp. xi, 549. Price \$5.

Among the Historical Societies of our country, we know no one which has done as much, and, generally, as well, within as short a time, as the Long Island Society; and, as excellent testimony on that subject, we need do little more than direct our readers' attention to its well-stocked and well-selected library, to its well-invested Permanent and Publication Funds, and to the two volumes of *Memoirs* which, as an earnest of

others yet to come, it has sent out into the world.

In the elegant volume before us, we have what the sub-title rather clumsily tells us is *The Battle of Long Island; with connected preceding events, and the subsequent American retreat. Introductory Narrative by Thomas W. Field. With authentic documents*; by which we suppose is meant, a series of papers, documentary and narrative in form, inedited and selected, concerning the military operations on Long Island, in the Summer of 1776; with an introductory narrative of those operations, by our diligent friend, Thomas W. Field, and divers pictorial illustrations, more or less important and less or more accurate in their form.

Of the *Papers* referred to, there are very few which were unknown, before the issue of this volume, to every one who has pretended to know anything of the subject to which they relate—Duer's *Life of Stirling*, Force's *American Archives*, *The Journals and Documents of the New York Provincial Congress*, Sparks's *Letters of Washington*, Onderdonk's *Queen's County, Pennsylvania Historical Society's Bulletin*, *Chambersburg in the Colony and the Revolution*, Lushington's *Life of Lord Harris*, *The Naval Chronicle*, Max von Eelking's *Die Deutschen Hülfsstruppen in Nordamerikanischen Befreiungskriege, 1776 bis 1783*, Knight's *Pictorial History of England*, Stedman's *History*, Sir William Howe's *Narrative*, *The Detail and Conduct of the American War*, Abraham Leggett's *Narrative*, Stiles's *Ancient Windsor*, Williams's *Life of Olney*, and Headley's *Chaplains and Clergy of the Revolution*, from which by far the greater portion have been extracted, being in print and readily accessible to every body; while the manuscript Diary of President Stiles and the brief narratives of two nameless authors, published, respectively, in the *Vermont Chronicle* and in a volume printed in 1830, furnish, alone, that portion which is less accessible—the great mass of highly important correspondence and other material, which the papers of that day, here and in Europe, afford so liberally and so usefully to the diligent student, having been wholly neglected; and private family papers, readily accessible to the Society, as entirely disregarded as if none such existed.

As these papers constitute the text of the volume, and as we had been led to suppose that unusual attention had been paid to the collection of unpublished material, especially on Long Island, we confess that we are disappointed in the reality which has been actually presented by the work itself. It is not as useful as we supposed it would be. It is well-enough as far as it goes; but it does not go far enough, as the publication of a Historical Society. Business publishers

have reason, very often, to make their publications less complete than they should be; but a Historical Society, as such, with ample means, both literary and financial, and with an already provided remunerative patronage to sustain it, should afford no ground for such a censure. It should exhaust its subjects, as far as it can do so, whenever it undertakes to discuss them; and it should never content itself with a mere compilation of masses of papers and narratives, *each entirely independent of the others*, copied from published volumes which are readily accessible to every one, in every well-appointed library, either public or private, at the expense of other, equally important, but less accessible.

We may, also, express a doubt as to the usefulness, in such a work as this, of mere narratives of events, written in our own day, by those who were not present when they occurred and whose information is either derived from no unusual source or presented in language different from that employed by those on whom they depend. Thus, Mr. Headley's and Mrs. Williams's, Mr. Lushington's, Mr. Knight's, and Mr. von Eelking's narratives afford to the reader only the private understanding of the matter which those writers respectively entertain; while even Stedman's, notwithstanding its high character, is hardly fit for re-publication by a Historical Society, among the original authorities concerning a battle at which its author does not pretend to have been present.

The *Introductory Narrative*, by Mr. Field, is very elaborate and very circumstantial.

Commencing with a survey of the original settlement of Long Island, at either extremity, by antagonistic peoples, Mr. Field hurries forward to the disaffection to the Crown which was manifested in 1774, the subsequent strife of parties on the island, the occupation of its western extremity by the Royal troops, the battle and defeat, and the flight of the insurgents, closing with a Chapter on the capture and death of General Woodhull.

It would be unjust to treat Mr. Field, in this connection, as we would treat, therein, a professional writer; and we shall consider less unfavorably, therefore, than we should have done, some defects which we have noticed in his pages. Thus, we shall not protest as strongly as we might, against the publication of such a narrative as this without an exhibition of the authorities on which it is based, at the foot of the pages; he may inform us that the Declaration of Independence was *signed* on the fourth of July, 1776, as he does on page 127, without more than a passing shake of our head; and his failure to account for the successful movement of the Royal troops, on the American left, as conclusively as he might have done, shall be quietly disregarded.

With commendable candor and fidelity, and with great minuteness, Mr. Field narrates and condemns the outrages which were inflicted on the loyal inhabitants of Long Island, by the Ben. Butler of that day, the notorious Charles Lee; and in doing so, he not unfrequently displays his sense of the ungracious task which is too often imposed on the historical writers of to-day, of considering every loyal man of that period as unworthy of respect, and every insurgent to have been a patriot and a saint. He tells, too, of the sturdy fidelity to their King and Government, even under the most adverse circumstances, of the loyal inhabitants of Queen's-county; and he evidently recognizes the strangeness of the contrast between the sentiments of that time and those at the present, concerning the duty of the citizen to the Government to which he legally owes obedience.

He notices, also, with great precision and, apparently, great caution, the partizan strife which was produced by these raids of the insurgents on the loyalists of Long Island—those measures, which were adopted by those who were not in revolt, either for their own defence or as retaliatory for injuries which they had sustained from others. He very elaborately discourses on the occupation of Long Island by the Royal Army, without, however, being entirely successful in preventing obscurity in some portions of the narrative; and, not unfrequently at the expence of precision, and sometimes overlooking very important facts, he fights the Battle of Long Island over again, much as it was originally fought by those of whom he writes—without a proper understanding of either the positions, or the movements, or the strength of the assailants, or the secret wickedness of him who commanded the Americans, or the weakness, if not the criminal stupidity, of those who, too often, were the subordinates in command. He tells us, too, of the noble daring of those gallant men—the “Mac-caronis,” of Maryland, and the “Blue-hen's,” of Delaware—who so nobly resisted the progress of the Royal troops, at Gowanus, and who, notwithstanding they had lost more than one-half their number, would not give way until their General ordered them to do so: he does *not* tell us, however, of the miserable cowardice of those Connecticut troops, who had been sent to guard the Jamaica Pass, but, with due regard for their own safety, who had slept at the western extremity of it and knew nothing of the presence of an enemy, until the latter emerged from the Pass and was the agreeable witness of the terror which his presence produced in the ranks of those to whom had been entrusted the defence of that all-important position.

Mr. Field dignifies with the name of a “Siege,” the dilatoriness of the Royal troops, after the Battle; and he very minutely describes the retreat of the shattered remains of the American Army, when they abandoned Brooklyn and were concentrated in New York.

As a whole, notwithstanding the merits of Mr. Field's paper, this volume, as we have said, disappoints us; and we see no reason for supposing, even with this volume before us, that the Battle of Long Island has been historically exhausted. Typographically considered, this volume reflects credit on Joel Munsell, by whom it was printed.

17.—*Franklin Society Publications, I. The Printer*: Read before the Franklin Society of the City of Chicago, by James W. Sheahan, October 27, 1869. Chicago: Published by the Franklin Society. 1869. Quarto, pp. 40.

The Franklin Society is composed of persons directly connected with the business of printing, editing, or publishing of books or newspapers, the manufacture of paper, printing presses, or printing-ink, type-founding, and its branches, engraving, book-binding, and kindred trades connected with typography. It proposes to issue a series of tracts, upon subjects connected with the different crafts represented in the organization; and the beautiful tract before us is the first of the number.

In this paper, Mr. Sheahan undertook to say “what a Printer ought to be and what he might be if he would”; and in a short, pithy address, of strong, practical words, he conveyed to his hearers many plain truths which are just as applicable to all others as to Printers, and quite as useful in Morrisania as in Chicago. There is nothing very profound in them; but they are sensible, easily understood, and perfectly adapted to the end for which they were spoken.

As we said, this tract is very handsome; but the paper is too large for a convenient preservation of it, without mutilation.

C.—PUBLIC DOCUMENTS.

18.—*Journal of the Council of Censors of the State of Vermont, at its several Sessions held in Montpelier, 1869*. Published by order of Council. Montpelier: 1869. Octavo, pp. 167.

In a recent number of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, we noticed the periodical organization of this Council, in Vermont, for the purpose of ascertaining if the Constitution of that State had been invaded by any of its officers, and if so, what remedy should be provided, and to advise such alterations of the Constitution, as it should see fit, to the People, for its Ratification or rejection. We alluded, also, to the recent Session

of the Council of Censors and to the action of that body, concerning the existing Constitution; and the Documents which it had then printed were only noticed.

In the volume before us, we have the Journal of the Council, complete; and we invite the attention to it of all who are interested in the Constitutional history of the Republic.

19.—*Florida: its climate, soil, and productions, with a sketch of its history, natural features, and social condition, a manual of reliable information concerning the resources of the State and the inducements to immigrants.* Prepared officially by Hon. J. S. Adams, Commissioner of Immigration for the State of Florida. Jacksonville: Edred M. Cheney, State Printer, 1869. Octavo, pp. iv, 151.

The Southern States are striving to induce emigrants to seek homes in that portion of the Union; and several of the States have appointed Commissioners especially charged with the duty of presenting their respective claims to the world. Florida is one of these; and in the volume before us we have a copy of the descriptive pamphlet in which her Commissioner has presented reliable information concerning the situation, history, political condition, and system of Government, social condition, climate, soil, productions, etc., of that State. In all these, there is no appearance of exaggeration; but the statements are moderate in their tone and well-sustained, by, apparently, the best evidence.

As a local, relating to Florida, this volume is highly important; and libraries and collectors will do well to obtain copies.

20.—*Provincial Papers.* Documents and Records relating to the Province of New Hampshire, from 1692 to 1722: being Part II. of papers relating to that period, containing the "Journal of the Council and General Assembly." Published by authority of the Legislature of New Hampshire. Volume III. Compiled and edited by Nathaniel Bonton, D.D., Corresponding Secretary of the New Hampshire Historical Society. Manchester: John B. Clarke, State Printer. 1869. Octavo, pp. viii, 853.

We have heretofore referred to this work and condemned the system in which it is edited: we return to the subject, with this volume before us, with more pleasure, since it seems to have been prepared with more respect for the originals—at any rate, the Corresponding Secretary of a History Society has discontinued his ignorant sneers at those who desire to read the ancient papers of New Hampshire, her records as well as her documents, in all their peculiarities of punctuation, spelling, and capitals, without the impertinent interference of an Editor's ignorance, or prejudice, or interests, recklessly set in motion, in defiance of all good precedents and all common sense.

We have no means of knowing how far Doctor Bouton has altered the important Journals which he has re-produced in this volume; al-

though it is evident that he has done so, to some considerable extent: it is to be regretted that his mulish obstinacy forbids him from changing the course which, in his self sufficiency, he originally marked out for himself, notwithstanding the examples he had before him, to the contrary, in the published Journals of Plymouth, Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, New Haven, New York, Pennsylvania, etc.

We regret to perceive, also, "the Editor has not deemed it necessary or expedient to publish, entire," the *first* Journal of the Assembly of the State, even while publishing the Records of that period, simply because "it is very meagre and incomplete." We need no better evidence than this, of the entire want of capacity, as an Editor of such papers, of Doctor Bouton, and our regret that he has been called to such a position.

The volume is very neatly printed; and the edition numbered eight hundred copies.

21.—*Roll of Honor, (No. XXI.)* Names of Soldiers who died in defence of the American Union, interred in the National Cemeteries at Memphis, Tennessee, and Chalmette, (near New Orleans,) Louisiana. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1869. Octavo, pp. 403.

Roll of Honor, (No. XXIII.) Names of Soldiers who died in defence of the American Union, interred in the National Cemeteries at Marietta, Ga.; Fort Donelson, Tenn.; Chattanooga, Tenn.; (Additional to XI;) Marfreesboro, Tenn., (Additional to No. XI;) and Knoxville, Tenn., (Additional to No. XI.) Washington: Government Printing Office. 1869. Octavo, pp. 323.

We have so often referred to this series of Reports that we need do no more, in this case, than to state that, in the first of these volumes, twenty-three thousand and sixteen, and, in the last, sixteen thousand, six hundred, and seventy-five, burials are recorded, with the name, in each case, wherever known, of the soldier, the Regiment and Company of which he was a member, the day of his death, the place of his original interment, and the Section of the Cemetery and number of the Grave which he now occupies.

Numbers XX and XXII are not yet ready.

C.—TRADE PUBLICATIONS.

22.—*The Pictorial Field-book of the War of 1812; or, illustrations, by pen and pencil, of the history, biography, scenery, relics, and traditions of the last War of Independence.* By Benson J. Lossing. With several hundred engravings on wood, by Lossing and Barritt, chiefly from original sketches by the author. New York: Harper & Bros. 1868, pp. title-page and verso, 1034.

We are indebted to our long-time friend, the widely-known author of this volume, for a copy of it; but we have not much pleasure in calling attention to it.

Our readers are generally acquainted with the *Pictorial Field-book of the Revolution*, by the same author; and, to many of them, are also

known, in all their fullness, the merits of that well-known work as well as the defects which so sadly mar its many beauties. The peculiar plan of its construction—combining the narrative of a modern tourist with that of a devoted antiquary and historian—and its many wood-cuts, offered unusual attractions to the dry narrative of the events of the War, as they had been previously presented; and many were thereby attracted to it who, but for these novel inducements, would not have looked at it.

The *Field book* before us, however, is nearly a complete abandonment of this new process; and it restores the ordinary chronological arrangement of the narrative to the position from which the former *Field-book* so completely and agreeably hurled it—it is a chronologically arranged History of the War of 1812; and the pictorial garnishing of the dish is all of the *Field-book* peculiarity which we can see in it.

Mr. Lossing, in the volume before us, carries his readers back to the evacuation of New York by the British, in 1783—indeed, he also gives them a taste of the opening of the Revolution; and, in doing so, we are sorry to say that, in our judgment, he too often sacrifices his fidelity as a historian for the sake of rhetorical effect. Thus, in the very opening paragraph of the work, he writes: "When the War of Independence had just been kindled, the statesmen and sages of that hour decreed the dismemberment of a mighty empire and the establishment of a nation of freemen in the New World,"—a statement which Mr. Lossing must know has no foundation in fact; on the contrary, those "statesmen and sages," both at "that hour" and long afterwards, steadily asserted their loyalty to their legal Sovereign and as steadily disclaimed an intention, even the least, to strike for their independence from the Mother Country. Indeed, so well-read a student as Mr. Lossing, must have read their emphatic disclaimers and the unmistakable evidence of their good faith in making them, dozens of times; and we need not further enlarge on it, except to wonder that he possibly penned such a paragraph, as that which we have quoted.

Mr. Lossing tells us, also, that, "their rebellion instantly assumed the dignity of a Revolution, and commanded the respect and sympathy of the civilized nations"; while the fact was that even the insurgents themselves steadily disclaimed all idea of "a Revolution" from the beginning until July, 1776; and it required more than another year—nearly three years from the beginning of the War—before the first of "the civilized nations," referred to by Mr. Lossing, could be induced to face the inevitable war which would ensue, should it recognize the new-born Republic, notwithstanding a

division of the power of what had always been a natural enemy of France, which such a recognition might possibly promote, formed a much greater inducement for her to do so than all others combined—certainly greater than any love, in that country, for the insurgents or for the great political principles which they asserted.

The American Revolution was the necessary result of a peculiar policy in the Home Government; and the Colonists were as unwillingly pushed into it, by the controlling power of a superintending Providence, as was the Home Government. It was of slow growth, too, and not the work of an hour; and it is yet an unsolved question if the insurgents of 1775 acted wisely, either in what they undertook to do or what they really did—indeed there are many who openly declare that the Revolution in America has been productive of more mischief than good, both to the inhabitants of the States and to the world, generally.

Mr. Lossing next introduces those uneasy spirits through whose busy ambition the United States were kept in hot-water, as far as Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, and their respective co-agitators were able to keep the water at boiling heat; and he tells us of their reverential thankfulness to God and of their prescience concerning the evil which was in store for their country.

The party to which Mr. Lossing refers may have been the very devout individuals which he describes; but we have never seen any evidence of it—we have seen, however, and we can show, the evidence that those gentlemen, to a man, reprobated the great doctrine of the manhood of man, *per se*; that they opposed the general right of the governed to govern themselves; and that the British Constitution, in all its leading features, was the form of Government for the United States which they altogether preferred. They were the veriest toadies of monarchy, *provided they filled the offices*; and their representatives, to day, are just like them; and the commonalty, then and now, was as dust under their feet and unworthy of the least consideration from them, *except as payers of taxes*.

Mr. Lossing next unaccountably repeats the oft-told balderdash concerning the apocryphal Confederation which has been, too often, the theme of such historians as preceded him. The United States, he tells us, "had not formed a Nation and thereby created a power to be respected"; notwithstanding John Quincy Adams tells us,—we will not say how untruly,—in his *Jubilee Discourse*, that such a Nation *was* formed when the Declaration of Independence was signed.

Mr. Lossing says, truly, when he says "they had not formed a Nation"; but he does not speak truly when he says that, either for that

reason or any other, they were not "respected" abroad and prosperous at home, during the six years, from 1783 to 1789. We think we, too, have a reputation to lose; and we are willing to venture it on this very subject. We say, therefore,—and we challenge Mr. Lossing to disprove it—that during the six years from the Spring of 1783, when the Treaty of Peace was signed with Great Britain, until the Spring of 1789, the United States enjoyed a more enviable position, in their commercial relations with the nations of Europe, than they did during the next succeeding six years, under Washington's administration; that their prosperity, at home, taking into consideration the relative position of the industry of the country, at the suspension of hostilities, in the beginning of the first term and the prosperity, secured by the preceding six years of Peace, with which the second term was opened, was vastly in favor of the former; and that the morals of the inhabitants and respect for the laws of the land were sensibly worse during the first six years under the Constitution than they had been during the preceding six years, under the Confederation, before that instrument was adopted. If Mr. Lossing had not presented, at second hand, what he might have more safely looked for in the original authorities he, too, would have seen the blindness of his dissolute guides and become, himself, a more trustworthy guide than he now can pretend to be. We speak understandingly on this subject; and when we see such really honest men as Mr. Lossing, even when they profess to write as historians, re-produce only the vile falsehoods of unprincipled monarchical partisans, we sometimes wonder if the Almighty has not permitted our countrymen to be thus misled, in order that they may the more readily become the willing victims of the scourges with which he will, hereafter, punish the pride and dishonesty of our countrymen.

Mr. Lossing next examines, in detail, what he considers the causes of what he considers to have been the nothingness of the Confederation. Unlike Mr. Adams, as we have said, he supposes, very correctly, "that our fathers had *not* formed "a NATION on the return of Peace; and in *that* "fact," he also supposes, "was the inherent "weakness of their Government and the spring "of all the hopes of the royalists for their "speedy return to colonial supremacy"—as it has, ever since, been "the spring of the hopes" of every tory, notwithstanding the "establishment" of the Constitution "between" the States, which Mr. Lossing seems to suppose has remedied the "weakness" which he has invented. He makes *The Articles of Confederation*, very properly, "the organic law of the great American "League of independent Commonwealths"; and

he jugglers around the terms of the Treaty of Peace which was made by the King with *each State* by name, and satisfies himself with the shabby excuse that the several States "were "held to be, *on the part of the English*, independent republics, as they had been Colonies "independent of each other"—without even appearing to know, certainly without stating, that "*the English*" were not the only party to that Treaty whose ideas concerning its peculiar phraseology were considered, when that Treaty was drawn up and executed; and without seeming to know, too, that *the Treaties with France, and that with Holland, and that with Sweden*,—all made before that with Great Britain—were made with the same parties, on our side, in the same terms, and in no other. And pray, Mr. Lossing, in what other terms could that Treaty have possibly been made, with the least propriety? One party was merely "a League of independent Commonwealths"—your own description of it—in what terms then could that party have been more properly described, in the Treaty, than by naming, separately, each of the several "independent Commonwealths" of which that League was composed?

But Mr. Lossing intensifies his unaccountable obscurity, *as a historian*, by adding a foot-note to his curious remarks on the terms of the Treaty; and that foot-note is devoted to an elaborate exposition of its author's views on "*supreme State* "Sovereignty."

Pray, Mr. Lossing, how many kinds of State Sovereignty are there, as you understand the subject? and what kind of "Sovereignty" is that, whether "State" or otherwise, which is not "supreme"? Will you be kind enough, also, in your next edition, to tell us just what you understand by the term "State" and what by the term "Sovereignty," in order that we may know just how much you differ from Vattel, and Montesquieu, and Bodin, and Fortescue, and Grotius, and Sidney; and just how nearly you are in line with Salmasius, and Sir Robert Filmer, and John Wesley, and Samuel Johnson, and Joseph Galloway, and James Rivington?

Now, Mr. Lossing knows full well—if he does not, let him ask the first country Squire whom he meets—that the technical term, "State," is the exact equivalent of the technical term "People," and that the technical term "Sovereignty" finds an exact equivalent in the words "the *original* right to command and to employ"; and he knows, therefore, that what he pleases to term "the *mischievous political doctrine*," is nothing more nor less than the doctrine of "the original" [*not delegated*] "right of "the People to command" [*those who are within its own territory*] "and to employ," [*under the right of domain*] the property which they may

possess—certainly not a very “mischievous” doctrine among Republicans, *in a Republic*; but emphatically so, in the hands of real Republicans, *in a despotism*; and particularly so—and hence the terror which it inspires in some parts of the United States—when it is employed by genuine Republicans, as a reminder to those public officers of their own creation, who have disregarded and overridden the laws of the land and undertaken to play the tyrant, as far as their ignorance and their sense of security have enabled those officers to do so. Mr. Lossing seems inclined to take his position on the part of the absolutists: he will not step on our toes while he thus amuses himself.

Mr. Lossing next relates the effort which was made by the Congress of the United States, to obtain the consent of the several States that it, the Congress, might levy certain specified taxes, “the revenue therefrom to be applied solely to the payment of the interest and principal of the public debt”; and he narrates, also, the want of success in the application, without telling just why it was unsuccessful—how fairly, on his part, the reader may judge. He then terms that unsuccessful attempt to secure to itself the *delegation* to it, by the several States, of certain specified authority, for certain specified purposes, during a certain specified term, as an “important effort of the Congress to assume the functions of Sovereignty”!! Comment on this is wholly unnecessary. Either Mr. Lossing uses these important words without understanding their real meaning—which we do not believe—or without exercising that caution in the use of terms which is the first requisite of every careful historian, especially when treating of such momentous subjects as this, and in a period of ill-regulated excitement. Congress, in all this was, and only assumed to be, what John Adams termed, “the agent” of the several States from whom it sought authority to do what, before and without that authority, it could not pretend to do, either as “agent” or otherwise. This was seeking what Mr. Lossing termed, when defining “sovereignty,” (*page 20, note*) “no superior,” with a vengeance.

If Mr. Lossing will take the trouble to turn to the British *Statutes at large*—he can find them in the Astor Library—he will see just how untrue he has written, on pages 21 and 23, the history of the commercial relations between the United States and Great Britain, between 1783 and 1789. It is well, sometimes, to be quite sure of the value of one’s authorities before undertaking to write *history*: when writing *romance* one needs take less trouble.

Mr. Lossing next refers to what he pleases to term the weakness of the Confederacy, an idea

which he has entertained because of the formation of the new State of Franklin, where Tennessee now is, on the western side of the Mountains; of the outrages committed by Connecticut men, under the authority of Connecticut, in the valley of Wyoming, in Pennsylvania; of the attempt to organize a State, in the Massachusetts District of Maine; of the Exeter mob, in New-Hampshire; and of the Shays Rebellion in Massachusetts—as if any of these had the least earthly connection with *Federal* affairs or were suppressed either by Federal bayonets or Federal influence.

Now Mr. Lossing thus writes history: the inhabitants of Western North Carolina, under the Confederation, sought to establish, and did establish, for their own convenience, the State of Franklin; and he has made that fact do duty as evidence of what he is pleased to consider the weakness of the Federal Congress, under that Confederation: he has not been pleased, however, to attribute to any weakness in “the new system,” under the Constitution, the renewed attempt to do the same thing, which the same community made, years afterwards, when the State of Tennessee was organized. How impartially Mr. Lossing has thus either swiftly condemned or silently acquiesced in these respective movements, one a parallel of the other, and how faithfully he has referred to the matter, in his History, or how necessarily, in such a connection, others can say as well as we: they can say, too, we imagine, how little the Federal authorities had to do with the internal affairs of North Carolina, at that time; and, in the days when the fathers were in authority, how little the latter interfered with what did not legally concern them.

But Connecticut squatted on Pennsylvania and impudently claimed property and jurisdiction, there, before the Constitution was established between the States; and Mr. Lossing sees in that fact a historical mare’s nest, indicative of weakness in the Confederation: both Connecticut and Massachusetts did the same in New York, *after* that event, yet Mr. Lossing has seen nothing in the latter event to warrant a judgment concerning either the weakness or the stability of the new system. Who, except Mr. Lossing, would have supposed that, in either of these circumstances, there is evidence of any defects in the *Federal* Constitution; or, who, except that gentleman, would have contrived to find, in the one case, and not in the other, any evidence whatever of the weakness of the *Federal* Constitution, whatever it may, against that of the *State* authorities? Who, except Mr. Lossing, too, would have looked into the record of either of those outrages, in which the Federal authorities were not concerned a whit, for evidence of either the strength or the weakness of the Congress?

He sees, too, in the *earlier* and *unsuccessful* movements of the inhabitants of the District of Maine, for the establishment of its independence from Massachusetts, a certain evidence of the insufficiency of the Confederation, although that body had no concern in the matter and made it none of its business; yet, the *more recent* and *successful* attempts of the same people, to establish the same separation, have not been seen by Mr. Lossing as evidence of the insufficiency of the existing Constitution—he does not seem to have heard, either, of the unsuccessful revolt of the Eastern District of New York, during the supremacy of what we know as the Confederacy, nor of the success of the same insurgents, in their subsequent operations, after the new Constitution had been established; and as for the case of West Virginia, wherein the Federal Constitution was openly and flagrantly violated by the Federal authorities, he has either never heard of it or has not seen in it the least appearance of weakness in the existing system, unless—as we are not willing to believe—his pen was stayed in its holy work of bearing testimony to the Truth, because of the injury which it might do to the temper or the reputation of a dominant political party.

The Exeter mob, in New Hampshire, too, is pressed into Mr. Lossing's questionable service, notwithstanding there was no *Federal* question involved and no *Federal* interposition to suppress it; and the Shays insurrection, in Massachusetts, was an exactly similar case.

Our readers will judge how fit such a pen as Mr. Lossing's is to write *History*, when such a series of misrepresentations as these are among its staple productions: that it is well-suited for the line of *Romance* no one will dispute. But the end is not yet.

On page 24, Mr. Lossing says, "the exhaustion of the people was great on account of the War; and poverty was wide-spread. The farmer found no remunerative market for his produce; and domestic manufactures were depressed by foreign competition. Debt weighed down all classes; and made them feel that the burden which the tax-gatherer would lay upon them would be the 'feather' which would 'break the camel's back.' There was doubt, and confusion, and perplexity, on every side, and the very air seemed thick with forebodings of evil. Society appeared to be about dissolving into its original elements." Mr. Lossing should have told his readers, too, that in the midst of all this gloom—if it really existed; *which we deny*—so willing were the people of that day to remain in their distress, that the People of Rhode Island, *by a formal vote at the polls, rejected the proposed change, declining even to send Delegates to the Convention and, by*

nearly an unanimous vote, rejecting the new Constitution, after it had been framed; that the People of Massachusetts, New York, Virginia, and North Carolina, at the polls, voted squarely against any change whatever, and sent Delegates to their respective Conventions who were pledged to reject the proposed "new system"; that New York, during that pretended period of gloom and distress, had paid off her debts and had paid more than had been asked of her, into the Federal Treasury; and that the Constitution was established and a change secured, not because of the "thick forebodings of evil," but by the purchase, in the market, of Delegates whose constituents were thus betrayed, by those who had other ends to serve than the public good. What fools those people must have been, in this State, for instance, who, outside of the City of New York and its immediate neighborhood, so far preferred to remain in misery that they sent unbroken Delegations, wholly pledged to resist every change in the existing frame of Government; while Samuel Adams, John Hancock, Elbridge Gerry, George Clinton, Richard Henry Lee, Patrick Henry, Edmund Randolph, and others not less noteworthy and upright, must have been as dishonest as they were unwise, when they so resolutely resisted the establishment of "the new plan" of Government, which the Constitution inaugurated.

Mr. Lossing speaks of the Annapolis Convention as a "failure." Why has he not told his readers, what he must know to be the truth, that it was, on the contrary, *a fraud*; that, after the fashion of Tammany-hall, the meeting was organized and almost instantly adjourned, in order to prevent the Delegates who were then on their way and very near the town, from discharging the particular duties for the performance of which they had been sent to Annapolis, and to secure more surely the nice little game which Alexander Hamilton, Egbert Benson, and their friends had, beforehand, determined to play.

Mr. Lossing says, too, that the Philadelphia Convention of 1787, "was convened for the purpose of establishing the validity and power of the Declaration of Independence, by dissolving the inefficient political League of the States, and constituting the inhabitants of all the States one great and indissoluble NATION." All this, Mr. Lossing must know, is wholly untrue. Instead of being convened for the purpose of "dissolving" "the League of friendship" which then existed, it was convened merely to amend the existing *Articles of Confederation*. Instead of repealing those *Articles of Confederation*—the pretended act of repeal Mr. Lossing has never yet seen and never will see—those *Articles*, wherein they have not been superseded, are, to-day, the organic law of the Republic and alone

furnish the name of the Republic and the bond of union between the States: they furnish, also, the only existing constitutional enactment disallowing a dissolution of the Union. So far was this Convention from transforming the Republic into a Nation, as Mr. Lossing must know, even the Admiralty Courts of the United States, to-day, regard each *State* as a distinct nation: the Supreme Court, to-day, knows no Common Law, because we have no *national* unity; and the stripes and the stars of our Federal colors know no more blending of colors, to-day, than when they first floated over an American bottom, on the seas, in the early days of the Confederation.

Mr. Lossing knows, too, that the Convention of 1787—the same which framed the Federal Constitution—expressly, by a formal vote, erased the word “national” from every part of the proposed Constitution; and substituted therefor such words as none but a willing partizan can interpret into even an apology for nationality.

Mr. Lossing says, on page 28, “Randolph suggested the chief business of the Convention in his proposition ‘that a NATIONAL Government ought to be established, consisting of a supreme Legislature, Executive, and Judiciary.’ Upon this broad proposition all future action was based.”

It would have been well if Mr. Lossing had told his readers that the word “national” nowhere appears in the Constitution which that Convention framed nor in any Amendment which was made to it, during the first succeeding fifty years; and it would have been more creditable to his fidelity as a historian, if he had read to them, from the *Journal of the Convention* itself, just what that body did in the premises, and just what it did not, after the obnoxious word had been introduced by Mr. Randolph and some other of the members. We will read it for him: On the nineteenth of June, Mr. Gorham, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole, reported a series of Resolutions, the first three of which read thus:

“1. *Resolved*, That it is the opinion of this Committee that a *National* Government ought to be established, consisting of a supreme legislative, judiciary, and executive.

“2. *Resolved*, That the *National* Legislature ought to consist of two branches.

“3. *Resolved*, That the members of the first branch of the *National* Legislature ought to be elected by the people of the several States, for the term of three years; to receive fixed stipends, by which they may be compensated for the devotion of their time to public service, to be paid out of the *National* treasury; to be ineligible to any office established by a particular State, or under the authority of the United States, (except those peculiarly belonging to the func-

tions of the first branch,) during the term of service, and under the *National* Government, for the space of one year after its expiration.”

The *Journal of the Convention*, under date of “Wednesday, June 20, 1787”—the day after the presentation of these Resolutions—says “It was moved by Mr. Ellsworth, seconded by Mr. Gorham, to amend the first Resolution reported by the Committee of the whole House, so as to read as follows, namely:—‘*Resolved*, That the Government of the United States ought to consist of a supreme legislative, judiciary, and executive.’ On the question to agree to the amendment, it passed unanimously in the affirmative.”—*Journal of the Convention*, June 20, 1787.

Mr. Madison, in his *Debates in the Federal Convention*, thus refers to this action of the Convention: “WEDNESDAY, June 20, * * * “Mr. Ellsworth, seconded by Mr. Gorham, moves to alter it, so as to run ‘that the Government of the United States ought to consist of a supreme legislative, executive, and judiciary.’ ‘This alteration,’ he said, ‘would drop the word ‘*National*,’ and retain the proper title, ‘the United States.’ He could not admit the doctrine that a breach of any of the Federal Articles could dissolve the whole. It would be highly dangerous not to consider the Confederation as still subsisting. He wished, also, the plan of the Convention to go forth as an Amendment of the Articles of the Confederation, since, under this idea, the authority of the Legislatures could ratify it. * * * “The motion of Mr. Ellsworth was acquiesced in, *nem. con.*”

“The second Resolution, ‘That the *National* Legislature ought to consist of two branches,’ being taken up, the word ‘*National*’ was struck out, as of course.”—*Debates*, Wednesday, June 20—Elliot’s *Debates*, v. 214.

This was the first blow which Mr. Lossing’s *National* Government received from those whose blows were fatal whenever they fell: it was, however, not the last.

On the following day, the Convention adopted the second Resolution, shorn down, because of Mr. Ellsworth’s Resolution, to the following terms: “*Resolved*, That the Legislature consist of two branches.”—thus sending “the *National* Legislature” of the Committee and Mr. Lossing to grief, a second time; and when it shall be known that the vote was seven States in the affirmative, three States in the negative, and one State divided, the significance of the action will be understood.—*Journal*, June 21, 1787.

On the same day, the first Clause of the third Resolution, as originally reported by the Committee was passed, because of Mr. Ellsworth’s

motion, in this modified form: "*Resolved*, That 'the members of the first branch of the Legislature ought to be elected,' etc.—thus imposing on the scheme of the Committee and on Mr. Lossing's invention a third blow which was not less fatal to the idea of "*nationality*" than the others.—*Journal*, June 21, 1787.

On the twenty-third of June, "it was moved 'and seconded to strike the words '*National Government*' out of the third Resolution, 'which passed in the affirmative,' only Pennsylvania and Georgia being in the negative, while Massachusetts was divided.—*Journal*, June 23, 1787.

We need say no more concerning Mr. Lossing's "*history*" of this matter.

Mr. Lossing fails to tell his readers, too, that a majority of the Delegates to the Convention did not vote for the new Constitution, even in the Convention which framed it; that the signatures of the Delegates were appended merely *as witnesses and not as approving it*; and that two of the thirteen States—New York and Rhode Island—were not legally represented when it was adopted by the Convention, and did not vote on the question.

Mr. Lossing says "the Convention, by a care-fully worded Resolution, recommended the 'Congress to lay the new Constitution before 'the people (not the States) and ask them, the 'source of all sovereignty, to ratify or reject it.'" Will Mr. Lossing, in his next edition, tell his readers just what difference, there is, either in fact or in law, between "The People," to whom that Constitution was referred, and "the States," to which, he says, it was *not* thus referred? He knows full well that the "People" of each State—which, in both law and fact, is the "State" itself—was invited to receive or reject the new Constitution; that each "State" thus acted, regardless of the action of her sister States; and that, *until each independent State had fully consented, for herself, the Constitution had no binding effect whatever on her or her members*—indeed, Washington was confessedly inaugurated President of *eleven* States only; and little Rhode Island was no more bound, nor considered to be bound, by the consent of the other *eleven* States than she would have been by the action of twelve negroes in Virginia, while robbing their master's henroost.

We have thus followed Mr. Lossing through his first Chapter—a Chapter, too, which has as little to do with "The War of 1812" as it has with the Spanish Armada. We have intimated, if we have not asserted, that, in our judgment, Mr. Lossing has not written it with that regard for the truth which is the first requisite of every historian; that we conceive that the truth has been too often suppressed; and that we believe the untruth has been too often asserted. We

have seen, too, what we conceive to be the evidence that Mr. Lossing has examined the authorities only for the establishment of a preconceived theory; that his narrative has been written wholly in the spirit of a partizan, for the support of the policy of a controlling political party, and in defiance of the authorities on which historians delight to lean: in sad disregard, too, of his reputation as a faithful historian.

We regret that we have seen these evidences of what we conceive to be the infidelity to the truth of history, of one who, during very many years, has commanded our warmest respect as an author and our deep attachment as a friend; and we shall be very glad to correct our own misgivings and errors, if we have made any, at any time and to any extent, whenever our good friend shall enable us to do so. Indeed, we shall be most grateful to him if he will disprove, in our own pages or elsewhere, what we conceive to be his errors and our truths, on the exceedingly important subjects on which we have condemned him; and we earnestly assure him that we shall consider it no hardship to retire from any position, which we now occupy, if it is not perfectly well-founded, both on the Law and the Testimony.

We shall return to this volume, in our next issue.

23 — *The Polar World*: a popular description of Man and Nature in the Arctic and Antarctic regions of the Globe. By Dr. G. Hartwig. With additional Chapters and one hundred and sixty-three illustrations. New York: Harper & Bros. 1869. Octavo, pp. 486. Price.

The object of this work is to describe the Polar World in its principal natural features; to point out the influence of its long winter-night and fleeting Summer on the development of vegetable and animal existence; and, finally, to picture man waging the battle of life against the dreadful climate of the high latitudes of the earth, either as the inhabitant of their gloomy solitudes or as the bold investigator of their mysteries.

Two Chapters have been added, in this edition, for which Doctor Hartwig is not accountable; and the vast resources of the Harpers have been conscripted by the American Editor of the work, for the purpose of more appropriately illustrating it. The result is, that one of the most interesting, and certainly one of the most beautiful, volumes in the Trade, has been produced; and the subject of which it treats is as important as its dress is handsome.

In the range of his inquiries, the Author and Editor have embraced the land and the sea; the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms; Iceland, Norway, Spitzbergen, Nova Zembla, the Lapps, the Samoiedes, the Ostiaks, the Jacuts, the Tungusi, Kamchatka, Alaska, the Esquimaux,

the Crees, the Tinnés, Newfoundland, Greenland, the Antarctic Ocean, Patagonia, the Fuegians, etc.; and the various Arctic navigators, from Cabot to Hall, receive careful attention.

From this survey of the range of subjects discussed in this work, its value to the general reader will be apparent; yet we cannot clearly convey, in so brief a notice as we are compelled to make of it, a clear idea of how much this volume has pleased us.

23.—*Epistola Rev. P. Gabrielis Dreuilletes, Societates Jesu Presbyteri, ad Dominum Illustrissimum, Dominum Joannem Winthrop, Scularium. Neo-Eboraci in Insula Manhattan: Typis Cramoisianis Joanulis-Mariae Shea. M.DCCC.LX.IX.* Octavo, large paper and small, pp. 14.

This trifle, from the Winthrop Papers, possesses no particular value beyond that of a historical curiosity and as a supplement to the Journal of Father Dreuilletes, written while on his pacific Mission from the French to New England, the latter of which has been issued, privately, by Mr. Lenox, and, in his Cramoisy Series, by Mr. Shea.

There is, however, a romance attached to its issue from the press which few others possess. The poor creature is a waif, deserted by its god-father and other kindred, and cast on the world, *accidentally*, by a luckless printer, who supposed he was doing, while printing it, what he really was not.

It is neatly printed; and being uniform with Mr. Shea's series and bearing his imprint, although without his authority and knowledge, it will finally find a resting-place with that collection, and cease to be known as a fatherless vagabond, in the literary world.

25.—*The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico.* By W. W. H. Davis, A. M. Doylestown, Pa.: 1869. Octavo. pp. 438.

The author of this volume went to New Mexico, in 1853, to fill an official station under the Federal Government; and, with a true spirit, he entered on a survey of the hitherto unknown history of that distant country. There were no published volumes, on that subject, to be had at Santa Fe; nor was any one there who was capable of satisfying the cravings of the enquirer. He resolved, therefore, to investigate the subject; and his investigations led him, necessarily, into the Secretary's office, in that ancient city. The musty bundles of papers, mostly in Spanish, were untied and their contents studied; fragments of ancient journals, also in manuscript, were consulted; and, subsequently, the printed volumes which throw light on the subject were also faithfully ransacked—a new and important contribution to the history of our country being the result.

The volume opens with the departure from

Spain, in 1527, of the ill-fated expedition of Narvaez; and that is followed with a narrative of what befel it; of the wanderings of Cabeza de Vaca; of the information which Guzman obtained of the country of Cibola, or New Mexico, and his attempt to explore it; of the explorations of Niza, in 1539, in search of the same region; of the expedition in 1541–3, under Coronado, to subjugate the country; of the adventures of the friar, Ruiz, in 1581, and of Espejo, in 1582; of the attempt to colonize the country, under Juan de Oñate, in 1591, and the succession of Indian revolts during the succeeding ninety years; of the great rebellion of 1680, and the subsequent contest to re-establish the authority of Spain; and, of the final success of the latter and the restoration of Peace.

The greater portion of all this material is comparatively unknown; and the issue of this volume will open to the great body of the reading public, matter which is as interesting as a romance while it is also vested with all the charms of truthful History.

We perceive that the Author manfully assails the premises, occupied by standard writers, which he conceives to be historically untenable; and we have been delighted at the sight of that intelligent boldness with which he has vindicated what he conceives to be the truth of history, against all comers—not, indeed, opposing everybody, on all subjects, at all times; but, in many cases, by calmly but resolutely presenting his views, adverse to those of his predecessors, with his reasons for dissenting and those for the establishment of his own conclusions.

The volume is a very neat one; and we respectfully invite the attention of our readers to it, both as a "local" and as a narrative of the Spanish dominion in America, evidently of great value and importance.

26.—*A history of the city of Brooklyn.* Including the old town and village of Brooklyn, the town of Bushwick, and the village and city of Williamsburgh. By Henry R. Stiles. Vol. II. Brooklyn, N. Y.: Published by Subscription. 1869. Octavo, pp. 500. Price \$5.00.

Some months since, we noticed the appearance of the first volume of this work; and we have pleasure in greeting the issue of the second.

It is a minute record, in the form of annals, of the progress of Brooklyn, from 1812, before the date of her incorporation as a legally-organized Village, until her re-organization, by consolidation with her neighbors, as the third city in the Union. In all its parts, the respect of this work for details is especially notable; and the author, Doctor Stiles, has faithfully earned the gratitude of all of Brooklyn which is to come, by his unwearied diligence in searching for material and by the good judgment which he has

displayed in preserving all that he has thus been able to find of the Past of the young city in which he lives.

It is well printed and illustrated, as may be supposed from its origin in the office of Joel Munsell, who seldom turns out a shabby volume; and we hope that those for whose gratification the work was written, will liberally reward the wearied author.

A third volume is yet to come, which, while it will improve the quality of the work, will, also, we fear, make it less likely to be profitable.

27.—*Haydn's Dictionary of Dates*, relating to all Ages and Nations. For universal reference. Edited by Benjamin Vincent: and revised for the use of American readers. New York: Harper & Bros. 1869. Octavo, pp. 541.

This is one of those volumes which are made for use rather than for show; and one of the very few which are better than they seem to be.

It is not merely a "Dictionary of Dates," as may be supposed from its title-page, but a synopsis of history, on almost all conceivable subjects, the dates certainly receiving due, although not exclusive attention; and the Editor has properly described the result of his labors, when he says his "aim has been, throughout, to make 'this book not a mere Dictionary of Dates, but 'a dated Encyclopædia, a digested summary of 'every department of human industry, brought 'down to the very eve of publication."

The enterprising and experienced publishers of the American edition have added to the value of the original, by employing a party of Americans, each an adept in some particular department of knowledge, to add such new matter as will make it more useful to readers in this country. It is, therefore, in its new form, an exceedingly valuable work for reference: indeed, it is almost indispensable, on the desk of a professional man; while the office of the intelligent merchant and the tables of those who read to receive instruction, should every where be furnished with it.

Notwithstanding the smallness of the type employed, it is perfectly legible, even to those, who, like ourself, begin to experience the decay of their sight.

28.—*Bible Animals*; being a description of every living creature mentioned in the Scriptures, from the Ape to the Coral. By Rev. J. G. Wood, M. A. F. L. S., etc. With one hundred new designs by W. E. Keyl, T. W. Wood, and E. A. Smith, engraved by G. Pearson. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1870. Octavo, pp. xxxi, 652. Price \$5.

The words of the title-page clearly describe the character of the contents of this beautiful volume. It is an elaborate description of the various animals referred to in the Bible; together with an exposition, in many cases, of the bibli-

cal use of words, connected with the several animals, in its comparisons and figurative sentences.

It is evidently the result of a careful and intelligent study, not only of the terms of the Bible and its use of particular words, but of the character and habits of the various animals of which it treats, and their associations, in the polity of the Jews and other ancient peoples; and very few volumes will be found, which, either to the student or the teacher, will be more generally useful.

It is from the Alvord Press; and is especially noticeable because of the perfection of its wood-cut printing, although the text, too, is very well printed.

29.—*The Military and Civil History of the County of Essex, New York*; and a General Survey of its Physical Geography, its Mines and Minerals, and Industrial Pursuits, embracing An Account of the Northern Wilderness; and, also, the Military Annals of the Fortresses of Crown Point and Ticonderoga. By Winslow C. Watson. Albany, N. Y.: Joel Munsell. 1869. Octavo, pp. viii, 504.

There are few "local histories" which are as important as that of Essex-county must necessarily be; and it is pleasing, therefore, to know that such an one as is generally due to that importance, has been carried through the Press and is now before the world.

In the volume before us, we have a very thorough history of the Northern Wilderness, in all its parts; from the earliest period to the present time. It embraces less family history than is usual in such works, since there have been few families there, except those of Gilliland and John Brown, which have been prominent enough, before the world, to require any such distinction; but the stirring events which attended the conflict for supremacy in America, of England or France; the equally stirring events of the War of the Revolution; the settlement and development of the vast mineral wealth of that region; the part taken by the inhabitants in the recent War of Secession; the products of the Country—animal, mineral, and vegetable;—and its industrial pursuits, have all received the most careful, if not the most intelligent, handling, in this volume.

It is indeed true that the Author has not kept up with the age, in all the details of his *history*; and he has not seemed to realize the stern reality, that, in historical knowledge quite as much as in nature, "the world moves." He has been content, therefore, to re-assert the oft-told stories of Ticonderoga and the Green-mountain-boys, of Arnold's short-comings, of Nathan Beman's exploits, etc., as if they were true; and, like another Robinson Crusoe, when the latter withdrew to the security of his solitary fastness, he has closed his explorations in the mazes of Vermont's history, by withdrawing behind Slade, and Governor Hall, and Zadoc Thompson; pulled

after him the ladder on which he climbed into his homely shelter; and bade the outside world an affectionate "Good-night"—he has seen all that need be known on the subject, he supposes; and, consequently, "the student of history will obtain all the elucidation this subject will ever probably receive," he says, by consulting the conclusions of those estimable, but seriously mistaken, gentlemen.

The volume is fairly printed, by Mr. Munsell, of Albany.

30.—*Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department of the United States.* By Henry Lee. A new edition, with revisions and Biography of the Author, by Robert E. Lee. New York: University Publishing Co. 1869. Octavo, pp. 620.

The great value of Major Lee's *Memoirs* is known to our readers; and we need not, therefore, enlarge on it. It has appeared, already, in two editions, and had become scarce; and the demand for the work, with such improvements as the present age requires, is no uncertain venture.

The *Biography* is quite extended, and such an one as a son might be expected to write concerning a father; but it is scarcely as full, in the matters connected with the public career of General Henry Lee, as we should have desired. In all that relates to the private life and character of his subject, however, the author has been more generous; and the correspondence between the General and his son, Carter, and Joseph Reed, is peculiarly interesting.

The *Memoirs* are said to have been revised, but we have no means of judging wherein those changes have been made: we are glad to perceive that Maps have been introduced to illustrate the subjects treated on; and we regret that the Notes which the distinguished Editor could have added, criticising the movements of the Armies of the Revolution, over the well-trodden fields of the South, have not been added to the original text of the volume.

There is no doubt that the name of the Editor will afford a passport to this volume, into thousands of families throughout the South; and we shall be glad to learn that so useful a work has been duly appreciated by those into whose hands it shall fall.

The volume is tolerably well printed; but the paper should have been of a better quality, in such a work as this.

31.—*Rambles about Portsmouth. Second Series.* Sketches of persons, localities and incidents of two centuries: principally from tradition and unpublished documents. By Charles W. Brewster. With a biographical sketch of the author, by Wm. H. Y. Hackett. Portsmouth, N. H.: Lewis W. Brewster, 1869. Octavo, pp. 375.

The first volume of the *Rambles about Portsmouth* is not a volume which is unknown to

historical students; nor is its value unrecognized. The second volume of the series, therefore, will not be silently received; nor will the interesting character of its contents be unnoticed by those to whom they are useful.

These *Rambles* relate almost exclusively to Portsmouth and its vicinity; to men and families, thereabouts; and to incidents which occurred there, years ago; and, for this reason, while the papers very often throw light, incidentally, on subjects of general interest, they are more local in their character than otherwise.

The style in which they are written is easy and graceful, such as a practised pen like Mr. Brewster's may well be supposed to have employed; and, without the coldness of formal history, they contain just enough of the appearance of an old man's fireside talk, to give life to the subjects to which they relate.

The biography of the author, by his life-long friend, Mr. Hackett, is a graceful tribute to the memory of a worthy man, who, while he was evidently a plain working-man—one of the wheel-horses of the editorial team of New Hampshire—was one whose good judgment, and uprightness of character, and simplicity of habits, and love of home, and carelessness of empty honors, made him more conspicuous and more influential among the best men of the country than a more showy exterior and more untable pen could have possibly secured for him.

32.—*Old Testament Shadows of New Testament Truths.* By Lyman Abbott. With Designs by Doré, Delaroche, and Parsons. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 213. Price \$3.50.

The Old Testament is more full of parables, although in a different form, than the New. Its history is prophetic. Its stories are parables in real life. The Chronicles of Israel are full of God's foreshadowings of the redemption of the world. From the Fall, in Eden, to the restoration of the Jews, under Ezra, there are, all along the way, finger-posts that point to the Cross of Christ. Their inscriptions are sometimes so plain that the wayfaring man, though a fool, need not err therein. They are sometimes so obscured that the heedless traveller does not notice them. These finger-posts the author seeks to decipher, these parables to interpret, in the volume before us.

The magnitude of the undertaking will be apparent. The great underlying truths which these parables were intended to introduce, in advance of their full recognition, are the very corner-stones of our faith and the foundations of our hope. They are clear, certain, unmistakable: they teach lessons which the world

either too frequently fails to learn or too quickly fails to remember.

The volume before us presents the Cities of the Plain, the Water in the Wilderness, Eliezer's Prayer, Joseph's Staff, the Great Deliverance, the Great Question, the Riven Rock, the fiery Serpents and the Brazer, the benevolence of Boaz, the forlorn hope of Israel, the price of Ambition, Samson, Elisha's vision, and the Queen's Crown, as the series most worthy of our attention: we are not sure, however, that the selection might not have been improved, even for the purposes of this volume. The Flood, for instance, and the Covenant with Abraham, and the Scapegoat, and the noiseless building of the Temple, and the office of the High-Priest, and many others, it seems to us, are Old Testament Parables of so much greater significance than some of those which Mr. Abbott has selected, that we wonder that he has not noticed them.

Typographically, this is a volume of great beauty. Its ample pages, and clear type, and exquisite wood-cuts—perfect gems, in many instances—and very neat binding, will compare favorably with those of more pretentious volumes; and they certainly render this a most acceptable Gift-book, for this season of gifts.

33.—*History of the Church in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries.* By K. R. Hagenbach, D.D. Translated from the last German Edition, with Additions, by Rev. John F. Hurst, D.D. In two volumes. New York: C. Scribner & Co.: 1869. Octavo, pp. (I) xii, 504; (II.) vi, 487. Price \$6.

The author of this work is what is called Evangelical in his belief; of the school of Tholuck, Julius Müller, Dorner, and Richard Rothe, and of those who aim "at the reconciliation of reason and revelation, science and faith." How much real, vital, old-fashioned, Bible Religion there is in the man and in his aims and efforts, we leave to others for determination.

In the volume before us, we have what their author considers a history of THE CHURCH, from 1700 until now—not, as *we* should understand, by that term, a history of an isolated body of Christians, meeting in some specified locality, for worship, after the pattern laid down in the Bible, and fearing to infringe on the terms of that supreme rule of faith and practice, either by addition or diminution; but, as *he* seems to understand it, the aggregate of those various National Establishments, in Germany and elsewhere, which are the creatures of man's laws rather than of God's, the sycophants of man's power rather than the humble and willing followers of Christ and his precepts, and the formal professors of what, in

their daily practice, they specially and constantly belittle and condemn. "The Church," in these volumes, means everything; and it also means nothing. It means the French Establishment; it means the German Establishment; it means the Swiss Establishment; it means the Prussian Establishment; it embraces, at once, as fit subjects for its notice, the Protestants and Catholics, the Lutherans and the Reformed, the Camisards and the Salzburgers, the Pietists and the Separatists, the Moravians and the Swedenborgians, the Methodists and the "Anabaptists," Rationalism and Supernaturalism, Idealism and Pestalozzianism, Pantheism and Pseudo-orthodoxy, the Romanticists and the school of Schleiermacher and De Wette: it does *not* mean either the humble Dissenters on the Continent nor those in Great Britain: it does *not* mean anything in America, where nothing is established; it does *not* mean any particular class, anywhere, as distinguished from the great mass, everywhere.

In all this, while we are not less an admirer of that wonderful industry in research which distinguishes this, as well as nearly all that comes from German scholarship, we cannot read with approbation, as a "History of THE Church," what must, necessarily, be any thing else than such a History. It lacks that precision of subject which should distinguish every historian from the horde of Essayists which surround him; why, then, should we suppose its author had confidence in himself, and why should we have confidence in him? He evidently gropes in the dark, now taking one seat as "the Church" and now another: he passes by one Continent, entirely—not even alluding to it, except once, incidentally—as if "the Church in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries" was unknown there: he either does not know, or knowing forgets to tell, just what a Christian Church is, anywhere; and while he seems to recognize the creative power of legislative enactments and Royal Dispensations, as legitimate Church-making elements; he entirely insults and condemns, by insulting and condemning those whose existence does not run back to a Statute or an Edict—those who recognize only as authoritative, in such matters, "the Voluntary Principle"—among whom he has seen and honored with especial malignity, the persecuted "Anabaptists" of the Continent and the despised and insulted "Methodists" of Great Britain. Under these circumstances, what dependence, as a historian of "the Church," is Hagenbach entitled to? What and where situated does he consider "the Church?" Does or does not he suppose that America has been a stranger to "the Church," during the past one hundred and seventy years?

If yea, why should we respect him, or his judgment, or scholarship, as a historian: if nay, why should we overlook his entire omission of that portion of his subject, from so carefully-prepared a "History" of it?

The work is well printed; but we confess that we do not admire the condensed letter in which it has been "set up"; notwithstanding that is in keeping with the narrow, contracted view of his subject in which the author has written it.

34.—*The German Colony and Lutheran Church in Maine.* An Address delivered before the Historical Society of the Lutheran Church, at its meeting in Washington, D.C., May 14th, 1869. Published by request of the Society. Gettysburg: 1869. Octavo, pp. 24.

More than a hundred and thirty years ago, in some unknown manner and for some now hidden purpose, a few German emigrants settled in what is now Waldoborough, in Maine; and, in 1740, they were strengthened by the arrival of large accessions from Fatherland. Hardships, both those of Peace and those of War, pecked the settlement and discouraged the settlers; yet, in 1751, another party arrived from Germany to make the settlement its home. Others followed, allured by liberal promises which were never fulfilled; and imposition, and barefaced frauds, and bloodshed, continued to be the lot of this band of simple-hearted, honest foreigners, until the Peace of 1783 and its attendant changes worked for their permanent relief.

Of course, a Church was an early object of the attention of this people; and in that humble structure of logs, we doubt not, the Father of us all was worshipped as acceptably, to say the least of it, as he was in Boston or New York. The vicissitudes of the little Church, however, were as remarkable as those of the settlement where it was seated; and dissipated Pastors and the employment of a strange tongue, the German, gradually accomplished its destruction.

In 1850, the Church ceased to exist; and the remnants of the settlement, intermingled with the great body of those surrounding it, can no longer be distinguished, as it moves down the current of time, a component part of that great State of Maine, which so honorably stands as an outpost of the Union, on the borders of Royalty.

In this tract, Doctor Pohlman, of Albany, has sketched the history of this Settlement and Church; and we have read it with the greatest interest. It is not very minute; but we doubt if it can be made more so, in view of the scarcity of materials concerning the history of so humble and sincere a people as this was;

and, for that reason, we accept it as a most valuable contribution, not only to the history of the Lutheran Church in America, but to that of the State of Maine and to that of Waldoborough, where it was located.

35.—*Bound to John Company; or, the adventures and misadventures of Robert Almsleigh.* With illustrations. New York: Harper & Bros. 1869. Octavo, pp. 169. Price 75 cents.

This is another of that series of first rate Novels which the Harpers are throwing before the public at nominal prices; leaving no excuse for the use of the trashy and flashy stuff which everywhere stares us in the face.

It is handsomely-printed and well illustrated.

36.—*Directory of Booksellers, Stationers, Newsdealers, and Music-dealers in the United States and Canada. Complete to September 1st, 1869.* New York: John H. Dingman. 1869. Octavo, pp. lx, 7—318.

Our excellent friend, Mr. Dingman, who occupies a responsible post in the heavy publishing-house of Charles Scribner & Co., has done a good service to the Trade by issuing this very complete list of those who are in it, in all its branches, in every part of the country. Its value is increased by the addition of an Appendix containing the English and American Copy-right Laws, a schedule of Stamp Duties, and the Postal Regulations and Rates, both foreign and domestic.

To the Trade and to all having dealings with those who make and vend books, this handbook is a necessity; and we are glad to believe that the enterprise of an excellent young man, seeking to help himself through the world, will not be unrewarded.

37.—*Wild Sports of the World: a book of Natural History and Adventure.* By James Greenwood. With one hundred and forty-seven illustrations. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 474.

The title-page of this volume accurately describes its character—it is not a mere book of hair-breadth escapes and doubtful adventures; but one in which the character and habits of the wild-beasts of the world are carefully described, with merely incidental allusions to adventures, as illustrations of the narrative. It is, therefore, less open to objection, as a volume for the young, than many others; and, as such, it should be more widely circulated.

The illustrations are appropriate and well-executed; and, as a whole, the volume is a very neat one.

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[No. 2.

I.—THE PAPERS OF GENERAL SAMUEL SMITH.

I.—THE GENERAL'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS.*

[1] † He was born in Carlisle, in Pennsylvania, on the twenty-seventh day of July, 1752. His grand-father, of the same name, was left in independent circumstances, by his father, Hugh Smith, an Englishman; but, in 1721, some years after the death of the latter, he emigrated from Ireland, the country of his birth, to America, and settled in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania. He purchased land there, made an establishment, and sent for his wife and his son John, then six years of age. The maiden name of this lady was *Sidney Gumble*.‡

John Smith married Mary, the daughter of Robert Buchanan, who, with Samuel Smith, filled the place of High Sheriff of Lancaster-county, during twenty years. General Smith was the eldest offspring of this marriage. John Smith received, from his father, a mill and plantation, which he sold; and he removed to Carlisle then a frontier town. He had [2] built the first house

in that beautiful borough; and there he commenced business as a merchant; and was very successful. His house was the head-quarters of General Stanwix, after Baddock's defeat. He was elected, for a series of years, to the Legislature of Pennsylvania. The General was sent to the Latin school of the Rev. Mr. Duffield; and had made some progress in that language, when, in 1760, his father removed to Baltimore. He took with him a capital of forty thousand dollars, and began business as a merchant. His arrival, with that of his brothers-in-law, William Buchanan and William Smith, with Mr. Sterrett and Mr. William Speare, who were all men of capital, gave the first impulse to the commerce of Baltimore. It was then a small town, having not more than eighteen or twenty houses, West of Jones's Falls.

The General's father was elected, with J. T. Chase, as members from Baltimore, to the Convention for framing the Constitution of the State Government, [3] in 1776; and he afterwards represented the City, for several years, in the House of Delegates.

There being, at the time, no school in Baltimore, the General was sent to an excellent Academy at Little Elk, afterwards removed to Newark, where he remained about two years, when he was called home, to a school established in Baltimore. He continued at this school, until he was more than fourteen years of age; and he had learned much of the Latin and some of the Greek Classics. He has always complained that the frequent change of schools had prevented his education from being so good as it ought to have been. From the schools, he was placed in his father's counting-house, where he remained until he had passed the age of nineteen.

In May, 1770, he embarked in a ship of his father's, placed under his control, laden with flour, for account of the French Government, and bound for Havre de Grace. This ship, with her cargo, was ordered to London, and from thence to Bristol. Here she discharged and was then [4] chartered by him to take a cargo from Falmouth to Venice.

The intention of his father was that he should

* These original papers were sent to us, several years since, by the late General J. SPEARE SMITH, of Baltimore, a son of the distinguished defender of Fort Mifflin and, then, the honored President of the Maryland Historical Society, for our use in a projected *Military History of the United States*, for which we were collecting materials.

We shall continue the publication of these papers, in successive numbers of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE; and we promise our readers much pleasure in the enjoyment of the new light which these will throw on our country's military history, from the Battle of Long Island, in 1776, to the successful defence of Baltimore, in the War of 1812.

Other unpublished family papers will follow this series, which will sometimes serve to indicate why THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE has so often dissented from its contemporaries on matters of history.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

† The figures, enclosed in brackets, which are scattered through this article, refer to the pages of the original manuscripts.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

‡ The legend in the family, for the name of *Sidney* to a female, is this. During the Wars of William of Orange, in Ireland, a wounded British officer, Captain Sidney, was taken into the residence of Miss Gumble's father, and there nursed until he recovered. Whilst under their roof, she was born. His gentle and resigned conduct had so endeared him to the family, that, in memorial of the event and of their affection for him, they gave her the baptismal name of *Sidney*. It is still in the family.—General J. SPEARE SMITH, in 1837.

be placed in the counting-house of his correspondent in London. He, however, believed that he would derive no benefit from that plan; and he embarked in the ship, on her voyage to Venice. The passage was short. A pilot was taken on board, in sight of the City, who ran the ship ashore. The shock unshipped the rudder; and, after getting off the ground, she became unmanageable, and was filling fast with water. The lives of all were saved, being able to land from the boats on the island of Matomoco. From thence, after three days, they were permitted to go to Venice, where he remained eight months, during the Carnival. Thence he proceeded to Rome, and witnessed the last two weeks of the Carnival there, during which the theatres were opened. He spent a month in Rome, daily engaged in visiting all the public buildings of note. From Rome he proceeded to Leghorn, Pisa, Genoa, Nice, and Marseilles, staying a sufficient time [5] at each place, for his purposes. From Marseilles he went to Barcelona; and thence through Valencia, Alicante, Grenada, and Malaga, to Gibraltar. Here he remained three weeks, and was treated with great attention by General Elliott, by whom an Officer was directed to show him all the works of that stupendous fortification. He continued his travels to Cadiz; and thence, through Seville, Badajos, and Elvas, to Lisbon. Here he staid two months; and, at the invitation of Captain Bennett, embarked on the *Alborough*, sloop-of-war; and after a tempestuous passage, in the month of January, arrived at Plymouth. On his reaching London he was informed that his father had taken him into partnership. He visited a great part of England; purchased goods for the new concern; and sailed for America, in the *St. George*, accompanied by Major André. They arrived in Philadelphia, on the day the first Congress met—the fourth day of September, 1774.

He continued, until January, 1776, successfully employed in commerce. He had joined a Company of young gentlemen, under Captain Gist; * was soon made a Sergeant; and, subsequently, Adjutant to the Company. [6] On the third day of January, 1776, he received a Commission of Captain in Smallwood's Regiment, raised for the defence of the State. Three Companies were stationed at Baltimore, under the command of Major Mordecai Gist, afterwards a Brigadier-general. They were trained by Captain Smith; and, whilst in that situation, he was ordered by Major Gist, at the request of the Committee of Safety of Baltimore, to proceed to Annapolis in a small schooner, to prevent the escape of Governor Eden; † and, on his arrival

there, to present his dispatches to the Council of Safety, and to take its orders. He performed that service, and was received very coolly by the Council, who considered itself insulted by a subordinate body undertaking to act on a subject of such high importance. His orders were to return immediately. The conduct of the Baltimore Committee was induced by a letter to that body, from General Charles Lee, then in command at Charleston, South Carolina, enclosing a copy of an intercepted letter from Governor Eden, of an obnoxious character, with his advice "that the Governor should be arrested, and held until exchanged for an Officer of high rank, who might thereafter be taken by the enemy."

Mr. Samuel Purviance, Chairman of the Baltimore Committee, Major Gist, and Captain Smith were summoned to appear before the Convention, held at Annapolis, to answer for the alleged assumption of power. Mr. Purviance was reprimanded. The two Officers were justified, as military men acting under the orders of a known civil authority.

The State's armed ship, *Defence*, was ordered to cruise for a British sloop-of-war, which had appeared off the mouth of the Patuxent, annoying the Bay craft. He volunteered with his Company, and went in the *Defence*, in pursuit of the sloop-of-war, which, however, had gone down the Bay, and was not overtaken.

Smallwood's Regiment was taken into the service of the United States, and marched, in July, 1776, to join the main Army, under Washington, then at New York. At the Battle of Long Island, the Regiment, with the Delaware Battalion, comprising, of force, not exceeding twelve hundred men, under the command of General Lord Stirling, took possession of a commanding position [8] on the extreme right of the American Army. It was opposed to a force exceeding three thousand men, under the command of General Grant, who, when Colonel Grant, had said, in the House of Commons, that with five thousand men he would march from one end of the country to the other. He had served in America, in the War of 1756. No attack was made on us, during the day, except a little skirmishing. In the evening, a scouting party brought in a Sergeant and ten or fifteen Grenadiers, from whom information was received that the left and the main body of the Americans had been defeated; and that they, themselves, had been scouring the field for stragglers. A retreat was immediately ordered; and was made, most injudiciously, in files. When the Regiment had mounted a hill, a British officer appeared, as if alone, and waved his hat; and it was supposed he meant to surrender. He clapped his hands three times, on which signal his Company rose and gave a heavy discharge. The three Companies in front broke. Cap-

* Afterwards General Mordecai Gist.—H. B. D.

† Author of the interesting volume of *Letters from America*.—H. B. D.

tain Smith wheeled his Company into platoons, and was advancing, when he [9] was ordered by Lord Stirling to form in a line. His Lordship went to the left of the Regiment, and ordered the Companies to cross the road, when he was taken prisoner. The men were surrounded, and almost all killed, for the Hessians gave no quarter on that day. The loss of the Regiment was about two hundred and fifty; the residue got off, as best they could. Captain Smith took his Company through a marsh, until he was stopped by the dam of a tide-mill, then full, and too deep for the men to ford. He and a Sergeant swam over and got two slabs into the water, on the ends of which they ferried over all who could not swim. He found the Regiment in a very strong redoubt, with a small outpost, in front of which he was ordered. Colonel Smallwood and Lieutenant-colonel Ware had joined the Regiment—they had been on a Court Martial; and the Regiment had, in consequence, been commanded by Major Gist, during the action. About midnight, one of the Corporals informed Captain Smith that he had been up and down the lines, and not [10] a man was to be seen; in consequence of which he sent his two Lieutenants to go up and down the lines; and, on their return, they reported that all the troops had gone, where they knew not. In consequence, he removed his Company into the main redoubt. He presumed that he had been left as a forlorn hope; he was, however, relieved by the arrival of Lieutenant-colonel Ware, who told him that the Regiment was, by that time, in New York, and ordered him to march to the ferry. He passed General Washington, who asked him how it happened he was so late; and he answered he had received no order until a few minutes past. He arrived in time to embark in the last boat; and had scarcely got off from the wharf, when the British Light horse appeared on the hill and fired their carbines, without doing any injury to his men.

The Regiment immediately marched to Harlem, about eight miles from the City, where it lay encamped until the enemy landed on York Island. It then removed to the heights, [11] near Fort Washington; pitched its tents; and advanced to the Heights of Harlem, to cover the Militia, retreating along the North-river. The enemy made no advance that day; and the Regiment returned at night to its encampment. A smart skirmish took place the next day, between a Virginia Regiment and a detachment of the enemy. Smallwood's Regiment was ordered to reinforce it, but did not march, the enemy having retired.*

A few days thereafter, the Army marched to

White Plains. Smallwood's Regiment covered the rear, and halted within a mile of the lines, encamping on a commanding hill, the Bronx-river running between it and the enemy. Captain Smith conversed with a British officer, on the opposite bank; and whilst making some enquiry about his friend, the unfortunate Major André,* the British officer advised him to retire, lest he might be shot by the Yagers, over whom he had no control.

Early next morning, an order was received to march immediately. The men were cooking, but had to leave their kettles, without [12] eating. The Regiment took a strong position on a high hill, the enemy occupying one of equal elevation, with the Bronx running in a deep valley between them. General McDougall, a gallant officer, commanded the detachment, consisting of Smallwood's Regiment, the Delaware Battalion, a New York and a Connecticut Regiment †—the whole force did not exceed two thousand men. ‡ A cannonade commenced—the enemy showing but few men, whilst the Americans were in full view, sitting or lying down. The enemy's object appeared to be to dismount our artillery. In its rear, was Captain Smith's Company. A ball struck the ground, and, in its rebound, took off the head of Sergeant Westlay, over the shoulder of Captain Smith.

A column of Hessians drew down towards a ford on the right; and the Regiment marched to meet them. The Hessians seemed to hesitate, and not to be disposed to ford the river; when the British Grenadiers came down, and their Colonel was distinctly heard to order the Hessians to open to the right and left, and make room for the Grenadiers to pass. The [13] Grenadiers crossed the river. It was a gallant sight to see them, steadily, without a falter, march up a very steep hill, exposed to a constant fire of cannon§ and musketry, until they attained the summit. The Americans, overpowered by numbers, were compelled to save themselves, as best they could. Captain Smith being on the left,|| was so deeply engaged, that, unapprized of their departure, he escaped with great difficulty—his men saving themselves by his orders. The Officers of the Regiment carried guns; and, in the act of firing, Captain Smith's left arm was struck by a spent ball. He thought it had been broken, but soon found that it was not; and he continued at his post. On his retreat, he stopped with two men,

* Major André crossed the Atlantic with him.—H. B. D.

† General Smith forgot to mention Brooks's Massachusetts Regiment.—H. B. D.

‡ That was about the number engaged.—H. B. D.

§ Compare with Colonel Haslet's Report to Governor Rodney, November 12, 1776.—H. B. D.

|| As the troops retired by the left flank and the Marylanders were on the right of the line this must be an error.—H. B. P.

* This refers to the Battle of Harlem Plains.—H. B. D.

behind a stone fence; when they took deliberate aim at an advanced party of the enemy. On visiting the spot, afterwards, blood was found. Whilst there, he witnessed a most gallant act, by Captain Lilly of the Massachusetts Artillery. He had planted his guns on a knoll; and the Light-horse made a charge on him. He kept his fire until they were within fifty yards of him; when he discharged his four pieces, and horses and [14] men fell, while those who were left fled;* and he took his guns safe into the lines. General Smith mentioned the fact to the elder Adams, during his Presidency, who gave him a Captaincy in the Provisional Army.

Captain Smith overtook Colonel Smallwood, who had been shot through the wrist; and leaving one man with him, he went with the other to a hay-stack, behind which he collected about a hundred stragglers, and marched them within the lines. In passing, in company with Lieutenant Plunkett—brother of the celebrated Lord Chancellor Plunkett—a New England Regiment, the men eating, a young private rose and said, "I guess you have been in the action?" "Yes." "And may be you have eat nothing to-day?" "No, not for twenty-four hours." The men all rose and would eat no more, until we had satisfied ourselves. General Washington was near by with his suite, which drew some shot from the enemy.

In the action of the White Plains, Smallwood's Regiment lost one hundred and four men, about one-fifth of their number. The baggage having been sent into the interior, the Army followed; and the enemy marched upon Fort Washington. Our Regiment, after a few [15] days rest, crossed the North-river, and on its march met an express from General Greene to Major Gist, then in command of the Regiment, to hasten his march to Fort Lee; thence to cross the river for the defence of Fort Washington—at that time attacked by the enemy. Another order to march to Hackensack came soon after—Fort Washington had surrendered. Fort Lee, on the right bank of the North-river, having been evacuated, crossed and appeared before the Town. The houses, which contained military stores, were fired; and the Regiment retired to Acquaconunk-bridge, where it halted some days. Major Gist, with Captains Stone and Smith, were deputed to wait on General Washington, then at Newark. They informed him that the Regiment and Delaware Battalion were reduced to two hundred and fifty men, who were worn down with fatigue and guard-duty; and requested that it might be relieved by some other corps. The General replied: "I can assign no other Regiment in which I can place the same confidence; and I request you

"will say so to your gallant Regiment." On the answer being reported to the men, formed in a circle for the purpose, they gave three cheers, and declared their [16] readiness to submit to every fatigue and danger.

The baggage having been sent on, the officers had each but one shirt. Captain Smith carried a knapsack, and had two; but lost one at the wash.

On the appearance of a reconnoitring party of the enemy, the Regiment retired, and halted a day or two near Amboy. Here he received a visit from Colonel William Allen, of Philadelphia,* on his return from the North. He observed: "When we entered the service of our country, we meant not Independence. I intend to resign, and advise you to do the same." Captain Smith replied: "Certainly, I meant not Independence when I entered the Army; but I went for the whole, and whatever Congress determines I will obey. Besides, I think the Declaration right and wise." They separated: Colonel Allen resigned and went to England, where he died.

The Regiment continued its retreat to Brunswick; where the main Army then was. The bridges were broken down; and the main body pursued its retreat to the Delaware, leaving our Regiment and the Delaware Battalion to cover the rear. The enemy appeared; and, after some [17] skirmishing, the corps retired at night. The rain fell in torrents, and the march was dreadful. Many of the men were exhausted and remained behind. The night was very dark; the road made deep by the artillery and wagons which had passed. Every step was above the ankles; and many to the knee. The Regiment got to Rocky-hill, about day-light, having marched all night. They halted there a day or two, until the enemy's parties began to appear; when it again retreated, and arrived at Trenton about midnight. The Army had all passed the Delaware, except General Washington, his suite, and guard. He passed the river, and the Regiment landed on the opposite side, about daylight, having eaten nothing all the preceding day. Its numbers by battles, sickness, and desertion, were reduced to ninety men and a few officers.

It may not be improper here to state, that, on the retreat of the Army through New Jersey, it was covered by the Third Virginia Regiment†—it having been the rear Regiment of the main Army, whilst Smallwood's and the Delaware Battalion had always been from six to twelve miles in the rear of the whole.

[18] Congress had ordered each State to supply its quota of troops—Maryland having to furnish

* Compare with Colonel Haslett's letter.—H. B. D.

* Vide Sabine's *Loyalists*, 122.—J. S. S.

† Colonel George Weedon's.

seven Regiments. In the last days of December, 1776—a day or two after passing the Delaware—Captain Smith received a Commission of Lieutenant-colonel of the Fourth Regiment, to be commanded by Colonel Josias Carvil Hall, its Major being the afterwards celebrated Colonel Howard.* Lieutenant-colonel Smith repaired to Baltimore, where he commenced recruiting the new Regiment. Early in the year 1777, he joined the Army. The seven Maryland Regiments, the Delaware Regiment, and that called “The Congress’s Own,” under Colonel Hazen, formed a Division, under the command of Major-general Sullivan; and were encamped near Morristown, in New Jersey, ten or twelve miles from Elizabethtown.

The main force of the enemy having gone to sea, an Expedition was planned to attack his posts on Staten-island. It was badly executed, by Sullivan’s Division. Colonel Ogden, who was nearer the Island, crossed at the Blazing Star-ferry; made some prisoners; and had recrossed by the time the Division had got on the Island, opposite Elizabethtown. Some of the enemy escaped in boats, few were seen, and none were taken.

[19] The Division assembled at the Blazing Star-ferry, and commenced passing. Colonel Smith was in the last boat, leaving Major Jack Stuart, with about one hundred men, who fought a force from New York, most gallantly, until, overpowered by numbers, he was made prisoner, and put on board the dreadful prison-ship. He, however, made his escape by descending silently to the water, and swimming to the New Jersey shore. Colonel Smith was particularly attached to Major Stuart, having fought a duel with him, and becoming, subsequently, on the most friendly terms with him. Having procured a flag of truce, he went with it and gave a Bill of Exchange on London for twenty-five pounds sterling, to a British Officer, who *honorably* conveyed it to a Major Stuart.†

* I have his Commission of Major of Colonel Gist’s Regiment, dated the tenth of December, 1776, and signed by “John Hancock;” also his Commission of Lieutenant-colonel of the Fourth Maryland Regiment, dated the first of June, 1779, to take rank as such from the twentieth of February, 1777, signed by John Jay. Now, as these do not coincide with the text, and as he certainly held the rank of Lieutenant-colonel when he was detached to the command of Mud-island, in September, 1777, we must suppose that Commission of Major was recalled, and one of Lieutenant-colonel substituted, as soon as the formation of the seven Maryland Regiments was decided. Still, some further enquiry is necessary. It may be that temporary “Brevets” were given by the State, until the organization of the Regiments took place; and then that these were followed by regular Commissions from Congress. It is clear that he was Lieutenant-colonel when he joined the Army, early in 1777, and when the seven Maryland Regiments were under the command of General Sullivan, and after, at the Battle of Brandywine.—J. S. S.

† Evidently not the Major to whom it had been sent.—H. B. D.

The Division marched, soon after, to join the main Army which had assembled to meet the enemy, just arrived in the Chesapeake. It halted at Chester. Colonel Smith had been Officer of the Day; and on his return to Head-quarters, he found that General Sullivan had assembled the Field Officers of the Division. The General addressed them in a complimentary manner, and said he had been informed that some of them had written to their friends in Congress, [20] censuring his conduct in the attack on Staten-island. No one answered; for they had previously determined to make no reply. Colonel Smith not being apprised of that determination, rose and said: “I wrote to my uncle, William Smith, “who is a member of Congress, but who, I am “certain, has never shown my letters. However, “I will, if you desire it, state what I thought “and may have written.” The General expressed his desire to hear the statement. The Colonel, in the strongest terms, but in polite language, gave a full view of the errors which he considered had been committed. From that time, General Sullivan honorably and magnanimously evinced the warmest attachment to Colonel Smith.

The American Army had taken a very strong position at Chad’s Ford, and had thrown up some works and field-lines. The enemy approached and marched up the Brandywine. General Knyphausen had been detached, and displayed a force of about five hundred men opposite to Chad’s Ford. Colonel Ramsay, of the Maryland line, crossed the river, and skirmished with and drove the Yagers. General Washington had determined to cross the river, and [21] destroy that Division of the enemy; and every Regiment had been prepared to pass over, when he received false information; changed his plan; and, leaving a force to keep Knyphausen in check, he advanced to meet the main body of the enemy, under General Howe. The Battle of Brandywine was fought on the eleventh of September, 1777,* most gallantly, on the right, under the immediate command of General Washington. Sullivan’s Division, on the extreme left, were marched through a narrow lane. The First Brigade of it counter-marched through a gateway, to the top of a hill, under a galling fire from the enemy—thus bringing the rear to the front. Pressed by the enemy, they had no time to form, and gave way at all points. The Second Brigade was formed in a valley in its rear. It was said a retreat had been ordered; but Colonel Smith not knowing it, found himself, to his surprise—being on the left of the Regiment—with only Lieutenant Cromwell and about thirty men. See—

* In this Battle were Colonel Smith, his brothers, John and William, and his uncle William—the latter volunteers. Another brother, Robert, was at school at Newark, and set off for the field of battle, but arrived too late.—J. S. S.

ing no enemy, he retired deliberately. Colonel Hazen's Regiment retreated in perfect order. In passing through a corn-field, Colonel Smith discovered a flanking party of the enemy, which he checked by two fires from his small number and received one from them, by which he lost one man, [22] who was shot in the heel. Some of the men left him; and he retired, almost alone, to the top of a high hill, on which he halted, and collected nearly one thousand men; formed them into Companies; and remained until near sunset. He tendered the command to General De Barre, a French officer, who had commanded the Second Brigade. He declined the offer; and showed some scratches on his cheek, which he said had been done by the English firing fish-hooks, but more probably by the briars. Colonel Smith applied to a Quaker farmer, to guide him to the road leading to Chester, which he refused; but a pistol having been pointed at his breast, he complied. On being thanked he replied: "I want no thanks, thee forced me." The Colonel got into Chester at eight o'clock at night; and the men joined their respective corps.

The Army remained several days at Chester, and then advanced to the Lancaster road, a short distance from the Schuylkill-bridge. The enemy approached, and an action was expected; when a heavy rain began, and the Army marched at sunset for a ford on the Schuylkill. Sullivan's Division arrived early next morning. The rain had fallen in [23] torrents during the whole night, which had caused the Division to halt. The river had risen, and the men crossed it, up to the armpits. The short men were saved by the mounted Officers, who placed themselves below the passing columns.

The day after, an Officer from Head-quarters called on Colonel Smith, and ordered him to be on the grand parade at eight o'clock that night; that he was to have an honorable command, which might keep him from his Regiment some time; and, therefore, that it would be proper to take his servant and baggage.

On his arrival at the parade, he found a detachment consisting of Major Ballard of Virginia, Major Thayer of Rhode Island, Captain Treat of the Artillery and his Lieutenant, with two hundred Infantry and suitable Company Officers. His guide was Aaron Levering, a respectable farmer of Germantown. The detachment crossed the Delaware at Bristol, and arrived at the night of the next day, at a point which he supposed was that of Gloucester, where it embarked on a raft made of pine logs, with a small tow-boat ahead; and it dropped down the river with the ebb tide. In passing the American frigate,* he

was hailed, and a boat was sent for Colonel Smith by his old acquaintance, Captain Robinson, who sent him, in his best barge, to Mud-island.

[24] On his arrival there, he found a Captain, a Lieutenant, and forty Philadelphia Militia. His own men arrived safe; the raft was secured; and found afterwards of great service. The next day, the Colonel received a visit from Commodore Haslewood, who commanded the State flotilla of row-gallies, mounting heavy guns, and gun-boats, with four-pounders in their bows. The Commodore and Colonel Smith visited Province-island together; and the latter pointed to a high spot, near the dyke, as that which the enemy would probably occupy; but the Commodore replied: "A musquito could not live there under the fire of my guns."

Colonel Smith found himself, at the age of twenty-five years, unskilled in everything relative to the defence of fortifications, having to rely entirely on his own energies for the defence of a Fort walled with freestone on the side opposite the Jersey shore and the approach by the river; stockaded with pine logs, fifteen inches thick, opposite Province-island; and the approach from above flanked by three wooden block-houses, mounting eight-pound French guns, in their upper stories. There was, also, an open platform, [25] on which were mounted eighteen-pounders, pointing down the river, with one thirty-two-pounder, being the only piece that pointed on Province-island, where he expected the enemy would establish himself. His detachment had no Artillerist, except the two Officers mentioned.

Thus situated, he selected sixty of his stoutest men, who were soon drilled to the guns by those Officers. There was a deficiency of every material, powder, ball, &c.,* from which the Colonel concluded that it had not been expected he could hold the post long. He immediately wrote to General Washington that he could hold the place; and requested a supply of what he deemed necessary, and particularly of two Artillery Sergeants. His request was complied with; and the two Sergeants arrived. One of them, Porter,† was a most efficient man, brave and indefatigable. His conduct was such that, on the recommendation of Colonel Smith, he was promoted, continued to rise, and held the Commission of Brigadier general, during the War of 1812.

The enemy established himself at the hospital on Province-island,—where was his main force, and by [26] detachments, supplied, daily, the battery erected on the spot Colonel Smith had expected—about six hundred yards from the stockade.

* It is probable that Captain Isaiah Robinson, of the *Andrew Doria*, is here referred to.—H. B. D.

* Vide *A Return*, etc., signed by Captain Treat, among the Revolutionary papers, which we shall present in our next number.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

† General Moses Porter of Massachusetts.—J. S. S.

Here he planted one howitzer and a few eighteen pounders. The first shot from the former appeared to alarm the Militia; and thinking they would be of little service, Colonel Smith dismissed them.

A few days after he had received the command, he was visited by Mr. Paine, the Author of *Common Sense*, who observed that the enemy would erect a battery at the brick-house, on the hill, above the meadow, and, with ricochet shot, dismount the guns on our battery. The distance was too great to cause any apprehension; but the idea immediately occurred to the Colonel, that his battery might be enfiladed from Province-island and his guns dismounted. He therefore erected traverses between the guns, with the pine logs of the raft, and filled them with earth, well rammed; which were found to be sufficient, and actually saved his guns from injury. Otherwise they would have been dismounted; for many shot lodged in the first traverse.

He saw that in case of an attack from [27] the ships, there was no place of safety for his men; and he, therefore, caused a work of pine logs, six feet high, secured at each end with similar logs, the whole filled in with earth, well rammed. It was afterwards found a perfect security when attacked by the ships, not a man being hurt, although many shots reached that work, and were buried in it.

The enemy began firing, during the first week, from the battery; and became troublesome. Colonel Smith formed a plan of attack, which proved successful. A squadron of gun-boats, with the boats of the frigate, under the immediate command of Captain Robinson,* attacked the battery, on the right. The thirty-two pounders and eight pounders, from the block-house, played on its center. At the same time, Major Ballard, the father of Commodore Ballard, had crossed over to Province-island, with one hundred men, and assailed its left. It surrendered in half an hour. The British Captain had his arm broken, and was paroled. Two young Lieutenants and a few men were made prisoners. A party of the enemy came down from the heights to retake the battery, as Colonel Smith supposed. He fired on them and stopped them. The [28] Officer on shore sent a boat over, to request that the firing should cease, for that the party was coming down to surrender. The Colonel complied with the request, which he has said he ought not to have done, as he thought, at the time, their coming down to surrender was impossible. The error was soon made manifest. The battery was evacuated, and unpossessed by the enemy. The

two young Lieutenants amused the Colonel. They were kindly treated; totally forgot they were prisoners; and, at dinner, entered into a warm dispute, as if they had been in their own quarters, whether the marching Regiments or the Light Infantry had done the most service during the Campaign. One of them looked earnestly at a double-barrelled fowling-piece. "You appear to look at that piece affectionately." "Yes! it was given to me by my father, when I parted with him;" and a slight tear, on mentioning his father, appeared. The fowling-piece was given to him, with a certificate to protect it. He told him, however, at York, Pennsylvania, where he afterwards saw him, that the certificate was no protection against a Jersey militia-man, who took it from him, soon after he landed on on [29] the Jersey shore.

It occurred to the Colonel that two guns above the enclosure might play on the enemy's battery, with great effect; and two eighteen-pounders from the battery were removed with great labor. The fire was opened, and dismounted one of the enemy's guns. Almost the first shot from him broke off the muzzle of one of our guns; and the second or third silenced the other, by carrying away the trunnions—and thus was our labor lost. Fortunately, the thirty-two-pounders never received the slightest injury. The North-west block-house was blown up twice by shells; and some men who had been there, in violation of positive orders, were killed or dreadfully wounded. The barracks were fired by carcasses falling on the shingles, which were extinguished by wet hides.

In the third week of the siege, (it lasted seven weeks) Major, afterwards Colonel, Fleury, a French officer of great merit, joined us. He was amiable, and the bravest of the brave. He was an officer in the French Army, and possessed general knowledge, which he communicated freely, and was eminently servicable. There was a perfectly good understanding and sincere friendship between him and Colonel Smith. No jealousy, no underhanded practices—all was [30] frank and conducing to the public service.

Colonel Smith was generally awake all night, and slept in the day. He walked on the dyke; put his ear close to the water; and, on a calm night, could hear the dip from the muffled bars, carrying up provisions, as he supposed, to the enemy. Of this he informed Colonel Hazlewood, pressing him to send some of his galleys and four-pound boats to intercept them. His answer was "A shell would sink any of my galleys." "Yes," said the Colonel, "and falling on your head, or mine, will kill; but for what else are we employed or paid?" The galleys were not sent; and Colonel Smith had the mortification to

* He had with him two Volunteers—James Smith, a cousin of the Colonel, and William Barney—who rendered essential service.—J. S. S.

know that the enemy's boats passed, nightly, unmolested.*

The Southern Officers knew the eccentric character of Doctor Skinner, the Surgeon of the Fort, and an intimate friend of Colonel Henry Lee and Colonel Smith. The latter, one morning, had slept late; and, arriving at the platform, he found the Doctor sitting behind one of the traverses, with the sides of a wheelbarrow stuck in one of the interstices, over his head, and his arms closed to his sides; at which the Colonel laughed. "What do you [31] laugh at? You have been asleep and do not know what the damned rascals are doing. I know not how they do it; but I know that hand-grenades fall on the platform. If one takes my barrow-side it rebounds and I am safe." At that moment, two or three fell near us. "There," said he, "you might have been killed. It is *your* duty to brave danger, *mine* to take care of myself. Suppose you had been struck just now, who was to mend you, if I were gone." There is a howitzer in which there are holes in the rim, where hand grenades are inserted. The shell takes its circular course, but the grenades rise to a certain height, lose the impetus, and fall down perpendicularly. An order was therefore given that no one was to go on the platform but the artillerymen, actually engaged. However, very few were afterwards thrown; and they had, in truth, hurt no one, yet they were dangerous, and there was no security against them except the Doctor's side of the wheelbarrow.

Colonel Smith thinks it was in the third week of the siege, that Colonel d'Arandt† appeared as commanding officer of the Fort; and of which Colonel Smith had not been previously apprised. He was a Prussian; a very military-looking [32] man, six feet high, and elegantly formed. Indeed, his whole appearance was that which would commend him to a command, where personal bravery was not required. Colonel Smith, in company with Major Fleury, showed him the Fort and its defences. On their arrival at the North-west blockhouse, he looked up, and asked in French, for he spake little English, "What has happened here?" "It has been blown up twice; and the enemy's fire is frequently directed at it." He immediately sprang into one

window, and out at the other; and got clear of the block-house. Colonel Smith looked at Major Fleury—a look which the latter understood and who answered it by saying: "Par Dieu! c'est un poltron." "Yes," replied Colonel Smith, "and we must frighten him away from the Fort; or he will do more injury than good." However, he had some knowledge.

The Colonel told him that he feared only a night attack; that the enemy might land on the wharf, opposite to the hospital, or on the dykes; and that little obstruction, with the small force in the Fort, could be made. Between the dykes made to keep out the tide—the ground was a perfect level of about four hundred yards by one hundred and fifty or two hundred. He caused the whole to be perforated with trous de loups, (*Wolf Traps*)—[33] that is, holes dug the shape of a sugar-loaf, the small end down, close together, in which sharp stakes were driven—so that the enemy could have approached only, by the dykes. These were not wide enough for more than two men abreast, and would have been swept by the guns of the block-houses and the musketry, through the loop-holes of the stockade. Thus far was well—indeed, excellent. But, for further security, he ordered the dykes to be cut, to cause assailants to halt. About this, Colonel Smith differed in opinion; and said, "If you cut the dykes, a September gale will overflow the island and we shall be up to the middle in water." He, however, persisted: the dykes were cut; and the consequence was that which Colonel Smith predicted, as will, hereafter, be shown.

The Fort at Red Bank, opposite Mud-island, had been occupied by the brave Colonel Greene and his Rhode Island men. His Engineer, the gallant Mauduit du Plessis, found it too large for the force of Colonel Greene, and had cut off a considerable part, leaving the works standing, which deceived the Hessians. On gaining that part, they supposed they had succeeded, [34] and were shot down. Immediately before the attack of Count Donop, a Virginia Regiment, reduced to one hundred and fifty men, under Colonel Sims, on its march to Mud-island, arrived in time to take part in the action, and enabled Colonel Greene to man the lines completely. Donop was mortally wounded, and his party defeated. Colonel Greene, fearing a return of the enemy, sent for cartridges, which Count d'Arandt at first refused, but, on the remonstrances of Colonel Smith and the other officers, at last granted them.

Colonel Smith proposed that he should cross the river and pursue the enemy; but this was peremptorily refused by the Count. The plan of the enemy was well conceived. Had the Fort at Red Bank fallen, Mud-island must have

* Colonel Smith always held the Commodore in great contempt, thinking that he did not discharge his duty with becoming zeal. They had several animated altercations, during the siege; and, after the evacuation of the Fort, the Colonel refused to return his salutation in the streets of Philadelphia. Colonel Smith was walking with Colonel N. Rogers of Maryland when this insult was offered. And so gross was the insult, that Colonel Rogers expected, confidently, that Colonel Smith would be challenged the next day, and so told his son, my friend, L. N. Rogers, who communicated it to me.—J. S. S.

† See Sparks's *Writings of Washington*, v., 107, 108, concerning Colonel d'Arandt.—J. S. S.

been evacuated, for Officers and men had, for days, only salt herrings, dried in the sun, and ship-biscuit to eat. There was flour, but no *safe* place for baking it. Their spirits, however, had never flagged for a moment.

The enemy having failed in his attempt on Red Bank, determined on his grand attack, and * * * [35] great effort. This was, to cause some of the *chiveaux-de-frise*, which had been sunk to obstruct the channel, about a mile and a half from the Fort, perhaps more, * * * A ship of the line, the *Augusta*, of sixty-four guns, anchored near the obstruction. A frigate also came up and grounded. The *Augusta* commenced firing, which was returned by two squadrons of the flotilla, one commanded, he thinks, by Captain Dickinson, within less than a mile of the ship. Another, some distance in the rear; and a third, under the command of Commodore Haslewood, a little in advance of the Fort, at Red Bank, the guns of the Fort keeping up, nearly a constant fire. In the meantime, a continued discharge on the Fort was maintained, the whole day, from the Hospital and battery, of shot, shells, and carcasses. These are made, about two feet square, filled with combustibles, and having sharp hooks, which keep them fast to the shingles. They were extinguished by raw hides, which had been soaked in water for the purpose. They gave much trouble and no little fatigue.

The *Augusta* took fire from some accident. The men were saved in the boats, except one negro, who dropped from the bowsprit into one of our boats, which had been sent to their assistance. When the *Augusta* blew up, a [36] piece from her fell on the negro, and killed him. No other person was hurt *—a strange fatality.

Before the firing began, Colonel d'Arandt spoke to Colonel Smith in the most confused manner. "He did not understand English; did not know the Officers nor men; the Colonel did;" and he continued, some minutes, in that kind of undertalk. Colonel Smith said: "If I understand you, you mean that I should assume the command for the day." "Yes, sir," was the answer.

The frigate, being aground, was fired on, from a few guns, on the Jersey shore. She was set fire to, and abandoned by the crew. After she was blown up, all firing ceased on both sides. Then Colonel Smith visited his men, who had been secured under the breast-work which he had thrown up for their protection. All were unhurt, except Colonel d'Arandt. He had been with the men, under cover, limped, and said that a ball had struck a piece of stone

from the wall, which had hit him in the groin; and that he had suffered great pain. Doctor Skinner was [37] called, who bled the Count and said: "Sir, there are no accommodations for wounded men; you had better go on shore, where you can be attended to." He agreed, and was sent to a small village, where he confined himself to his room for a week, and was seen no more.

A few days after, Colonel Smith received a reinforcement of one hundred Virginians, under Lieutenant-colonel Green, a brave and gallant Officer, who had been wounded at Throgg's Neck, the preceding campaign. Some difficulty now arose; as Green's Commission was the eldest; but he was infirm, and was prevailed on, by his own officers, to retire. Colonel Smith had distinctly said: "The defence of this post has been committed to me; and I cannot relinquish the command, without a positive order from the Commander-in-chief." Colonel Green answered that he coincided in the opinion; was certain that his coming was with no intention to supersede me; and magnanimously retired, for he could not serve under an Officer of inferior rank. Indeed, Colonel Smith would not have felt at ease while commanding his superior in rank.

A gale of wind having arisen, and a consequent high tide, the result was that the Island was overflowed. [38] There was no dry place, except the barracks and platform. Two feet of water [*flowed*] over every other spot; and the enemy's battery being similarly situated, all firing had ceased, on both sides.

Colonel Smith saw the favorable opportunity, and wrote a note to Commodore Haslewood, describing the situation of the enemy, and pointing out how a squadron could row to the battery, and take it, with little danger. A squadron came; drew up in line, with the thirty-two-pounders; and began to fire. Colonel Smith went immediately from the barracks, up to his middle in water, hailed, and told the Commodore that he could do no good there, but should row up immediately to the battery,* which had only the howitzer above water, and which could fire only once, before the heads of the galleys would be close to, and destroy them. The answer was, "We will go no nearer."

The precise times of the incidents that happened are not recollected, yet they are nearly in order.

One morning, Colonel Smith and Captain Treat of the Artillery were conversing, near the thirty-two pounder, [39] when a ball, from the enemy, came. It lodged in the traverse. Cap-

* Marshall makes the number greater.—J. S. S.

* This evidently refers to the enemy's battery, on Province-island, where a howitzer was mounted.—H. B. D.

tain Treat tottered, and was upheld by the Colonel. A slight squeeze of the hand, and he expired. No wound was apparent; and the question is, was it the sensation from the ball that caused the death?

The enemy had erected a battery of one howitzer below the Fort. One morning, Captain Hazzard, of Delaware, was looking out of the window of the block-house, close to the thirty-two pounder. Colonel Smith requested him to come down, that he was exposing himself to unnecessary danger. He answered; "There is no risk." The words were scarcely out of his mouth, when a shell struck in the wood, a foot above his head. It exploded. His head dropped, and he was believed to be killed; but, being brought down, he was bled and recovered, although he completely lost his hearing. He was a brave and honorable man. He resigned because, as he said, "no man ought to hold a Commission who could not perform its duties." He, long after, applied to Congress for a pension, but did not send his petition to his own Senators, preferring General Smith, under whom he had served, and who was then a Senator from Maryland.

The fire of both parties was slackened, and there [40] was only an occasional shot. The enemy was, probably, preparing his razees—large ships cut down to their lower decks, so as to draw little water. That plan was suggested by the Captain of a four-pound boat, who had deserted, and proved ultimately successful.

Brigadier-general Varnum had arrived near Red Bank with two Continental Regiments, with orders to sustain the two Forts. A very cold morning, he sent his Brigade-major, with a note, asking information. Colonel Smith went to the barracks to answer it; after writing which, and in the act of handing it, with his right hand—his left hand being behind him, and his back to the chimney—a ball came through the stockade, the barracks, and two stacks of chimneys: and, nearly spent, it struck him on the left hip and dislocated his wrist. He fell, covered with bricks, by which he was severely bruised; every joint in his body appeared to be loosened.* The Officers present were covered with bricks and mortar, and so astonished as to give no assistance. The Colonel [41] did not lose his presence of mind, and thought fresh air to be essential. He could not rise, but rolled over and over, until he got to the front door, when the Officers joined him. Doctor Skinner came immediately, drew the wrist into its place, and bled him. It was many months before he could use his wrist. The bruises were

numerous; and some, on the bones, gave great pain. He was carried to the boat, for he could not walk, and sent to the Jersey shore. This incident took place one week before the evacuation of the Fort.

A day or two after, a deputation came to General Varnum, from Mud-island. They represented that their numbers were greatly reduced; that officers and men were worn down with fatigue; and they requested that they might be relieved. The Field-officers were assembled, and no one seemed inclined to take the command; on which Colonel Smith said: "Give me the men, and my excellent companion-in-arms, Major Thayer, will, I am sure, take the command, for a few days, until I can return." Major Thayer was of Rhode Island; and Colonel Smith has often said that he was the bravest man he had ever known. He accepted, [42] saying, "there was nothing he would not do, to oblige Colonel Smith." The day after, Colonel Smith and other officers called on Colonel Greene, at Red Bank, to devise the means of supplying the Island with ready-cooked provisions. Commodore Hazlewood was sent for, and told that Colonel Greene would have the provisions cooked; and he was requested to furnish a galley for their transportation. This he refused. Colonel Smith then said: "Colonel Greene has seamen in his Regiment: lend him a galley and he will furnish officers and men. Unless this is done, the men must either starve or evacuate the Island." This was, also, at first, refused; but a galley was ultimately supplied, but whether manned as usual or by Colonel Greene, Colonel Smith cannot recollect.

The raze, already described, came up, and opened its dreadful fire, which was answered by two guns, there being no more that would bear upon her. Many of the men ran below; but the master kept his post and rallied the crew; and, after a most gallant resistance, our men were compelled to abandon their guns. All the works being levelled, and some of the [43] guns dismounted, the garrison evacuated the Island in the night, bringing with them every thing which was portable.

The next day, Colonel Smith bought a horse and repaired to Head-quarters, at White Marsh. Dinner had just been removed. He was received by all the General officers, then present, in the most flattering manner, and by General Washington in his usual cold manner, at first; but, afterwards, with kindness and sympathy, when he observed his arm in a sling. The next year, he offered him a place in his family, as Aide-de-camp, which was declined, as he preferred his Regiment, where there was a better chance for service, in which honor might be gained.

* This occurred on the eleventh of November. See Sparks's *Writings of Washington*, 154, 155. J. S. S.

The place was filled by Colonel Fitzgerald of Alexandria.

Colonel Smith had his quarters at the house of an old friend of his father—Mr. William West, of Philadelphia. A strong party of the enemy came out from that City, with which a smart skirmish, in a wood. Colonel Smith joined his Regiment, though not very fit for duty. It, however, was not engaged. The enemy retired; and the Army went into Winter-quarters, at Valley Forge, about the eleventh of December, 1777. The day it marched, it was met by a violent snow-storm; and the Army bivouacked as best it could. The Fourth Regiment, of which he was Lieutenant-colonel, [44] secured itself from the storm long before night; and the Officers slept soundly on their blankets, with a large fire at their feet. The cover was made with two forked saplings, placed in the ground, another from one to the other. Against this, fence-rails were placed sloping, on which leaves and snow were thrown, and thus made comfortable.

The next day, Colonel Smith was ordered to go to Baltimore, and superintend the recruiting service. He enlisted nearly four hundred men, and joined the Army, early the next Spring. The evacuation of Philadelphia was expected; and the American Army crossed the Delaware.

The evacuation took place on the eighteenth of June, 1778. A Brigade of Light Infantry, under the command of General Scott, was drafted from the whole Army, consisting of three full Regiments. These were commanded by Colonels Cilley, Butler, and Richard Parker. To the latter, Colonel Smith was attached. The Brigade marched; and for two or three days was near the enemy—frequently in sight, putting out their fires in the morning, and black-guarded by their women, who had remained, to collect, as plunder, anything [45] the Officers might have left. No attempt at their rear-guard was made.

Early in the morning of the twenty-eighth of June, 1778, when the Battle of Monmouth was fought, Colonel Mercer, Aide-de-camp of General Charles Lee, came to General Scott, with orders. He detached Colonel Butler to the right—placing it on the left of the British rear-guard, then returning. Morgan, with his riflemen, was further on. The other two Regiments of General Scott's Brigade were conducted to a wood, on the right of the enemy. The plan of the Battle, by General Lee, appeared to Colonel Smith to be excellent. It was thus: The main-body, at the Court-house, where the attack on it should commence; Butler to fall on his left flank; Morgan on his rear; and Scott's [other] two Regiments on his right flank. A better

disposition could not have been made. It was, however, disconcerted; and he has stated the cause of it thus: Lieutenant Hoops, of his Regiment, joined him, on horseback, from Lancaster, and asked leave to serve with him on that day. It being granted, Mr. Hoops said, "I see a number of General Officers assembled; I will go near to them, and try to bring you information." On his return, he reported, that being near General Lee, the enemy made a sudden halt. He exclaimed, "Damn them, what [46] do they halt for?" and then, looking to the left, he saw our Brigade in the open field. "Damn them," said he, "they have got there already. Whose troops are those?" "Mine," answered General Scott. "Yours! Who ordered them to leave the wood?" "I did," was the answer. "Then, by God, you have ruined me." General Lee took no step to correct the derangement made in his plan; but, governed by passion, as Colonel Smith supposed, ordered a retreat. General Scott's two Regiments (Cilley's and Parker's) retired to an excellent position, whether by order or not, Colonel Smith knew not. The enemy did not see them, but pressed forward on the center, where there was no opposition. In a short time, a firing was heard *behind* the Brigade. In consequence, the Field-officers assembled, General Scott not being present. There was a deep morass on the left, apparently impenetrable for men. The question was—what should be done? Several opinions were given, and Colonel Smith said, "Surely, with such men, we can cut our way through any impediment." The corps then marched to the rear, having the morass [47] on its right, and a sand-hill on its left. The road was very narrow—not wider than for a Platoon to march abreast. Colonel Smith was in the rear. A private came down, and told him that the British Light-horse were cutting down the flanking party; on which Colonel Smith ordered Captain Alexander Smith to mount the sand-hill, and drive them off, which he did, by one well-directed fire.

The Brigade arrived safe where General Washington was; and were soon ordered into action. Colonel Cilley's Regiment attacked and drove a British Regiment on our left. Parker's Regiment flanked the main body of the enemy, who retired to the Court-house, leaving the burying of the dead to the Americans, which gave them the honor of the day.

The enemy had been overpowered by the heat, and were laying down to rest. Colonel Smith sent Captain Trueman (who was afterwards killed by the Indians) to rouse them with three discharges—which they returned—but he performed the duty and received no injury.

A curious fact was related by Captain Norwood, who commanded the covering party, that the American dead were as fair as usual; while the faces and certain parts of the British were quite black. The reason which has been assigned was, the [48] quantity of liquor they had drank—the Americans having had none to drink. He added that he buried twenty or thirty of each, without a wound on them, they having died from the extreme heat. Colonel Smith saw a Highlander kick and jump, like a cock which had been struck in the head. He sent a Sergeant to him, who found him dead, and without a wound. The heat was, no doubt, the cause, also, of his death.

Colonel Smith has always believed that if General Scott's Brigade had mounted the sand-hill and attacked the right flank of the enemy, it might have turned the fortune of the day much earlier. But it had no one whose duty it was to command the whole; and neither of the Colonels chose to assume the responsibility.

Colonel Smith was called as a witness at the Court-martial held for the trial of General Lee; but, as the principal testimony he had to give was hearsay, he was stopped. Mr. Hoops was not summoned; nor would his testimony have saved General Lee, for no sufficient apology could be offered for his not fighting, nor for his answer to General Washington, after his [49] retiring from the field of battle. They were unpardonable.

The Army marched [on] the day after the Battle. General Scott's Brigade was dissolved; and the Officers and men joined their respective Regiments. The stench from the woods was intolerable, they being filled with dead men and horses. The Army crossed the Hudson about the first day of July; and it remained without much activity, except the parties on the lines, with which Colonel Smith had no part.

General La Fayette was ordered to Rhode Island; and he invited Colonel Smith, with whom a friendship had been formed, to go in his family. The invitation was declined, unless a command, equal to his rank, was given to him; but, as these had all been filled, he did not go.

The Maryland Division, during that campaign—and until he was killed at Camden—was under the command of Major-general the Baron DeKalb, a brave and most amiable man. This gave great offence to General Smallwood, who thought he ought to have been made a Major-general, and to have had the command of the Division. It was encamped at Poughkeepsie, in a most delightful country. The usage adopted for [50] furnishing the General's guard was that the two Brigades should supply it, alternately, each a week. The Second

Brigade was, by accident, under the command of Colonel Smith, and had detached the guard for the week. General Smallwood refused to relieve it; but, after an interview with General DeKalb, he complied with the prescribed routine.

The campaign having terminated, Colonel Smith was sent home to superintend the recruiting service. He had, for two years, been engaged to be married to Margaret Speare, the eldest daughter of William Speare, Esq. His pecuniary situation was embarrassing. When he entered the service he was worth nine thousand pounds of his own; and his father was the richest merchant in Baltimore. Their property was almost exclusively in debts due to them by country merchants. These debts were paid in Continental money, which had become worthless in the hands of his father, who had taken no measures for reimbursement. His father-in-law, Mr. Speare, was similarly situated. He found himself, therefore, entirely [51] destitute of means to support an establishment for a family. Thus situated, and no provision * having been made for the Officers after the War should cease, he found himself compelled to resign, which he did, in the latter end of May, 1779.† He sent his letter to General Washington, who returned it with a compliment, on the back of the Commission, signed by Colonel Harrison. This should be carefully kept, as an heir-loom, in his family. The necessity he was under of resigning his Commission, he said, was like tearing his heart out. But he was compelled by circumstances. He had no means for the support of a family; and when he resigned, he had not one hundred dollars left. Neither his own father nor that of his wife could assist him. His pay was then equal to four dollars per month, in specie, the paper-money being twenty to one.

Congress had unanimously voted to Colonel Smith its thanks and a sword for his gallant service in the defence of Fort Mifflin, commonly called Mud-island.‡

[TO BE CONTINUED. §]

* In 1782, Congress, to prevent a dissolution of the Army, agreed to allow half-pay for life to all Officers who would serve until the end of the War; but this came too late for Colonel Smith. — J. S. S.

† Vide Colonel Smith's letters of May 10th and July 2d, and General Washington's of May 29, 1779. — H. B. D.

‡ Vide Resolutions of Congress, November 4, 1777, and General Knox's letter of May 31, 1786. — H. B. D.

§ The papers of General Smith possess so much importance, as material for history, that we shall continue the publication of them, month by month, until we shall have given all of them; and we are sure that they will be welcomed by all who are interested in the history of Maryland and its vicinity.

In our next, we shall begin the publication of the Revolutionary series; and that will be followed by those relating to the War of 1812.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

II.—EULOGY ON GENERAL WASHINGTON, DELIVERED AT SALEM, MASS.,

By REV. WILLIAM BENTLEY, D.D.*

NOW FIRST PRINTED, FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT, BELONGING TO MISS MARY R. CROWNINSHIELD, CHARLESTOWN, MASS.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW CITIZENS:

On this mournful occasion, we are to contemplate WASHINGTON, our greatest friend, as gone forever. Generous Virtue, in tears, disdains to be a candidate for Fame. Sympathy, when, in the fullness of soul, it mourns, in the deepest affliction, is sure of candor: and no apology can be necessary for the first thoughts our affections inspire. We come to give free indulgence to the most innocent of our passions. Our grief is inexpressible; yet, we remember, to think of the virtues of a WASHINGTON, with love and ad-

* Washington died on the fourteenth of December, 1799; and, on the twenty-fourth, when the sad intelligence reached Salem, "the Selectmen directed the bells to toll "the next day, at sunrise and, at times, through the day: "requested that the shipping display their colors at half-mast; minute-guns be discharged on the Mall, from three "to four o'clock, in the afternoon; and, then, the shops to "be closed.

"On Sunday, the twenty-ninth, the virtues of Washington and the public sorrow for his death were the subject of pulpit eloquence in this Town. These performances were published.

"On the thirtieth, the inhabitants assembled and passed several votes in testimony of their high appreciation for his excellence. One was that the residents here be desired to wear badges of mourning for sixty days, commencing the first day of the year. Another, that an Eulogy be delivered the second day.

"Then, a procession was formed at the Court House. It consisted of Revolutionary Officers, noted strangers, Town-officers, and the Clergy, with the Orator, the Reverend William Bentley. The whole were escorted by the Cadets, under Captain Lawrence, who marched in inverted order, with arms reversed and drums muffled. After passing through several streets, they went to the North Meeting-house. There, accompanied with devotional services by the Reverend Doctor Barnard and with occasional dirges from a band, was delivered "an elegant "and classical Eulogy, on the public and private virtues "of the deceased."

"After the performances were closed, the procession returned to the Court House. The Cadets concluded the funeral honors by three volleys. Their drums were then unmuffled, according to military custom, and the company moved off to the tune of the *President's March*. "While the procession was moving, minute-guns were fired by a detachment of Captain Gould's Artillery Company, on the Common.

"This occasion drew together a great collection of people. It was consecrated by the exercise of remembrances, sympathies, and emotions, fitted to improve and honor our nature. Its like, for the scope of affections, enlivened and exalted by one of the noblest specimens of patriotism, whose brightness was still to shine upon the world, though its possessor had been summoned to eternal scenes, will probably never again be witnessed in this "or any other portion of our Republic."—*Felt's Annals of Salem*, li, 58, 59.

At the suggestion of our esteemed friend, Captain GEORGE HENRY PREBLE, U. S. N., Miss MARY R. CROWNINSHIELD, of Charlestown, Massachusetts, has kindly placed in our hands, for publication, the original manuscript of this Eulogy; and it is now our privilege to present it to our readers, in the following pages—its first publication, in any form.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

miration, is to give not only immortality to his name, but that safety to the public happiness which was the great object of his ambition. We ought not to attribute too much to any man, and forget the concurrence of other means in our national prosperity; yet, when we cannot distinguish the points at which they meet, we may reverence the bold stream by which all their blessings are conveyed into the bosom of our country.

This solemn hour has been the subject of anxious expectation to the wisest citizens of America and to the best friends of mankind. Affection led them to hope that Washington would finish his glorious life in peace; but the history of life and of nature is the same. Many vapors gather when the beams of rising greatness first appear, and seem dispersed, till the clouds of the horizon obscure the setting sun. What may not old age suffer when the darkness comes on; and at what may not feeble nature stumble? He lived in our prayers. He lived in our hearts. He has now finished every thing belonging to our nature; and from death has passed to God. Envy cannot touch him, or affection dread a double death. He has finished, he has well finished; and, from the fields of Mount Vernon, he has entered upon immortality.

But do we celebrate only a Conqueror? Is glory due only to the murderers of mankind? The Armies of Europe have destroyed, in one battle, more than fell in all the victories of Washington. We commend not the destruction of mankind. Were not his victories more glorious than those of modern heroes? Ask, who disarmed Civil War of its greatest terrors? Who gave Independence and the liberty of Law to his Country? Who united, in himself, Colonies divided by interest, manners, names, and Governments? Who confounded the first accents of faction, and disarmed it of its rage? Who preserved order in his own mind, amidst public confusion? Who disbanded an Army, and returned the soldiers as quiet citizens to their homes, contented with the prosperity of their Country? What boasted victory gave the general, the supreme, civil power, not to his ambition, but as a pledge of love? What victory added millions to population, glory to commerce, settlements to a wilderness, and wealth to citizens of every name? What gave a Nation the dignity to fill the highest offices with men who could willingly exchange the greatest honors for a private station? What gave an Hero retirement, without faction? Who, except Washington, ever gained such a victory as this? Can envy point a shaft at it, or ambition imagine higher glory? Willingly would all our modern heroes exchange sieges and battles, their victories gained and lost, their massacres and

confusion, War without issue, and Victory without safety, for the unfading laurels of a Washington. We cannot ask, what have we lost? We ask, what have we not lost, of every thing, in man, that is dear to man? We ought, then, to pay the tribute of our praise and of our tears. If we are not able to do justice to the memory of our departed benefactor, still our gratitude may be our duty, as it is our sublime privilege, to praise God, though he be perfect.

It is hardly possible that so many circumstances should again combine to make any character so dear to America. We admire the bold enterprise of Columbus; but, in the discovery of America, we contemplate only the generous voyager, disappointed in all his laudable ambition. Each State in the Union has its own benefactors and its celebrated names. These were the guardians of our infant years. But when we became a Nation, Washington was our General. When we accepted our Constitution, Washington was our President. When he saw our national establishment, he resigned his power, with the same glory and virtue with which he received it.

On the twenty-ninth of October, 1789, we were witnesses of the public confidence and of the public joy. Then, our hoary fathers, now in the dust, our best citizens, and our lovely children, appeared, to welcome, in our streets, the Father of our Country. We all recollect how sincere was the pleasure; and the lovely day of his birth has repeatedly been honored in our public assemblies. His dignity and ease, we beheld with delight. His paternal love of his country and the lovely testimony of his virtues combined to raise in us the most ardent affection. In every form, his image has been given to our minds. It adorns our walls; exists in our richest apartments; and appears in all the places to which we resort for amusement and pleasure. In our streets, we repeat this name as we pass; and it is remembered in our Towns and Counties. It rises to our thoughts, in the flowing waters of brooks and rivers; and the Capital of the United States is to transmit his fame with the record of our Laws and in the name of the place in which our Government is to be administered. And yet gratitude still speaks, that these honors are not sufficient. These are not flatteries paid only by a fond people. They have the consent of enlightened men and of the greatest nations. Not only have the historians of our own country consented to the highest honors; but, with one voice, have they been approved. The Nation from whom we separated has neglected no accents of praise. Says their historian, in 1785: "He fully answered every hope he had formed." "In the course of an arduous War, and in the midst of frequent and severe trials, he completely justified the opinion the world had

"entertained of his valor, conduct, and perseverance." We ought not to forget the tribute of respect, from Poets and Princes. Such honors, while they accord with our own, confirm us in our public gratitude. When we see Dedications, in foreign Universities, "to the greatest and most virtuous character that the new world has ever produced," we ought to recollect it is our own best friend whom the world delights to honor.

Justly to contemplate Washington, we should review the important parts of his illustrious character. We should see him in the happy character of a citizen, possessed of those early honors which entitled him to the suffrages of Virginia, a Colony which first boldly supported the hopes of our Independence; and, by one of its members, first proposed it in the Congress of 1776. In the first Congress, we should observe the virtues which led a Nation to entrust, in his hands, the salvation of their Country. He is thus described by a person who knew him, at this memorable crisis:—"He is dauntless, active, attentive to business, temperate, humane, formed for gaining and securing the affections of Officers and Soldiers, far from being haughty and supercilious, though naturally reserved. His personal appearance is noble and engaging. He certainly possesses strong powers of mind. His being a person of strict honor and probity, was undoubtedly the main reason with Congress for electing him to the chief command of the American Army." When surrounded by faction and intrigue, by envy and War, we are then to remember the steady warrior who maintained our cause, in the greatest dangers which can threaten the national existence of any People. We are to see his calmness, when, firm in the alliance of France, which assisted us more by loans than arms, he gained for us the Independence we sought, with the greatest glory. Then let us recollect a disbanded, discontented Army, made quiet at his pleasure. Let us see him exalted to the highest civil honors. Let us see him sacrificing, to the love of peace, in our negotiations. Then, when the astonished world gaze on the hero, let us be present at the solemnities when he calmly resigned every honor, to retire to the duties of a private citizen. In his undisturbed tranquillity, in which he did not forget his Country, let us see him die in peace. If a character so well supported be not glorious, where shall mortals find a man worthy of glory? If the love and esteem of the friends who consecrated him to the public service; if uniform dignity, in the most arduous undertaking for his Country; if the gift of Liberty and Peace; if the friendship of the Laws, and the mildest Administration; if retirement without faction and private virtues with-

out false ambition, when they meet, and live together, and support a character, will not make it great, farewell, then, to our world, all hope of any thing to love, to esteem, and to praise, as eminent, glorious, and perfect.

But no man is unwilling to pay a tribute, which complete success has made sacred. The great warriors of Europe, who astonish the world with their battles, have a glory like the lightning, which plays in the heavens, but never kindles into the full orb of day. Washington sought for Liberty; and he sought as its friend. He conquered; and Liberty had the Crown. He governed; and the people were blessed. No vice has disgraced the Man, while glory covered the Hero. And while he views his Country happy, he bids a kind farewell, and dies.

The private life of General Washington has been expressed in the opinions of his fellow-citizens, and explained in those virtues which we shall find to be the constant companions of his retirement, when he had deserved well of his Country. His early conduct in the Army had left the memory of him for future contingencies. He had the independant spirit of his own Colony. His character was formed from the ease of condition and the freedom of soul, rather than from any studied theory of Law or Government. He was born free.

On the third of July, 1775, he arrived at Cambridge, to take the command of the American Army. Every thing announced, instantly, the confidence and joy of the Army. All waste of property and licentiousness of manners were prevented. The discipline was not severe; but the authority of character was absolute. Subordination was felt. Military arrangements appeared; and approaches were made. Boston was completely invested; but the inhabitants had nothing to fear from the soldiery. The enemy soon retreated, without an excuse for the destruction of the Town. The Expedition to Canada, encouraged at Cambridge, though unsuccessful at first, terminated in the Convention of Saratoga, an event beyond any expectations in the adventure. The advantage taken of it may be seen in Washington's letter to General Burgoyne: "If the power of his British Majesty's fleets and armies has been driven from Boston and Charlestown, cut off at Trenton, expelled the Jerseys, and he now, after almost three campaigns, commencing its operations, this is a power we do not dread."

When we consider the position of the American Army, in the neighborhood of Boston, we shall confess that the little damage done to private property proves how early commenced that attention which marked the progress of the Army, often oppressed by every want, till the close of the War. When the scene of War

changed, the conduct of it was agreeable to the nature of the resources the country could afford. This was of the utmost consequence. The English Generals found that they could not force Washington to action. The movements of the American Army, under General Washington, have been justly contrasted, by a British General, with the movements of the American Army in South Carolina. With great military prudence, Washington withdrew his Army from New York; and he saved his Army by keeping in the Jerseys. He kept, as long as he could, Fort Washington; but he did not attempt to keep Philadelphia. The event in the capitulation of Charleston justified all his operations.

While in his military command, General Washington was obliged to pay a sacred regard to the civil authority, and to prevent any competitions. The Marquis de Chastellux, who was in the French service, has noticed this part of his character, in the manner it deserved, as, by it, he preserved his influence and secured his success. Says the Marquis: "This is the seventh year that he has commanded the Army, and that he has obeyed the Congress. More need not be said, especially in America, where they know how to appreciate all the merit contained in this simple fact." "It will be said of him" he adds "at the end of a long Civil War, he had nothing with which he could reproach himself." This appears in his constant communications with Congress. It is marked in all the conduct he observed to the British Agents, who were able to discern his importance to the American cause. Nothing unofficial was done or received. Never was he more explicit, than when the interference of power could be suspected. This caution explained his full purposes to Congress. In the troubles of Vermont, he sent to the Governor only a *verbal* message, accompanied by the Resolves of Congress, that he might express the utmost sensibility in regard to the Civil authority. In the War, he was obliged to contend with every evil from human passions. Liberty seemed to inspire every exertion; but, in turn, different views appeared. False hopes counteracted the best designs. New events collected strength, and tended to precipitate all measures. The wants of the soldiers were often opposed to their courage; and then want seemed to make them desperate. Poverty was the portion of the Army; but riches were obtained from the sea. Discontents had the most dangerous forms; and the salvation of the Army was, that their General, having the hearts of his soldiers, left no friendship to the enemy.

The letter of Washington, representing the pressing wants of the Army, obtained their relief; and they who mutined, returned to their duty. Not all these discouragements made him

resign his trust; nor could all the proud hopes of his soldiers impel him to action against his own most deliberate purposes. The event has proved that he saved his men and his cause. The event of Trenton, accomplished by his little band, and his generosity to the prisoners, gave fresh spirits to his troops and great reputation to his courage. The Battles of Trenton, Princeton, and Monmouth, though not decisive, yet they prepared for the great event, the success of the American Revolution. And thus, not by splendid victories and the havoc of War, but by military prudence and a sacred regard, not to fame, but the public interest, Washington secretly weakened the enemy and strengthened his friends, and, in the end, Peace returned without destruction of life or desolation of the country. We reverence the man who gave national existence and prosperity to our United States. We may adopt the language of Colonel Humphreys:

"A transient gloom o'ercast his mind,
 "Yet still on Providence reclined,
 "The Patriot fond believed,
 "That Power, benign, too much had done,
 "To leave an Empire's task begun,
 "Imperfectly achieved."

In no attitude is Washington contemplated with greater anxiety, than when about to separate his Army, and in no attitude will he appear more glorious to posterity, than when he accomplished his purpose. To conduct a People, through a Revolution, to an happy political issue, is great. But to prepare the public mind to acquiesce, even in its own choice, after public discontents, is glorious. To disarm the power by which victory is gained and to cause soldiers to be content in the national honor and public happiness, must be the work of him who has great confidence and great reputation. The poet and the politician, the friends of mankind, at home and abroad, have celebrated this event, as bringing immortal honor to the hero. Washington dismissed his troops without the name of a standing Army, and only with a badge of their mutual affections and of their former services for their Country.

With the highest applause for his conduct through the War, Washington was carried by the affections of the people to the highest civil promotion. He had no rival of this dignity. But, in political life, success is more allied to opinion, than in War. Conquest is visible, and victory is known; but happiness is seldom thought to be in any man's possession. Every fear may expel it. Every hope make it future. Political wisdom is often left to the deliberate judgment of remote posterity. Washington made the sure guide of his Administration, the Constitution and the Laws.

He was never betrayed into any extravagance of opinion. He never forsook experience, resisted facts, or was at variance in his thoughts with the true character of mankind. He never gave to any man, an influence in the Nation, not belonging to his powers; and never suffered either his prejudices or his resentments to refuse any man's talents to his Country. He flattered no State, and erected no monument to his own vanity. The friends of the public were his friends, wherever they could be found. Attached to the Agricultural Interest, his fondest habits never led him to point its interest against Commerce, or to separate these twin brothers of the public prosperity. Possessed of Slaves and the friend of Liberty, no theory of life made him forget the progress of the mind and the gradual changes necessary to the best hopes of every condition. Fond of population, he never flattered the rage for emigration; and he never thought to change the manners of men by any change of Climate or Nation. Generous to the public, he was economical in his private affairs. But he never employed his private wealth in speculations which could endanger the public character or private virtue. He governed only to bless the people.

But he who had seen mutiny in the Army, found, from local causes, insurrection in the State. The Scheme of Finance, by Secretary Hamilton, in 1791, had some resistance in Pennsylvania. The evil found no remedy in time; and, in 1794, was hostile to the public peace. The Insurgents dared not to meet the authority of the name of Washington. They might presume to say he was deceived; but they could not say he was corrupted. His Speech, on the occasion, discovers his love of the public peace, restored without military violence.

President Washington never lost confidence, in all the struggles of opinion; and many spectators were more impartial than some sincere friends. His negotiations, the consequences of which cannot yet be developed, were the subject of the highest praise and of the most severe discussion. Says a late traveller: "I shall say that the President found the negotiations not agreeable to his instructions; and that he delayed the communication, till it was known how determined the Senate were to approve them." His consent, then, in so doubtful an affair, was the greatest political prudence, in the then distressed and defenceless state of Commerce. Whatever may be the remote consequences, we are sure that we have escaped the Wars of Europe, for which we cannot pay too high a price in any mistakes which have not oppression as their end and guilt as their means.

The next interesting scene which does immortal honor to Washington is in his resignation. What Painter can dispose all the beauties of this pic-

ture? What Poet's fancy can make it live before the eye? What Historian can unite the simple and sublime, so that this may be a great lesson of the true glory of power, in all generations? Says a spectator and a foreigner:—"Nothing can be more simple than this ceremony of installation. Yet this simplicity had something of the beautiful, the great, and the antique, which inspires respect and reaches the heart. I speak of the effect I felt. This total change of the Administration, made with so few forms, with so much reflection, and which, with the least possible parade, places a man who was, a few hours before, only a private citizen, in the highest office of State, and which restores to the common class of citizens, the man who had just been chief, is inexpressibly great, and full of true majesty. The presence of the old President, mixed in with the other spectators of this ceremony, added still more to this interesting scene; and rendered the whole complete." What glory is given to the scene, in the mind of every citizen, that this event accomplished the highest wishes of our national benefactor. That this was the Liberty he hoped would be perpetual. That he saw this promotion with all the luxury of enjoyment; and never cast one thought towards the honors he had so gloriously, and with so little ceremony, resigned. Can a more interesting character exist in imagination? External objects instruct us. They teach us to be free, or they make us slaves. How lovely is this simplicity, in religion as well as power.

We follow Washington to his retreat, to his beloved Mount Vernon—a retreat from all public honors, but not from all cares for the safety of his Country. When danger appeared, it was the consolation of America, that Washington was still living. His name gave reputation to the Nation and protection to the people. Yet, again, he could consecrate his grey hairs to the service of the Camp. His acceptance of the military command displays, at once, his duty as a Citizen, his submission to the Laws, and his ardent love of his Country. This single act saved his country from convulsions; awed even the rulers of France; and made all Europe reverence so happy a people. Had Switzerland possessed such a General, it would have been reformed without oppression. Had the Dutch found such a friend, the armed neutrality of the North would have been still more glorious. Yet, all the cares of Washington spake an acquiescence in the national Administration. No courier carried his dictates to the Government. No party found its strength in his secret communications. He was now blessed in the abundance of his fields and in the wealth of his private estate, under its ancient landmarks; and hospitality gave a welcome to all who came to his doors. The Historian will

not choose to pause, when he resigned the Empire; or wish to consign his hours of retirement to eternal oblivion. Washington returned to the native character which made him dear to the inhabitants of Virginia. He returned to his home; to the banks he had so long enjoyed, and which he relinquished only to serve his Country. The Stranger and the Friend came to visit the Hero of the age, whose greatness appeared in being again the Man and the Friend. Thus, his character has been preserved, with all simplicity, for the full measure of human life; contemplated, admired, and celebrated by great men of every Nation, and revered by those who hold Crowns and Sceptres.

We pay as great reverence to the Man as to the Hero. We shall find, combined in him, all the virtues as well as all the honors of life. His patriotism made us free, and his virtues will preserve our freedom. Would to God, with the legacy of his instructions, he could bestow all his own virtues upon us. Heroes in arms, we may find in every Country: faithful Legislators have been known: but the man who equally deserves well in the Church and the State, as the Soldier and the Citizen, is seldom to be found. But such was Washington. In General Washington, the love of Liberty arose from the independance, full prosperity, and generous ease of Virginia—a Colony to which we were indebted, in the commencement of our Revolution, for the best communications and the best men. They gave us great men; and, in the richness of their gift, they gave us WASHINGTON. To an independant mind, he gave no other restraints than the love of happiness, of virtue, and of mankind will ever impose. He was no wild and unsteady youth, wantoning in full prosperity and boldly sporting with the passions and the fate of mankind. His grounds witnessed to his industry, and his servants to his vigilance; and the beauty of Mount Vernon did not refuse the gifts of Nature. He knew what property was, from economy, as well as from inheritance; and he possessed the virtues which maintain it. The scenes of nature had no confusion in his eyes. He knew how to select and arrange its beauties. He had been abroad from home, the young soldier as well as young gentleman. But no vice returned with him. The love of home was pure enough to enable him to enrich it with all the wisdom he had collected. He thus rose to notice. He only waited to display that character which has astonished the world. We love to see economy throughout. We pursue and are sure to gain. The steps are easy and they are safe. He who cultivates his field, not by bare imitation, but with all the lessons of experience, soon rises in his views, and begins to compare the various effects of character and habits. When we tread the well-arranged field and mark the man of order and economy, we are sure to be

under the eyes which read us at the heart. Our education, our manners, our characters, are open as the flowers, and seen in their progress as the plants of the Garden. Thus Washington became great. But he was also good. Nothing escaped from his light; and like the ray which carries light and heat, too, nothing escaped from his benevolence. For the system of the State, he was not accountable. But he who is pleased with the well-directed industry of the field, will learn to make it cheerful. How good was it to see a servant, born in the same house and in the same year, following his Master through life, with love and gratitude.

He who loves information respecting life and men, will spontaneously indulge in hospitality, not for the gay and thoughtless, but for the well-informed traveller and for the refreshment of the needy passenger. What a joy has the tale often afforded that this blessing was from the hand of Washington, displayed not with pomp, to gain admiration, but with simplicity, to enrich the guest who would bear the memory on his heart. Not with the love of praise, while unconscious of the effect, he left his image in the soul. "There," says the traveller, "I blessed a man, where my tongue was never taught to utter my gratitude."

How distinguished was the temperance of Washington. Not in a haughty refusal of choice blessings which cheer and invigorate the mind and body of man; not in painful restraints and formal rules. His countenance told it. His calmness told it. From his lips, it was never known. Always the same, he executed as he thought; and his passions knew the health of his heart. How great was his power to deliberate. He followed not the impetus of thought; nor did he delay, to think. He was provided for events; and, so, ready for action. Instant on the occasion, he was still old in reflection. And thus in season, he was never precipitate. Acting from his own resources, he was glorious in success.

But he had a characteristic silence. No pride could betray him, for he honored his own understanding. No passion could disclose the purpose of his mind. While his tongue was silent, his heart was concealed. He was at liberty, for no hasty opinion could enslave him. His last and best thoughts were the first, to the world, in all things he undertook. His silence was accompanied with a reserve, but with a reserve directed by his judgment. He yielded to all the innocent emotions of social life. Enough was given to please and to satisfy us, while we remembered that he could not be betrayed or in our power.

In such habits, he had a sound judgment. The events of the War, the history of his Administration, his private life, and his multiplied cares,

all speak this in his praise. A few, who thought themselves high, might think they had discovered something unseen by other men; but they have never yet been able to divulge their secret.

From a mind so well governed, we did expect what we have enjoyed. The Orders of General Washington have been read and admired, not only in America, but in Europe, and even in Asia. The hatred of civil commotion has not prevented men from attention to a man who disarmed it of all its horrors. All have been astonished to see the wisdom of the State and the prudence of the Family united to the discipline of the Camp.

His Speeches have not been less celebrated. His Address to his Army, when disbanded, has had all the charms of moral poetry from the pen of Colonel Humphrey.* His Address to the United States, when he retired, is printed with our Laws, common as our Almanacs, and folded in the leaves of our Bibles.

His Letters have been published, repeatedly, with great approbation. The Statesman finds in them, a knowledge of the country; the Soldier, invention and experience; the Philosopher, events in their causes; the Patriot, the love of Liberty and of mankind; while every reader is pleased with arrangements so glorious in their consequences.

From his pen, we turn to his active life. A Revolution combines the most eccentric men; and it requires the greatest wisdom to manage them. In Washington, they found the man to love, to obey, and to follow to glory. But even God is charged foolishly. The forgiveness Washington displayed is felt by some men, happy in the present Administration. They were admitted for their talents; and they love the man to whom the public good was dearer than any resentment in his power. Still, forgiveness never triumphed over caution. He preserved what was good, and the evil, his wisdom could prevent. Such was the blaze of these virtues, that the public countenance was cheered by them and every citizen rejoiced in them. Hence, he had unbounded influence, such as is given only by generous conviction and the most full experience. We poured our hearts into his bosom. We trusted his prudence, as though informed from heaven. Let us remember how he enjoyed this confidence. His modesty was as conspicuous as if he had received no assurance of favor; and this virtue never forsook him in his greatest prosperity.

His consistency was as eminent. He united the Soldier, the Statesman, and the Citizen. No act belonged to one part of his character, while it did not agree to the whole. No plea in one

* The Marquis de Chastellax, translated, from Humphrey's version.

profession excused the manners in another. His character was equally good, whether he directed the Soldier, honored the Laws, or blessed a Citizen. Yet he could yield. When his own convictions could not readily obtain, he could lead the plans of other men to success. The power he could lawfully employ was always sufficient for any designs; and his ambition never looked beyond the end and the means which the public will did appoint. The event has given the greatest glory to his name which can ever be bestowed on man. Where is the man, entitled by his public services to esteem and confidence, who does not join in the public gratitude? The highest honors have been given, while he was yet alive. The sentiments of politicians, however jarring, have been in the concert of his fame. Washington has the first name in the records of his country. Divested of every public honor, he died in the greatest exaltation. When we commemorate our Revolution, when we defend our Laws, while we are virtuous, we can never forget him.

In conjugal life, our illustrious President was so happy, that, by fame, these partners of domestic felicity have been only known together. Happy must death be in this home of happiness.

The sentiments of the President upon Religion are expressed in the wisdom of Virginia. From the just influence of wise men, in that State, their worthy Bishop mentions the cheerful surrender of all the exclusive privileges they enjoyed. In religion, the President was practical. At the Church, devout. In his temper, catholic. The religion established in his own education, he loved. He saw the same religion, under whatever forms disguised, a blessing in the lives of all sincere men. Theology was not his study, but religion was his duty. It imposed laws upon his mind, which he obeyed. It blessed him in the Camp and in the Council. It was his guide in the offices of public and private life; and it spake peace to his dying moments. He lived as a Christian ought to live; and he died resigned to his God. Such a life, and such attention to religious institutions is a more rational defence and a more sure aid of virtue and religion, than all the tests and civil Laws which have confounded the human understanding, oppressed conscience, and divided mankind by hatreds and dissensions.

Could we enter the mind of this dying Hero, what sublime thoughts might instruct us. How glorious the retrospect of a life so useful and so dear to mankind. How exquisite the quiet, and how inexpressible the peace, of a good conscience! Our loss is beyond our conceptions. His fame is immortal! But a dying Father may leave immense riches to prodigality and to waste. His virtues rose upon a generous cultivation. They made him great, and they must live in us,

or he has lived, as to us, in vain. Can we be so ungrateful as to frustrate all his best designs? We shall add new glories to his name, if we transmit his virtues and the blessings they insure, to future generations. A virtuous people will raise up benefactors. But virtue has its means.

Ye Fathers, weep, for he lived for you. Ye Citizens, weep, for he conquered for you. Ye Nations, who love liberty and peace, he was your benefactor, and deserves your tears. This Nation will forever bless his memory. A great man, who has so long enjoyed and so richly deserved the public confidence, is the greatest loss a nation can sustain in man. We justly weep in our families, in our Assemblies, and in our Cities. We weep for him, and we may weep for ourselves. Who would admit the charge of ingratitude? But are not all the citizens who are not virtuous, ungrateful? The good Magistrate, the good Soldier, the good Citizen, and the good Parents, Children, and Servants, are the only worthy mourners at his grave! And are not the good Patriots the true friends of Washington? The men who love the peace of their country, who place deserved confidence in the friends of their liberties, and who prefer no Nation to their own! Will not every sincere mourner seek the true glory of a virtuous character? True greatness dwells in the soul. The name of General was not his glory. The civil honors were not his only promotion. Consummate glory is his, who joins every public honor to his own native greatness!

But if we are Gods on earth, we must die like men. Not all we possess could pay the ransom of a Washington! The higher value we put upon usefulness of character, the more we honor our departed benefactor and the higher value we put upon ourselves. It is a rich consolation to come to our last hour, endeared by every name! When we bid farewell to the best of men, may our virtues embalm his memory. Then may we hope to partake with him in a blessed Immortality.

Farewell! great Washington, farewell, forever. We now fold our hands in sorrow: we will extend them, in the raptures which belong to the blessed, when we unite in Heaven!

III.—REMINISCENCES OF THE CAMPAIGN ON THE RIO GRANDE.—CONTINUED FROM PAGE 22.

BY MAJOR GEORGE DEAS, U. S. A.

The true cause of the War was the question of boundary. Had this been decided amicably, which might have been done under the Government of Herrera, War would not have followed.

Mexico, at one time, was willing to treat with us for the acknowledgement of the ancient limits of Texas—the Nueces-river. The Rio Grande, she consistently declared, time and time again, was never the boundary of Texas. But this we claimed; and instructions were given to the General to occupy it with a military force. This, perhaps, was all very well, seeing that we made the claim. Would we have done this with Great Britain? No. Mexico was weak; and hence our arrogance. It has all turned out successfully; and we have acquired an immense amount of Mexican territory; erected an empire on the Pacific Coast; and doubled the wealth of the Nation; but the mode in which the War was begun was mean and unjust, unworthy of a great Nation.

On the receipt of the intelligence of Thornton's disaster, accompanied by General Taylor's requisition for reinforcements, the eyes of the country seemed to be suddenly opened as to the posture of affairs on the Rio Grande. Up to this moment, not a recruit had been sent to the Army. It was supposed that the force was sufficient for the objects in view. But some of the Companies were not more than twenty strong. Here was now a nice question, whether the honor of the Country, the integrity of the Government, and the existence of the Army itself had not been compromised. A most extraordinary scene was exhibited in Louisiana—unparalleled in this or any other country. Men flew to arms, without distinction of age, wealth, or position in society. The Lawyer left his brief, the Judge his Bench, the Merchant his counting-room, the Planter his estate, and, side by side with the daily laborer, enrolled themselves as private soldiers, to rush to the scene of action. Not a moment was lost. In an incredibly short space of time, several Regiments were organized, and fully equipped, and on their way to join the Army. These gallant men were, however, by force of circumstances, denied the satisfaction of proving, upon the battle-field, their devotion. General Taylor was, in a measure, forced to give battle before their arrival. A mistake had been made in mustering them into service for a period (six months) not authorized by law; and they were subsequently returned to New Orleans. Poor fellows! they saw enough of the hardships of a soldier's life, in that short space of time; and very many of them fell victims to the diseases incident to camp life. The enthusiasm displayed by these first volunteers found no abatement during the continuance of the War. It spread itself throughout the land. The Government had no difficulty in finding soldiers; and it is safe to say that had Congress voted half a million men they could have been procured. Such is the martial spirit of a free people, accustomed to the use of arms!

As soon as the field-work had reached its com-

pletion, a garrison was thrown into it, consisting of the Seventh Regiment of Infantry, Lowd's Company [*of the Second Artillery*] and Bragg's Battery of Artillery. Here also the Hospitals were established. With the remainder of his Army, General Taylor broke up his Camp, on the afternoon of the first of May, and marched in the direction of Point Isabel—his object being to procure, at that place, abundant supplies and return to his position, opposite to Matamoras. During the march, no signs of the enemy were visible; but every disposition was made to receive and repel attack from any quarter.

On the second day, at about three o'clock, the Army reached Point Isabel and encamped. Attention was now given to strengthen the work at that place, and to prepare the supplies with which to return. Reconnaissances indicated that the enemy had placed himself between us and Matamoras, in very superior numbers. On the morning of the third of May, at early dawn, heavy firing was heard in the direction of the City. This was the cannonade and bombardment of Fort Brown. The General resolved to march, as soon as possible, to its relief. The reinforcements could not be waited for. The hope was, that Fort Brown would hold out. Here was anxiety. Communication was obtained with the officer in command, Major Brown, who sent a cheering message to the General, that he was able to defend himself for several days. The trains and supplies were now landed, in as short a time as it was possible to do so; and, on the afternoon of the seventh of May, the Army marched to meet the enemy.

The transport-service consisted, during the War, of four-wheeled wagons, each drawn by six mules, and capable of carrying about two thousand pounds. The wagons were covered with a strong canvas top. Operating chiefly in a country destitute of supplies, it may be imagined what large trains were necessary. They were, at times, great incumbrances to the troops, but, of course, could not be dispensed with. The train which accompanied the Army from Point Isabel consisted of upwards of three hundred wagons. There were, therefore, two objects before the General—one to give battle to the enemy, the other to protect this train. A concise Order for Battle, characteristic of General Taylor, was read to the troops, the day before breaking up, at Point Isabel, and was received with cheers.

Approaching battle is always a time of extreme interest; but, in this, our first encounter, the expectation was of the most lively description. But few persons in the Army had ever before been under fire, so that the sensation had a peculiar charm of novelty. The men were in splendid condition. Hardy, strong, and admir-

ably drilled, they presented a force fully equal to every reasonable emergency. The only anxiety was as to the strength of the enemy. With all the General's efforts to obtain information, their exact numbers and their strength in artillery could not be arrived at. All that could be ascertained was that they were vastly superior to ourselves, especially in cavalry.

On the night of the seventh of May, the Army encamped upon a prairie, near some water-holes; and, at early dawn, resumed its march. The weather was excessively hot. Most of the men wore straw hats; and many had taken off their jackets. The knapsacks, on account of the oppressive heat, were carried in the wagons. At about mid-day, on the eighth, the spies in front came up with the light-troops of the enemy, who fell back; and, shortly afterwards, it was ascertained that the Mexicans were in front, in force. At a little after two o'clock, the head of our column came in view of the whole Mexican Army, drawn up in Order of Battle, distant a little less than a mile. It was a martial sight. The Mexicans, as before remarked, were always clothed in full uniform. On this occasion, there was not a twig between the two Armies. They stood, ready to receive us, the bright sun lighting up their gay caparisons, their horses neighing, pennons fluttering, and music playing. They presented a most formidable obstacle to our advance. Their line extended across the road; and was more than double that of the Americans. The General now halted the head of the column; and the rear came gradually up, the different Regiments and Batteries taking position to the left, as they successively arrived on the ground. The line-of-battle was formed in the following order, right in front: the Fifth Infantry, Ringgold's Battery, the Third Infantry, two eighteen-pounders—drawn by oxen, and familiarly known as "The Bull Battery"—the Fourth Infantry, Duncan's Battery, the Artillery Battalion, acting as Infantry, and the Eighth Infantry, on the extreme left—the Cavalry, two Squadrons of the Second Dragoons, was held ready to act at any given point. The train was parked and remained stationary, during the Battle. The whole force amounted to twenty-two hundred men; while the enemy had displayed before us very nearly three times that number. After a short halt—during which the men satisfied their thirst at the pond, near at hand, and also filled their canteens—the drums and bugles sounded the advance; and the whole line moved forward, in the order above given, over a beautiful level prairie, covered with luxuriant grass and flowers. In rear of the Mexican line was a growth of timber and thick bushes, called "*chapparal*." In this, it was afterwards ascertained, were their reserves, to the number of fifteen hundred, part of them irregular Cavalry, known as "*Rancheros*"

or "*Presidiales*"—fellows ready to do any butchering work, in case of our defeat. The Army continued to move forward, until it had reached a distance of about seven hundred yards from the Mexican line—good range for the Artillery. Here it was halted, the Regiments deploying; and the Artillery, which advanced slightly to the front, came into Battery. In a very short time, the first gun was fired, coming from the Mexican right and taking effect on our left. Not many moments elapsed before our Artillery opened upon them, with terrible effect. So rapid was its practice that it seemed like exaggerated musketry. The Infantry stood fast—it was all it had to do. In about half an hour after the commencement of the Battle, the whole of the Mexican left, which was composed of Cavalry, was observed to be making a flank movement, apparently to turn our right. The General promptly detached the Fifth and Third Infantry, to meet this movement. The Fifth moved to the right, about three hundred yards, and formed a square; the Third took position a little more to the rear, to guard the train. On came the Mexican Cavalry, in splendid order. Making a sweep to the right, they formed opposite our second front, and prepared to charge. The Regiment, standing firm, coolly waited for their onset, expecting, by the show of such superior numbers, to be entirely enveloped. To the surprise of all, however, these gallant horsemen contented themselves with a fusillade, delivering their fire by Squadrons, and then wheeling out, by turns to the rear. In this peculiar manner, they slowly advanced, causing us the loss of several men. The Fifth reserved its fire until the enemy had reached good point-blank range, when, with good effect, it was poured into their ranks, upsetting some forty troopers; scattering their horses, right and left; and throwing the head of their column into serious confusion. With this Mexican Cavalry were two small field-pieces. Abandoning, therefore, the idea of a charge upon the square, they sought to break or annoy it by artillery-fire. But, at this moment, Lieutenant Ridgely, with two of Ringgold's guns, galloped up, in support; and, coming instantly into Battery, saluted the Mexicans with such well-directed discharges of spherical case, that they left the ground precipitately, and rejoined the main body, to the right and rear.

In the mean time, the Battle was raging, without cessation, on our left and center—a continuous roar of artillery. With the exception of the single fire delivered by the Fifth Regiment, not a musket was discharged that day. It was all artillery-work; and General Taylor, for the first time, saw the importance of that superb arm of the service. There was but little manœuvring, on either side. It was a sort of stand-off fight. The artillery

blazed away till night-fall ; and thus ended the Battle of Palo Alto.

The train was now brought forward, slightly, and closely parked ; and the troops being disposed around it, somewhat in square, lay on their arms, and awaited the coming of the morrow. Although the artillery had told, with effect, in the Mexican ranks, and we had gained ground, on the right ; yet, it could not be said, with confidence, that a victory was won. The close of day had found both Armies on the field of battle. Neither had retreated. It might, therefore, be called a drawn battle. But a different tale was told on the morning following. At early dawn, the whole Mexican Army was observed to be moving in retreat. Following them closely with his spies, the General ascertained that they had taken the main road to Matamoras. An examination of the ground upon which the Mexicans had stood, showed the effects of the artillery. From right to left, their line-of-battle was marked distinctly, by their dead. They lay as they had fallen. They were never buried. The wounded had been taken to Matamoras. Now, the General felt the assurance of a victory ; but, previously to this, he had resolved upon pursuit. A Council of War had been held at an early hour in the morning, at which different opinions were expressed, whether to halt or to advance ; but the General inclined to the policy of following up the enemy. His reconnaissance of the ground, at a later hour, confirmed his intentions ; and, at one o'clock, the Army advanced upon the Matamoras road, leaving the train, closely parked, where it had stood the night before, guarded by a small detachment and the two eighteen-pounders. These were placed in redoubts, at opposite angles of the park. The teamsters also were armed, and could act, with effect, on the defensive. One hundred picked men and Officers, commanded by Captain McCall, of the Fourth Infantry, constituted the advance-guard. The road leading from Palo Alto to Matamoras, passes, at intervals, through thickets called "*chapparel*," so dense that is quite impenetrable. These passes were, therefore, really defiles, and very narrow. Great caution had to be observed, not to be entangled in them. Fortunately, the enemy had taken up a position in advance of these narrow places, at a ravine called the Resaca de la Palma, about six miles from Matamoras. At this point, the advance guard discovered the enemy to be in force, and then fell back, after some little skirmishing, about a quarter of a mile. Intelligence to this effect was conveyed to the General, while the Army was marching. Closing up his columns and making his disposition for attack, the General advanced.

The ground upon which the troops had to fight, to-day, was very different, in every respect,

from that of the day before. Although the enemy had passed through the thickset woods, to which I have referred, yet they were in position, in a spot covered with trees and bushes, which completely hid them from view until we were close upon them. Hence the very great difficulty in directing our first fire to advantage. Under the circumstances, nothing could have been more admirable than the General's plan of attack. So narrow was the road, that the whole Army was forced to march by the flank. The formation was right in front, exactly as it had been the day previous, in line-of-battle. Arriving within range, but without being able to see anything but tree and bushes, Ringgold's Battery, under the command of Ridgely—Ringgold having been mortally wounded, the day before—was advanced to the front and opened its fire ; while the Fifth Infantry was thrown into the bushes, on the left, and the Third and Fourth Regiments, respectively, to the right and left of the road. The other Battalions (Eighth Infantry and Artillery Battalion) were kept in reserve, a short distance to the rear. The orders to the Infantry were to push on and fight. Formations became impossible. It was all pell-mell, in a very short time. A Squadron of Dragoons, under Captain May, had been advanced a short distance and held in readiness for action. The General, believing that Ridgely's fire had produced its effect, now determined upon using his Cavalry, Captain May was, therefore, directed to charge the enemy's position with his Squadron. Nothing could yet be seen of the enemy, but his fire was severe, and the men were tumbling down, right and left ; and several Officers were wounded. Putting himself at the head of his Squadron, Captain May rode at the enemy, and came upon him near the ravine, upon both sides of which he was posted. Ridgely, limbering up, followed the movement, a short distance, while the Infantry pressed on vigorously. The consequence of this bold dash was important. The enemy was thrown into confusion. Deserting their guns, on the right, they ran into the bushes, panic-struck. On their left and center, they were a little more firm, and were serving their fires when the Infantry came upon them. It is impossible to describe the scenes which ensued. No Officer could keep his men in hand, on account of the undergrowth. Hence the Regiments became mingled up together, the men fighting, in a measure, under the orders of any Officers near them, and, in many instances, on their own responsibilities. There were no tactics used. It was a general free fight, from right to left ; and an infernal din arose, enough to strike terror into braver men than Mexicans. In the midst of this scene, sat the General, as calm as if at a tea-party. After he had once given his orders to advance, fighting, he could do no more ;

for he could not possibly see his troops. Their noise, however, told him what they were about and where they had gone. This desultory kind of fighting was kept up for about an hour and a half—the Eighth Regiment having come up from the reserve—when a general assault was made upon the Mexican position. It was impossible to withstand the impetuosity of our men. After some desperate fighting, the enemy turned and fled, leaving us in possession of their entire camp and of eight pieces of artillery. Even the private effects of Arista, the Mexican commander, fell into our hands, together with a large amount of camp-equipage, mules, and munitions of war. Some two hundred prisoners were taken. The battle-field was strewn with their dead and wounded, bearing ghastly evidence of the fierce struggle which had taken place. The enemy had fled to the river, and crossed it, in utter confusion, large numbers being drowned in their efforts to escape. They were pursued, in some instances, by detachments of our men; but the General was too weak in Cavalry to take complete advantage of the rout of the enemy. The train was still in the rear to be attended to; and so the Army rested on the battle-field.

The loss of the Mexicans, in these two engagements, could not have been less than four hundred killed, and one thousand wounded. The loss, on our side, was Officers and men killed; Officers and men wounded. To account for this great disparity in the numbers lost in the two Armies, it must be borne in mind that the Americans were vastly superior to the Mexicans, in the use of their arms. Ours, also, was a superior musket, of excellent workmanship; while the Mexicans were armed with the old-fashioned English musket, of inferior quality. This gun throws an ounce ball; and their cartridges were enormous, containing twice as much powder as was necessary. The effect of this large load is to produce a severe recoil, seriously affecting the efficiency and aim of the soldier. At Palo Alto, the service of the Mexican artillery was but indifferent; while our's seemed to tell, at every discharge. The spherical case-shot was particularly effective. The Mexicans had nothing of this kind. Their balls and shells were all of copper—the latter in many instances, breaking open without fragments, consequently doing little or no damage.

Our victory was complete. That fine Mexican Army which, but a few days before, had marched to meet us, in all the pride and pomp of War, was now a broken, dispirited rabble—so completely disorganized that days elapsed before the Mexican General could collect the semblance of an Army around him, at Matamoros. So serious had been these disasters, that what remained of the fugitives

from the Battle of the ninth of May, seemed to be demoralized beyond recovery. The Mexican accounts tell a dismal story of these events. From a state of lofty assurance and confidence in the annihilation of their enemies, carried to such an extent that they had actually parcelled out the booty, before-hand, they were, by the boldness of General Taylor's movements and the fierce onslaught of his troops, carried to the depths of despair. Upon the American Army, rough-looking and dirty enough, at times, the Mexicans had, before they felt their prowess, looked with the most supreme contempt. It was difficult for them to comprehend how soldiers, dressed in common blue jackets, and their Officers *en negligé*, could stand before the great appointments of the Mexican Army. And, even to this day, they do not understand it. Beaten in every engagement, no matter what the odds in their favor, they still persist in attributing their discomfiture, not to the superiority of our Officers and men, in the physical and moral qualities of soldiers, but to some misunderstanding, on the field of battle, among their Chiefs, or some untoward accident or other, which turned aside the victory which, by every calculation, should have been for them.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

IV.—PAPERS OF GENERAL JOHN LACEY, OF PENNSYLVANIA.*

I. JOURNAL OF A MISSION TO THE INDIANS IN OHIO, BY FRIENDS FROM PENNSYLVANIA, JULY—SEPTEMBER, 1773.

NOW FIRST PUBLISHED, FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT.

On the Seventh day of the Seventh Month, in the year 1773, I set out with my uncle, Zebulon Herton (who was going to visit the Indians which live to the westward of the Ohio-river), and went to John Parish's, in Philadelphia, where we staid all night. On the eighth, we staid in Philadelphia, my uncle having some business to transact with the Meeting for Sufferings, in reference to his journey, which was finished in the afternoon, and everything got ready to set out in the morning.

On the ninth, we set out, accompanied by sundry Friends, to the river Schuylkill, where we parted with them all, except John Parish, who

* These papers were carefully copied from the originals and communicated to us by the late Doctor WILLIAM DARLINGTON, of Westchester, Pennsylvania, who was, himself, so justly distinguished in both Science and History.

As the son-in-law of the General, Doctor Darlington had taken great pains in securing and illustrating General Lacey's papers; and their importance will be seen by our readers, as they progress in the perusal of them.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

was going with us. We arrived at Robert Valentine's, in Downingtown, in the evening, where we staid all night.

10th. Set out; refreshed ourselves at Jacob Miller's, near Conestoga-road; and got to Lancaster, before sundown, where we staid all night, at Isaac Whitelock's.

11th. Being First day, we went to Meeting, which was not very large.

12th. We pursued our journey; crossed Susquehannah; and got as far as Tobias Hendrick's, where we put up for the night.

13th. Travelled to Carlisle, where we dined, and got our horses shod; and came to William Rippe's, in Shippenstown, in the evening.

This day, we met several people coming from Pittsburgh; one of them informed us he had been among the Indians; and had seen some thousands of them, at Shawneetown.

On the 14th, we set out early, and got to the top of the Blue-mountain, at one o'clock.

This forenoon was showery. When we came to the foot of the mountain, it rained; and the clouds prevented our seeing the top, when we began to ascend. My companions said the ascent of the mountain and hovering of the clouds over our heads made an awful appearance; and I make no doubt that their minds were sweetened with an idea of the appearance recorded in the nineteenth Chapter of Exodus.

Before we had gained the summit of the mountain, the clouds had passed away and the sun appeared in full glory—a welcome favor to us, being wet. When we came to the top of the mountain, every thing was dry; which made us conclude that the clouds had not been as high as the summit thereof. On the mountain, is a hollow cove. The ascent is gradual, but very stony and difficult. There is a spring rises near the top of the mountain, from which we followed the stream until we came to a level, that I suppose to be about two hundred feet below the top of the mountain: here we had a shower of rain. After going near a mile, we again began to ascend; and when we came to the top, on the western side of the valley, every thing was dry; and I am confident no rain had been there this day. We went down on the West side; descent very stony and bad. The road being very bad, we did not get to Fort Lyttleton till after dark; where we put up.

On the 15th, we passed Sideling-hill, Juniata-river, and arrived at Bedford, where we put up at Frederick Nagle's. It being Court time, we were very much crowded.

16th. Left Bedford; crossed the Alleghany-mountains; came to a place called the Shades of Death—a damp and lonesome place—and arrived at Stony-creek, in the evening, where we staid all night.

17th. We had good roads until we came to Laurel-hill; passed Ligonier, a small town surrounded by extraordinary good land; and put up at Larry Irwin's.

18th. We travelled a hilly and swampy road, but the land very good. We arrived at Pittsburgh, before dark, and put up at Sample's.

19th. Concluded to rest ourselves and horses. The people here treated us very kindly.

We had a conference with Captain White Eyes, a Delaware Chief, who was on his return from Philadelphia. He expressed much satisfaction at our arrival, and said he would go with us; but that he was under the necessity of waiting for Joseph Simmons, from Lancaster, who was to bring his goods from there. He informed us that John Gibson, an Indian trader, had set out that morning for Newcomer's Town,* the place we were going to; and advised us to endeavor to overtake him; as he would be a very suitable person to accompany us.

20th. We had made preparations to set out early this morning, in order to overtake the Indian trader; but, upon inquiry, learned that he had returned, and said that John Logan, a Mingo Indian,† was lying in wait to kill him. He had returned to town, among the Indians, for protection. He got Gayashuta, a Mingo Chief, and Captain White Eyes to agree to go and see what was the matter with Logan, and endeavor to pacify him. White Eyes said he would attend us all the way to Newcomer's Town: he thought the behavior of Logan would make us afraid, as he should be were he in our place.

They set out in a canoe; and we, with a Delaware Indian, by land. We crossed the Alleghany branch [of the Ohio] in a canoe; and our horses swam by the side. When we came near to a place called Logtown, where Logan lay, our guide stopped and hearkened very attentively, though we could not tell what he was listening at; but, before we had proceeded much further, we heard a great noise. Our guide, who could not speak one word of English, made motions to us to stop and retire. He took us up a hollow, to some water, where we staid while he went to the camp from whence the noise proceeded. He, for our safety, secretly informed George Girty, a trader, where we were. He immediately came to us and conducted us around

* This town was situated on the West side of the Muskingum-river, in the lower corner of what is now Tuscarawas-county, Ohio. I have seen an interesting map of that region, as it was about that time, in the *Lettres d'un Cultivateur Americain*, by Hector St. John De Crevecoeur, published in 1787.—W. D.

† This Logan was the Chief who made the celebrated Speech preserved and lauded by Jefferson. The John Gibson here referred to, was the person by whom he sent the Speech to Lord Dunmore, in 1774. Logan was named so in compliment to James Logan, Secretary to William Penn, who was a great friend of the Indians.—W. D.

the camp, to the river side. He told us that an Indian had got drunk, and fell in the river, and was drowned; and that Logan suspected Gibson of making him drunk, and killing him. Soon after we came to the river, Captain White Eyes and our Indian guide came with canoes; and we again swam our horses by the side, over the river, to the house of John Gibson. Gayashuta was left to pacify Logan, who was very drunk. White Eyes and our two guides returned to Logan's camp, where they staid all night, leaving us at Gibson's.

21st. In the morning, White Eyes came over to us, and wanted us to proceed on our journey, as he was ready to go with us and Logan had become somewhat quieted; but, uncle Zebulon being a little unwell and White Eyes pretty merry, we thought it best, as Gibson was to go the next day, to remain where we were. White Eyes soon fell asleep. About eleven o'clock, Logan, Gayashuta, and several more Indians, came over to Gibson's. They soon began to talk very loud; while all the others stood around them, with their tomahawks in their hands. However, their differences were soon made up.

22d. We set out; crossed the Ohio with Gibson and White Eyes; came to a Mingo town, where they had Logan shut up in a house. An old Indian advised us to go on; but before we could get off, Logan broke down the door, and came to us in a very good humor, expressing a great deal of sorrow for what he had said yesterday. We came to Beaver-creek, a very fine stream, about fifteen perches wide, with a fine gravelly bottom. We came to Little Beaver-creek about sunset; crossed it; and encamped in a swamp. We were obliged to gather fern and bushes to lie on; yet we slept very well.

23d. This morning, it rained quite hard. We got very wet, as we received a double portion, one from the clouds and one from the bushes. We put up, after travelling all day, at an old Indian cabin.

24th. In the morning, our guide left us, in order to inform the Indians of our coming. We travelled on and came to a Moravian town, on Muskingum-river, where we staid all night. The Indians treated us very kindly.

25th. Our guides met us, a little out of town: they came to conduct us to the King. When we came into the presence of the King, he declared he received us with as great love and friendship as our forefathers and theirs received each other. After giving us a welcome, we were conducted to a house which they had prepared for us, where we were again welcomed. They immediately sent, in the King's name, to the Moravian town, for an interpreter. Gibson followed with his pack-horse and goods.

26th. We breakfasted with Freeman, a trader;

and, about ten o'clock, Captain Kill Buck came and ordered the women to get us some victuals. In about two hours, they brought us hominy boiled in bear's-grease, boiled squashes, milk, and Indian-cake, baked in the ashes. We were visited by the King and his brother. We were told that four white men were travelling through there, a short time before, and had been robbed and murdered by a party of Mingo Indians, at the Scioto-river. Our interpreter, Samuel More, an Indian, came in the evening.

On the 28th, we had a Meeting. Netow Clemon, King, Meek, Kill Buck, White Eyes, Indian Chiefs, and a number of other Indians, attended. John Parish read our Certificates, from the Monthly Meeting; also an Epistle from the Meeting for Sufferings of Friends, at Philadelphia; which being interpreted to the Indians, by Samuel More, they expressed their satisfaction, and said, "Ka-he-lak"—i.e. "Very well!" after which a Meeting for Divine worship was held; in which the Indians behaved with remarkable sobriety and attention. When the Meeting for worship was over, Captain Kill Buck said, if Friends would retire, they would hold a Council, and consider what answer to make, for Friends to take home; on which we withdrew and went to our house. In about two hours, the Interpreter came and informed us they were ready to give their answer, and desired we would attend; which being complied with, and having taken our seats, Captain White Eyes rose, and, after receiving the Belt from the King, spoke as follows:—"We are glad, and rejoice in our hearts, to see our brothers, the Quakers, speaking before us. What you have said, we believe to be right; and we heartily join in with it. Since our Savior came, a light in the world, there has been a great stir among the people about religion,—some for one way and some for another. We have had offers of religion many times; but would not accept of it, until we had seen our brothers, the Quakers, and heard what they would say to us. And now you have come and opened the road; and we have heard what you have said; and we have felt the grace that was in your hearts conveyed to us—we think the Quakers and Delawares are brothers, brought up together as the children of one man; and that it is our Savior's will that we should be of one religion. Now you have come and opened the road, we expect to see the way, from town to town, quite over to the Great King, over the water. Then our King will know that the Quakers and Delawares are as one man, and of one religion. We are poor and weak, and not able to judge for ourselves; and when we think of our children, it makes us sorrowful. We hope you will instruct us in the right way, both in

"things of this life and of the world to come. "Now, what we have said, we hope to be strengthened to abide by." He then delivered a Belt to Zebulon Heston.

On the 29th, we had another Meeting, which was very orderly; the Indians seemed a great deal affected; and attended to what was delivered, with sobriety.

30th. My companions went down to the river, to a blacksmith's, and got their horses shod. When they returned, we went to see Captain Kill Buck's son, who had just returned from hunting. He had been out seventeen days, and had killed thirty deer. He gave us fresh ham of venison; which was very acceptable.

8th Month, 1st. Last night, another hunter came to town. He had been out thirty days, and had killed forty-seven deer. This day, we had our last Meeting, which was very sober and affecting. After Meeting, we informed them of our intention of returning. They said they could not let us go, until they held a Council and provided a suitable person to accompany us to Pittsburgh. Captain White Eyes sent a messenger for us to come down the river to his house, as he was not well and would be glad to see us. It was agreed to, much to my satisfaction; as I expected something new and curious from the journey.

2d. We set out for White Eyes town*; crossed Muskingum-river; came to some glades or plains, of vast extent, which made a beautiful appearance, and are extremely rich; stopped at Thomas M'Kee's, who soon got ready and accompanied us. White Eyes received us with love and respect. We dined with him upon very good veal, both roasted and boiled, and cabbage. It is a dish rarely to be met with, among the Indians. After dinner, they held a Council, to which we were invited. After discoursing awhile, it was agreed that the King's brother and White Eyes should accompany us to Pittsburgh. The Council then broke up. We returned to our house, at Newcomer's Town, and got our things ready to set out, in the morning, on our return.

3d. We took our leave of the King and others, who looked very sorrowful at parting; and stood looking after us, until we got out of their sight. Uncle Zebulon and John Parish went up to the Moravian Upper Town; and I staid at the lower one.

4th. My uncle and Parish came to me at eleven o'clock; and, just after dinner, M'Kee and White Eyes joined us, with John Freeman and James Forbes, two traders. We set forward;

crossed Kunalanahong (?)* about seven perches wide, and encamped in the woods.

5th. Travelled about thirty miles; and, at night, encamped in the woods.

6th. Crossed Little Beaver-creek, and came to John Logan's house, on Big Beaver-creek, where we staid all night. Logan being from home, our guides left us and went to Gibson's, at Logtown.

7th. Set out, with one Delamon, an Indian trader; got to the Ohio; swam our horses over; and staid at Gibson's.

8th. We rested this day.

9th. Pursued our return, in company with a man from John Gibson's. Being rainy, we stopped at Captain M'Kee's, an Agent, under Sir William Johnson.

10th. We crossed Shuttee (?) and when we came to the Monongahela, there was a good boat, in which we were ferried over to our old lodgings, at Pittsburgh. My uncle much fatigued.

The uplands, on the West side of the Ohio, are not equal to those on the East side; but the bottoms, and the sides of creeks and rivers, surpass belief for richness. Some places abound with free-stone.

11th. We had a Meeting in the Town.

12th. We rode to Monongahela, eight miles above the Fort; staid all night at Mr. Fisher's, a Friend; and had a Meeting.

14th. We crossed the river, and came to Brad-dock's field of battle, which we viewed, and saw a few human bones. From thence travelled to Joseph M'Deal's.

15th. Being First day we did not travel.

16th. Went to Joseph Blackburn's, a Friend; and held a Meeting, on the 17th, where about thirty Friends assembled. In the afternoon, went to Daniel Hamot's, a Friend, at Youghiaghany, where we staid all night.

On the 18th, our friend accompanied us to Little Redstone, where he took leave of us; and we, continuing our journey, arrived at Josiah Crawford's, a Friend, in the evening.

On the 20th, had a Meeting in a school-house.

22d. I went in a canoe, with several Friends, up the river, to a Meeting, where there were about twenty Friends and a great number of others assembled.

The land on this side of the Ohio, though hilly, exceeds in richness my expectations of it.

On the 25th, we set out, accompanied by J. Crawford, and Benson, who came with us as far

* This town was on the eastern side of the Muskingum-river, some distance below Newcomer's Town, probably within what is now Coshocton-county.

This name on St. John de Crevecoeur's French map is spelled "Cushkaughking."—W. D.

* I am uncertain of the present, or proper, orthography of this name; but I find on Hector St. John's Map, a tributary Creek, on the eastern side of the Muskingum, above Newcomer's Town, and near a settlement on the western bank, called "Mission Morave," which is written "Cacca-loomachen," which may, possibly, be that which is here referred to. I should judge it to be in what is now Tuscarawas-county.—W. D.

as the top of Laurel-hill, Here our friends took leave of us; and we proceeded on to More's tavern. The landlord was from home; and the landlady a proud and ill-natured woman; so that we had an unpleasant time.

26th. Travelled on, a very rainy day. Saw a great many people moving to the new countries.

27th. Staid at Reynold's tavern; were kindly treated.

28th. Came to the South branch of the Potomac, which was very high. We were obliged to swim our horses by the side of a canoe. Got as far as Jesse Pugh's, a Friend, where we staid all night.

29th. Went to Meeting, at Back-creek Meeting-house. In the afternoon, I set out for James Love's, in Loudon-county; and made an appointment to meet my friends in Pennsylvania, the eight day of next month.

On the 8th of the 9th Month, I met my friends again at York; came to Lancaster; and, on the 10th, set out for Philadelphia, where we arrived on the 12th; and got home on the 14th.

V.—OUR HISTORICAL WRITERS.—CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3.

JOSEPH BARLOW FELT, LL.D.

By HON. CHARLES W. UPHAM.

Mr. Felt was born in Salem, Massachusetts, on the twenty-second of December, 1789. His parents were John and Elizabeth (Curtis) Felt. His father, in command of vessels in foreign, chiefly East India, trade, died, at the age of thirty-eight, at Martha's Vineyard, on the twenty-third of August, 1802, after a long and trying passage from beyond the Cape of Good Hope.

The son, soon after, was placed in a store. While engaged in the services incident to that situation, such leisure moments as he could command, were occupied in books; and a taste for intellectual pursuits was thus early formed. The works, within his reach, led him to contemplate the career of distinguished characters who had sought and secured the benefits of learning under disadvantages; and a desire to obtain the means of a superior education was gradually kindled. By the encouraging influence of his excellent mother, the kind assistance of friends, and his own resolute spirit, he was enabled to accomplish his object.

In June, 1808, in his nineteenth year, he made his way to the Academy, in Atkinson, New Hampshire. In a brief autobiography, constructed in the third person, and contributed to an interesting document entitled *Class of Alum-*

ni of Dartmouth College, in 1813, issued from the press of T. R. Marvin, at Boston, in 1854, he gives an account of his arrival at the neighborhood of the Academy, in the following pleasant passage: "While enquiring for the mansion, where he expected to board, he was answered: 'Follow the chaise, directly before you.' This was done. It proved an important thread in the web of his life. The fair occupant of the guiding carriage, unconsciously pre-acting the part of a help-meet, became, in after years, his betrothed and bride."

Attaching himself immediately to the Academy, he pursued his studies with such vigilant assiduity as to fit himself for College in a year. Travelling in a stage-coach, part of the way, walking from Concord to Salisbury, and hiring a seat in a private conveyance for the residue of the route, he reached Hanover, in October, 1809, and entered Dartmouth College. A severe cold, caught in returning from a town in which, during a winter vacation, he had taught a District School, settled in one of his eyes, producing an inconvenience and disability, from which he suffered, more or less, ever afterward, during life. He was so far disqualified by it from pursuing his studies, as to have to leave College in the Spring of the Senior year; but he was allowed to take his degree with the Class, at its graduation, in 1813.

The necessity which thus broke off his collegiate course, forbade his continuing any literary pursuit. The cherished ambition, which had become an enthusiasm, for a professional life, and scholarly researches, had to be relinquished. The door seemed to be shut against him; and no path left open for any favorite or desirable occupation.

In this stage of his life, as the only alternative, he was led to return to the business to which he had become consigned, at the start. From the document already cited, I take the following: "Without sight enough to continue his literary pursuits, and uncertain when he might have it sufficiently; weary with having nought to occupy his time and attention, for a livelihood; and invited by a friend to become his partner in a business to which he had been formerly accustomed, Mr. Felt concluded to make trial of the proffered accommodation; but the revulsion which occurred in mercantile affairs, while the second War with England continued, closed their connection."

This left him again ashore, while the current of life was sweeping by; and no prospect appeared of his being able to embark upon it. At the twenty-sixth year of his age, every attempt to find occupation, either in the fields of literary and professional labor or the operations of active business, had been baffled. But he

was determined not to rest in despondence or idleness. Great as might be the inconvenience to which he was liable, from the injury done his sight, he felt the necessity, and formed the resolution, to encounter it. The result was, that, during his subsequent life, he accumulated by the use of his eyes, weakened and obstructed as was their exercise, an amount of exploration of documents, not easily decyphered or read, such as few men have accomplished.

It had always been the cherished and consecrated object of his wishes to become a Minister of the Gospel. To this he was prompted by a deep religious sensibility; and the calling of a clergyman being especially consonant with the habits of a student, it opened a more congenial sphere for the accompanying gratification of his favorite tastes in antiquarian and historical researches. He turned, once for all, without further concern, as to occasional disability of vision, sight or no sight, to the study of divinity, placing himself under the tuition of the Rev. Samuel Worcester, D. D., of Salem; and was licensed to preach by the Essex Association. In the mean time, he gathered and conducted schools for private tuition. After commencing preaching, he supplied pulpits, as occasions arose, in the neighborhood; and for two years acted as Chaplain of the Salem Almshouse. On the nineteenth of December, 1821, he was settled in the ministry, at Sharon, Massachusetts. In 1824, he was transferred to another charge, being installed over the Parish of Hamilton, in the same State, as successor of the Rev. Manasseh Cutler, LL. D., one of the most eminent Ministers, philosophers and public men of the day.

In addition to the faithful discharge of the duties of his profession, Mr. Felt engaged earnestly in various spheres of activity, addressing Masonic Lodges, serving as Chaplain of Regiments, and laboring for the Schools of his Town. As Trustee of the Ipswich Academy, he delivered an Address. He delivered another, in the same place, which was published, to a Masonic Assembly. As Secretary of a Board of Trustees, organized for the purpose, and engaged in that enterprise, he took an efficient part in the establishment of the Mount Holyoke Seminary. His labors were incessant. Not neglecting his paramount pastoral and parochial obligations, his response to every call in behalf of literary, philanthropic, and especially historical interests, was prompt and untiring. A weakness of the lungs, to which he was liable, at length became so serious that, yielding to the injunctions of his physician, he relinquished, for awhile, the work of the pulpit, and finally withdrew from the public labors of the ministry, on the third of February, 1833; and

his connection with the Parish was formally dissolved, on the fourth of the next December. At the opening of the ensuing Summer, he removed to Boston, where he continued to reside during the greater part of his life.

Before leaving the ministry, he had established his reputation as an historical explorer and writer, having been elected a Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, in 1830. In 1836, he became a Member of the Committee for editing its Collections; and contributed largely, in labor and materials, to the preparation for the press of four successive volumes of that invaluable publication. He delivered one in each of four courses of Lectures, sustained by that institution. On the twenty-ninth of December, 1836, he was elected its Librarian; and, with a brief interval, held the office for a long period of years. His engagements prevented his accepting a proffered appointment as Librarian of the American Antiquarian Society, of which body he subsequently became a Member, by election. Several Societies, abroad as well as in this country, especially engaged in Antiquarian and Historical investigations, placed his name on their rolls. For three years, he was President of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society. He was successively Secretary and Librarian of the Congregational Library Association, in Boston; and, for some years, an active Member of the Board of the Boston Public Schools. During all this time, his labors were diversified as well as abundant. His correspondence with persons engaged in historical undertakings and pursuits was voluminous. He contributed aid in the production of that monument of industry, Farmer's *New England Genealogical Register*. He published, in the *American Quarterly Register*, *Ecclesiastical Statistics of Essex-county*; and in Colman's *Ecclesiastical Antiquities*, an article on the *Fasts and Thanksgivings of New England*.

The productions of his pen, that appeared in journals especially interested in his favorite studies and on special occasions, are too numerous to be wholly brought to view—such as the *Kidd Papers*, *Sketch of Abigail Brown*, *Genealogical Items for Gloucester*, and also for Lynn, and a discussion of the question as to "Who was the first Governor of Massachusetts;" papers relating to Congregationalism and the Ecclesiastical History of New England; Memoirs of Roger Conant, Francis Higginson, and Hugh Peters, also published in a separate pamphlet form. The remarks he made at the Centennial Celebration, in Danvers, on the sixteenth of June, 1852, were published, with those of other speakers, at the time. On the twenty-fifth of August, 1859, he delivered an Address before the Alumni of Atkinson Academy. He was, at several

times, on Committees appointed to examine Classes in Harvard and Dartmouth Colleges and the Willard Seminary, at Troy, New York. He was commissioned, with others, by Governor Everett, in 1838, to attend, in behalf of the State of Massachusetts, and to represent its interests in that Institution, at an examination of the Deaf and Dumb Asylum, at Hartford, Connecticut, and wrote the Report of the same. He was called to the charge of Theological and Literary Seminaries, at other places, but declined, preferring to retain his residence in Boston. The Degree of LL. D. was conferred upon him, by Dartmouth College, in 1857.

While his engagements were thus multifarious, special service was demanded and rendered to the interests of history, in the preservation of its materials, which more, perhaps, than all his other works, will be appreciated in coming times. On the twenty-fifth of April, 1836, he was commissioned, by Governor Everett, to arrange the State Archives of Massachusetts.

This may be considered the great work of his life. When we take into view the peculiar nature of the undertaking, it will be apparent that nothing short of a heroic resolution would have encountered it. The amount of work required was truly fearful. The papers were in what seemed inextricable confusion; a vast amount of documents, in the utmost disorder, suffered to accumulate through two centuries before men's eyes were opened to discern their importance. There was extreme difficulty in decyphering many of them; and but few had distinctive or intelligible endorsements. A careful examination of every sentence, and a discriminating minute scrutiny of their import and bearings, were necessary to arrange them where they belonged; and a comprehensive system of classification had to be organized. Nothing short of the patient perseverance and untiring energy of Doctor Felt could have carried it through.

With a brief interruption, it constituted the regular occupation of about ten years of his laborious life. Before its completion, he was sent to England, commissioned by the State Government for the purpose, to look for duplicates of Colonial and Provincial Records and other public papers, of which the originals had been lost; to examine the offices there, procuring leave to copy such documents as he might judge important; and, generally, to obtain whatever would help to perfect the work in which he was engaged, in bringing to view and in reach, the materials of our history, in their authentic fullness. Availing himself of the opportunity, he travelled through Great Britain and Ireland, and made a brief tour on the Continent.

In 1846, the work was accomplished. The papers were divided into appropriate departments; properly classified, according to subjects and dates, carefully and skillfully attached to blank leaves; durably and handsomely bound; titled, with distinct letters and figures; and conspicuously numbered. A General Index was prepared. The shelves of the State Department, present the grand result, in two hundred and forty-one large and thick volumes.

The extent to which the Archives of Massachusetts are thus made available to the historical student, and to legislators, jurists and statesmen, is already demonstrated by the numbers who constantly resort to them; and can only be appreciated by considering the value that will be added to such papers, year by year, through all coming time.

In the several States of this Union, new as well as old, documents accruing in all offices of Record, legislative and judicial, in all municipalities and public institutions, similar measures ought to be taken, without delay, to preserve, and provide a thread to guide to everything that comes to them, from day to day, and especially whatever has thus far survived the ravages of carelessness, ignorance, neglect, and time. We all know how wide-spreading and deepening is the interest taken, every where, already, in the early annals of the different settlements and communities of this great country. Antiquity is beginning to throw its charm upon the details of the first era of our national character and life. In this department of knowledge, truth is found to be invested with the attractions of romance. As the centuries revolve, the interest of the Future in the Past will forever be heightened.

The last years of Doctor Felt were spent in Salem. Like many others, he was attracted back, as life declined and its enchainning labors and cares were removed, to his native spot. He died here, on the eighth of September, 1869, at the age of seventy-nine years, eight months, and seventeen days. During his last three years, he was an invalid, and sunk slowly under a decay of his physical and mental powers.

Mr. Felt was twice married; having been united, on the eighteenth of September, 1816, to the lady who directed his steps, when, a stranger youth, he was seeking his way to his boarding-house, in Atkinson, New Hampshire. She was Abigail Adams Shaw, daughter of Rev. John Shaw, of Haverhill. Her mother was a sister of the wife of Judge Cranch, of the United States Court for the District of Columbia, and also a sister of Abigail, the ever-honored and venerated wife of President John Adams. Mrs. Felt was, therefore, a first cousin of President John Quincy Adams.

She was the sister of William Smith Shaw, who must be ever held in grateful remembrance, as one of the most interesting and valuable characters in the Annals of Boston—an enlightened lover of the Arts and Learning—the friend and patron of all good men and good things—the founder and guardian, from its first inception to the end of his life, of the Boston Athenæum. He stirred all by his enthusiasm, and blessed all by his benignity. In a volume of three hundred and forty-six pages, prepared by Mr. Felt, *Memorials of William Smith Shaw*, the useful life and beautiful personal traits of this true scholar and philanthropist, are presented in passages from his correspondence with the best personages of his day, and of the greatest inherent value. Mr. Shaw died forty-three years ago; but his memory is fresh, and his living lineaments of intelligence and benevolence are clearly reflected on the recollections of all whose privilege it was to visit the Athenæum, while he dispensed its benefits. It was always gladdened by his presence—was, in fact, his only home. He there had opened the Pierian spring; and it was his constant delight to stand by it and administer its pure and sparkling draughts, to all who thirsted for them, particularly to the young. The pleasantest remembrances of school-boy and college days, are of his genial kindnesses attracting me to visit and avail myself of the opportunities within the walls of the Athenæum; and this grateful tribute cannot be restrained.

Mrs. Felt died on the fifth of July, 1859, having been faithful to every duty, and proved herself worthy of being called the help-meet of her husband, particularly by an active and earnest sympathy and cooperation in his favorite fields of study and labor. Mr. Felt's only child, a daughter, died in early infancy.

He was married, on the sixteenth of November, 1861, to Mrs. Catherine Meacham, who survives him. She is a daughter of the Hon. Bailly Bartlett, of Haverhill, Massachusetts, a Member of Congress, from 1797 to 1801, and, for a long period, until his death, High Sheriff of the County of Essex. She is a sister of the late Edwin Bartlett, one of the most eminent merchants and public-spirited capitalists of New York; and aunt of General William F. Bartlett, of the United States Army, so distinguished for his gallantry in the late War. Her cheerful society and watchful care were the Providential blessing of the last years of the subject of this Memoir.

Besides the publications already mentioned, the following works, all in octavo, will be regarded as his most elaborate and valuable productions:

Annals of Salem, from its first settlement, pub-

lished by W. & S. B. Ives, Salem, 1827, pp. 611. A Second Edition, by the same Publishers, 1845, in two volumes, pp. v, 535, vii, 635.

History of Ipswich, Essex, and Hamilton, printed at Cambridge, by Charles Folsom, 1834, pp. xvi, 304.

An Historical Account of Massachusetts Currency, published by Perkins & Marvin, Boston, 1839, pp. 248.

The Customs of New England, published by T. R. Marvin, Boston, pp. 208.

The Ecclesiastical History of New England, comprising not only religious, but moral and other relations. Published by the Congregational Library Association and by the Congregational Board of Publication. Two volumes, pp. (i.) 665; (ii.) 721.

These works show the results of astonishing labor, care, patience, and fidelity. They are particularly noticeable for the value, extent, and minuteness of their materials. The last-named, especially, in full and closely compacted pages, is a monument of industrious and comprehensive exploration.

The writings and labors of Doctor Felt, as a whole, may be safely said to have secured to his name and memory, the gratitude of all who appreciate the importance of American History. They are a vast storehouse of dates, facts, and occurrences, and will be more highly estimated, just in proportion to the degree, in which the truth becomes discovered, that the Past can only be brought back to life, by collecting and grouping the smallest details of its manners, habits, and condition. While the extent to which he indulges, all along, in religious, moral, and general reflections is not usual in works of this kind, they cannot but give to the reader, what all who knew the author experienced, a most pleasing and satisfactory assurance of the simplicity of an amiable and guileless spirit, integrity of purpose, and an honest truthfulness in all statements.

When the unfavorable circumstances, that attended his early efforts to prepare himself for professional and literary pursuits in life, are called to mind—the disappointments that tried his spirit, and the disabilities that obstructed his path—his case must be recognized as a singular triumph over disadvantages; a very remarkable instance of the accomplishment of a purpose against all obstacles and all odds; and a wonderful illustration of the power of a resolute will and patient labor to conquer all things.

His personal character commanded universal respect. His piety was deep-seated and pervaded the life. He was a steadfast believer in the system of Divinity that has ever been recognized as New England Orthodoxy; and a constant,

undeviating supporter of the usages and sentiments of his Church. At the same time, his temperament was genial and liberal. Courtesy, kindness, and a gentlemanly bearing characterized his expressions and deportment, in all the intercourse of society. To the objects that especially interested his thoughts and studies—antiquarian and historical researches—he devoted, with unwavering allegiance, his faculties, so much of his time as could be rescued from specific professional and personal duties, and his means. The income of a moderate but competent estate was freely expended in collecting facts, procuring records and all other evidences, to enable him to bring to light the truths and preserve the materials of our early history. For having been permitted and enabled to accomplish, to such a degree, in this line, the objects, and thus to realize the delights of his life, he was grateful to Heaven, to all who had aided and encouraged him, and to the institutions that had shed their influence upon his maturing mind. As an expression of this sensibility, he bequeathed two thousand dollars to the Academy and one thousand to the College where he had received his education.

By the labors of his life and the usefulness of the materials he gathered for the benefit of future explorers of specific portions of our history, he deserves to be gratefully remembered.

Besides and beyond the services William S. Shaw had rendered to the Boston Athenæum, in its establishment and superintendence for so many years, and the sums he had freely given, from time to time, there was found, at his death, to be a balance of actual indebtedness to him of about ten thousand dollars. Mr. Felt, as the legal representative of his estate, at once executed a release and discharge of the whole claim; the only consideration being his knowledge of his brother-in-law's devoted interest in the object, and his own sympathy in that interest. Their names are thus enrolled together among the most munificent benefactors of that noble Institution.

VI.—A NAVAL HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND.—CONTINUED FROM PAGE 43.

By HON. JOHN RUSSELL BARTLETT.

III.

THE BOARD OF TRADE MAKE A COMPLAINT TO KING WILLIAM AGAINST RHODE ISLAND. THE EARL OF BELLOMONT INSTRUCTED TO INQUIRE INTO THE IRREGULARITIES OF RHODE ISLAND. GOVERNOR CRANSTON'S REPLY TO THE CHARGES AGAINST THE COLONY. EXTRAORDINARY LETTER FROM THE KING'S MINISTERS, OR BOARD OF TRADE, TO RHODE ISLAND. LORD

BELLOMONT VISITS NEWPORT. HIS OFFICIAL REPORT. LARGE NUMBERS OF SEA-FARING MEN ENGAGED IN PRIVATEERING. CAPTAIN KIDD IN NARRAGANSETT BAY.

Two months after writing the letter of the twenty-fifth of October, 1698, to the Governor and Company of Rhode Island, the Board of Trade, which consisted of the Duke of Bridgewater, Ph. Meadows, John Pollexfen, W. Blathwayt, and Abraham Hill, made a "Representation," or Complaint, to King William, in relation to Rhode Island, a copy of which was transmitted to the General Assembly of the Colony. It was as follows. We omit those portions of it which do not appertain to naval matters:

Representation to the King about the irregularities in the Government of Rhode Island.

"TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY:

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY:—By the accounts received from your Majesty's Plantations, in America, we have been made sensible of the mischiefs arising there, from irregular trade and piracies; and having thereupon on severall occasions humbly offered to your Majesty such things as seemed to us requisite for the redress of those evils, not only in generall, but with more particular regard to some of the said Plantations. We further beg leave to lay before your Majesty what has occurred to us, relating to the Collony of Rhode Island, where practices of both of these kinds have been very notorious.

* * * * *

"Their favoring of pirates and carrying on illegal trade has been so often complained of, and the instances hereof are so manifest, that we cannot doubt the truth of it. And this belief we are more particularly confirmed in, by letters from the Right Honorable the Earl of Bellomont; and also from Mr. Randolph, Surveyor Generall of your Majesty's Customs, intimating that the Governor of that Collony pretending to a right of erecting a Court of Admiralty. And that having seized some pirates with their money, they designed to try them, and probably would acquit them. To which his Lordship adds, that he is well informed what constant encouragement they give to pirates to come in there with their spoils, and likewise what connivance is made at the breach of all the Acts of Trade. From whence it may be concluded, that there will be but very faint prosecutions of those crimes in a Court of Admiralty of their own erecting.

"Whereunto we crave leave to add, that though we do not find that they have any right to Admiralty power or jurisdiction, yet they have frequently granted Commissions of War to

"privateers, which practice has been owned to us, and insisted on as lawfull, in a letter from the present Governor, Santuel Cranston, with relation to one William Mays, of whose piracies we were otherwise informed; and particularly that he assisted Avery in taking the Mogull's ship, the *Gunsaway*, saying, 'that the said Mays had his clearings from the Custom House, at Rhode Island, to go on a trading voyage to Madagascar, with a lawfull Commission from the Government, to fight the French, his Majesty's enemies.'

"And we are not only assured that they granted those Commissions, without any lawfull authority (as we conceive) from their Charter, or otherwise, but have reason to believe that they have done it knowingly for very unlawful ends and purposes, of which the trade to Madagascar mentioned by them (as it has been managed by the people of this Collony and others), is a strong indication.

* * * * *

"This being the state of your Majesty's Collony of Rhode Island (as it now appears to us), we humbly offer unto your Majesty, in order to the prosecution of these and other high misdemeanors of that Government, and for the redress of the same, that a Commission of Inquiry be despatched to the Right Honorable the Earl of Bellomont, empowering him to examine upon the place or otherwise, persons or witnesses, in order to the procuring of legal evidences, and requiring him to report to your Majesty the severall informations and proofs that he shall receive thereupon, in order to a Quo Warranto, or such other proceedings for the remedy of those evils, as to your Majesty shall seem meet.

"All which, nevertheless, we most humbly submit.

"J. BRIDGEWATER,
"PH. MEADOWS,
"WM. BLATHWAYT,
"JNO. POLLEXFEN,
"ABR. HILL.

"WHITEHALL, December 21, 1698."

Upon the reading of this "Representation," before the King, in Council, January 5, 1698-9, it was ordered, that a Commission of Inquiry be despatched to the Earl of Bellomont, to procure legal evidence in relation to the charges set forth in said Representation. The Government was furnished with a series of questions to be given the Commission of Inquiry, with a view to the "discovery of Irregularities in Rhode Island," accompanying a Memorial from Jahleel Brenton, who availed himself of this opportunity to make certain charges against men high in office in the Colony. The queries suggested

were incorporated in the Letter of Instructions to the Earl of Bellomont. At the same time, the Board of Trade wrote to the Governor and Company of Rhode Island, under date of February 3, 1698-9, informing them that the Commission of Inquiry had been created. A copy of the "Instructions" accompanied the letter. The satisfactory result of this Commission, adds the Board, will be the "most effectual means of wiping off the ill report which has lain upon Rhode Island for irregularities."

The Instructions to the Earl of Bellomont, which were dated March 9, 1698-9, relate to charges of misdemeanor which had been made against the Colony of Rhode Island. This portion it is unnecessary to recite. With reference to the administration of the Government and the granting of Commissions to privateers, the Instructions say:

"The subjects upon which you are to make more particular inquiries, are the officers in any part of the administration of the Government, and the legality of their qualification for the execution of their respective offices. The constitution of their militia. The Commissions of War, which they have, at any time, granted to commanders of ships, and their conduct in relation to piracy or to persons either known or who might reasonably have been suspected to be guilty thereof; and also in relation to illegal trade and traders."

For more effectually carrying out the Instructions of the Lords Commissioners, the Earl of Bellomont had authority to call to his assistance Francis Brinley, Peleg Sanford, Nathaniel Coddington, Caleb Arnold and Josias Arnold, all of whom were prominent in the Colony. He had authority, furthermore, to appoint or call in the aid of any person or persons whom he might find, upon inquiry, most capable and best disposed to give him "true and perfect information" on the subjects which he was directed to investigate.

Governor Cranston, under date of May 27, 1699, addressed the Board of Trade, in reply to the several charges of misdemeanor, and particularly in vindication of the Colony relative to privateers and piracies, as follows:

"RIGHT HONOURABLE: Your letter bearing date WHITEHALL, October the 25th, 1698, came to our hands the 5th of April last, as likewise the duplicate of the same, we received the same day; wherein your Lordships do signify your observation of the long interval between the date of your letter, the 9th of February, 1698-9, and our answer to the same.

"May it please your Lordships: We shall not justify ourselves, wherein we have been remiss or negligent in that affair; and hope

" your Lordships will not impute any thing of contempt in us for the same; and we shall for the future endeavor to be more diligent and observant in returning your Lordships an answer, and giving an account of the affairs of this Government. But we having no shipping that sails directly from this Colony, and many times we are disappointed for want of timely notice from other places, the which has been a great disappointment to us in the performance of our duty to your Lordships.

" Your Lordships are also pleased to signify that our letter was principally in vindication of our conduct in relation to piracies and pirates, &c. We hope your Lordships will put that construction upon our writing, that we do not vindicate ourselves, wherein we have ignorantly erred or, for want of better knowledge and a right method, we have gone out of the due form and practice your Lordships have now prescribed for us; and wherein we did or do vindicate ourselves, it is in our innocency, and it's said sins of ignorance ought to be forgiven. And we do humbly beg your Lordships' pardon for the same, hoping for the future to be more circumspect. Your Lordships having been so favorable as to give us directions and instructions, the which we accept as a most bountifull favor from you, and shall with our best endeavors follow the same accordingly.

" Your Lordships are also pleased to require a copy of all private Commissions which have been granted to any persons from this Government, with the bonds, &c. And in obedience to your Lordships' command, we have herewith sent copies of such Commissions (if they may properly be so called), they being only defensive, and were granted by the Deputy Governor (contrary to the mind of the then Governor), and he has not known the due form and method in such cases, took no bonds, concluding, as he hath solemnly declared, that they were bound upon a merchandizing voyage; their design being unknown to the authority.

" And may it please your Lordships to accept this further information: that on the beginning of April last, arrived a ship upon our coast, which was, by the men that did belong to her, sunk, as they have since confessed. It was a lagboat, of about four hundred tons, belonging to London, bound for the Island of Borneo, in the East Indies, whereof one Capt'n Gullop was Commander. And at the Island of Polonoys, near the Island of Sumatra, their Commander being on shore with severall others, the boatswain's mate of said ship, one Bradish, with severall others, combined, and run away with her, leaving their Commander

and severall others on shore, at said Island of Polonoys.

" And for your Lordships' better information, we have herewith sent you the examination of one of the men, now a prisoner in his Majesty's jail in this Government, who, after the sinking of the said ship, distributed themselves into severall parts of this country, and are all taken and secured in the severall Governments, except one, with the greatest part of their money that they brought with them, we having in our hands to the value of twelve hundred pounds or thereabouts; all which we shall secure till further orders from your Lordships, we having used all the diligence we can for discovering what more may be distributed about the country.

" We shall always, for time to come, be very observant in following your Lordships' Advice and Instructions, in all cases relating to his Majesty's interest, and once more begging your Lordship's favorable constructions in what of weakness may appear in us. We being a plain and mean sort of people, yet true and loyall subjects to his Most Excellent Majesty, King William, and we hope time will make manifest the same to your Lordships, we being not insensible of the many enemies we have, who hath and do make it their business to render us (to his Majesty and your Lordships,) as ridiculous as they can, and to present things to your Lordships quite contrary to what they are or were. For instance, there is one, Esquire Randolph, who was employed by the Commissioners of his Majesty's Customs, who did publickly declare he would be a means to eclipse us of our priviledges; and we know he picked up severall false reports against us. But we do not doubt your Lordships will, in time, have a further insight and knowledge of such men's action: and we humbly beg of your Lordships, that you will not entertain any reports against us, so as to give any determination on the same, to our ill conveniency, till we can have liberty to answer for ourselves; we having commissioned and appointed Jahleel Brenton, Esq'r (his Majesty's late Collector of his Customs in these parts,) our Agent to answer to what shall be objected against us, or in any other matter or thing relating to this his Majesty's Collony, begging your Lordships' favor towards him in what shall appear just and right.

" So, having not further to offer to your Lordships at present, but humbly submitting ourselves to his Most Excellent Majesty's and your Lordships' favorable constructions of what herein shall appear amiss; wishing his Majesty a long and peaceable reign, and your Lordships health and prosperity under his Government.

"Your Lordships' most humble servants,
 "SAMUEL CRANSTON, Governor.
 "NEWPORT, ON R. I. the 27th of May, 1699."

To this letter of Governor Cranston, the Board of Trade replied in terms of unusual severity for an official communication. We only extract that portion of it which relates to the issuing of privateers' Commissions:

"TO THE HONORABLE THE GOVERNOR AND
 "COMPANY OF HIS MAJESTY'S COLONY OF
 "RHODE ISLAND AND PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS IN AMERICA:

"GENTLEMEN: We have received your letter of the 27th of May last, with the severall papers therein mentioned, upon which we have yet something to say. For though you have not at this time been so negligent in writing as formerly, yet things themselves are not altogether as they ought to be.

"We observe what you say upon the subject of private Commissions granted to Captains of ships, of two of which kind you send us copies. But you do not say that those are all that have been granted in that Colony, during the late War, which was the thing we positively required from you; and therefore we cannot but esteem this a wilfull neglect: and we must tell you, that unless you reform all such shuffling in your correspondence with us, you will unavoidably find it turn no less to your prejudice than the miscarriages themselves, that you would conceal.

"However, the things you say, are, that these Commissions were only defensive; that they were granted by the Deputy [*Governor*] contrary to the mind of the Governor; and that he, not knowing the due form, did omit to take bonds, &c. These answers are so contrary to truth and to your duty, that we wonder how you could write them. The Commissions of which you have sent us copies, give power to take, slay, burn, and utterly destroy his Majestys' enemies' vessells, goods, &c.; and to make prize, &c. Are these defensive Commissions? You know better. But they were granted, you say, by the Deputy [*Governor*], "contrary to the mind of the Governor; and it was his ignorance that made him omit to take bonds. If it were really so, you ought to have taken better care, that such an ignorant person had not been put into such an office.

"But, however, it is evident, that he has highly transgressed, not only in omitting to take bonds, but in granting any Commission whatsoever, contrary to the Governor's mind, whilst he was in the Colony; yet these are the Commissions, which in your former letter

"you call lawfull, and upon the legality of which you would vindicate your proceedings. But, in short, whilst you thus endeavor to excuse and not punish an officer guilty of such notorious misdemeanors, we leave it to you to judge where the fault must necessarily be laid, and what may be the consequence thereof.

"We might observe many things upon the copy that you have sent us of the trialls of Cornish, Cutler, Munday and others for piracy, the success of all which is according to what we expected from a people so partiall in things of that kind. But it is needless to enter into argument upon any more particulars; we rather choose to exhort you to a thorough reformation of all the abuses that are too notorious amongst you, and to conclude in assuring you that unless such a reformation be sincerely set about, and both speedily and very effectually prosecuted, you will inevitably fall into such inconveniences as will make you sensible of your miscarriages, when perhaps it may be too late. So we bid you hearty farewell.

"Your loving friends,

"PH. MEADOWS,
 "JNO. POLLEXFEN,
 "JOHN LOCKE,
 "ABR. HILL.

"WHITEHALL, August the 11th, 1699."

In September, 1699, the Earl of Bellomont, by virtue of his Commission, visited Newport "to make enquiry and examine into the disorders, irregularities and maladministrations committed and practiced by and within the Government." The result of his inquiries is incorporated in a Report which he made to the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Foreign Plantations, dated at Boston, November 27, 1699. His Lordship begins by saying that the people "seem to have wholly neglected the royal intention, and their own professed declaration, recited in their Charter, of godly edifying themselves and one another, in the holy Christian faith and worship, and for gaining over and conversion of the poor ignorant Indian nations." That the generality of the people are shamefully ignorant, and all manner of licentiousness and profaneness does greatly abound, and is indulged within the Government. With reference to naval matters, he says:

"Deputy Governor Greene, during the time of the late War, granted severall sea Commissions under the publick Seal of the Colony unto private men of war (otherwise pirates), expressly contrary to the will of the Governor, then in the actual exercise of the Government; and, notwithstanding his forbidding the same, took no security of the persons to whom the same were granted, nor could he tell by the

"contents of them, who was to execute the same, being directed in an unusual manner to the Captain, his assignee or assignees; and otherwise full of tautologies and nonsense. And all the vessels whereof the commanders were so commissioned went to Madagascar and the seas of India, and were employed to commit piracy. The said Greene is likewise complained of for exercising divers other exorbitant and arbitrary acts of power, under color of his office.

"The Government is notoriously faulty in countenancing and harboring of pirates, who have openly brought in and disposed of their effects there; whereby the place has been greatly enriched. And not only plain breaches of the Acts of Trade and Navigation have been connived at, but also manifest and known piracies, and all that has been done by them on pretence of seizing and taking up of known pirates, has been so slender, weak and not pursued to effect, as plainly demonstrates it was more in show than out of any hearty zeal or desire to suppress and bring such notorious criminals to justice, and their care has so little therein, that when they had some of the greatest of those villains in their power, they have suffered them to escape."

In the journal of his visit to Rhode Island, the Earl of Bellomont says he made inquiry of Governor Cranston, about a man named Gillam, who had been, for some time, on the island; and that he had come as a passenger with Captain Kidd, from Madagascar; but that no complaint had been made against him. Peleg Sanford, however, made a different statement to the Earl, relative to this Gillam, who, he says, was a pirate, and was then in Newport, with other pirates; and that "such men are here countenanced, entertained, and concealed, as will appear by the evidence enclosed;" "that for such as are seized and committed, bonds to the amount of £2000 or £3000 are forthwith given for them; and having thus obtained their liberty, they gave notice unto their wicked companions, whereby they know how and where to secure themselves."

IV.

MANY PRIVATEERS FITTED OUT. INCREASE OF SEA-FARING MEN. CAPTAIN KIDD IN NARRAGANSETT BAY. A SPANISH VESSEL CAPTURED AND BROUGHT TO NEWPORT. REFUSAL OF THE JUDGE OF THE ADMIRALTY COURT TO CONDEMN HER. THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY JUSTIFY THE GOVERNOR, AND ACKNOWLEDGE HIS RIGHT TO ISSUE COMMISSIONS TO PRIVATEERS. GOVERNOR CRANSTON'S LETTER TO THE JUDGE OF THE COURT OF ADMIRALTY. THE JUDGE'S LETTER

TO THE BRITISH SECRETARY OF STATE, WITH THE PARTICULARS OF THE CASE.

Although it is evident, from the information obtained by Lord Bellomont, in his visit to Newport, that public business in the Colony was not conducted with the regularity that it required, and that, "irregularities" (to use a very mild term,) not only had existed, and did still exist, particularly with the granting of privateers' Commissions, it does not appear that there was any complicity between the authorities of the Colony and the parties engaged in piracy, as might be inferred from his Lordship's Report. The facilities with which Commissions for Letters of Marque were obtained during the Wars with Holland, France, and Spain, induced many adventurers to resort to Rhode Island for that purpose; while the advantages of the fine harbors of Narragansett Bay led the owners of these privateers, not only to fit them out here, but also to return to Newport with their booty. These enterprises, which were then, and, even in our day, are, a part of the system pursued by all nations when at war, induced numbers of sea-faring men to quit their more legitimate professions and resort to privateering; and thus was there raised up a hardy set, of what, in our day, would be termed fillibusters. Originally, they embarked on their voyages with good, or at least legitimate, intentions; but it is apparent that some of them grew to be on too intimate terms with pirates, and may have purchased a share in their booty. The notorious William Kidd was within our waters, where he landed portions of his goods and ill-gained treasure, as appears from the evidence laid before the Earl of Bellamont. Several of his men, charged with piracy, also took refuge here and on the east end of Long Island, where they were sought by the authorities at the instigation of his Lordship. Kidd was taken in Boston; and, although some of his companions were arrested in Rhode Island, most of them eluded all search. The British Government sent a ship to Boston for Kidd and his associates in prison, by which they were taken to England, where they were executed.

At the June Session of the General Assembly, 1704, Governor Cranston announced that a Spanish prize had been brought in by Captain Halsey of the Brigantine *Charles*, a privateer, commissioned by him, against the French and Spaniards, "pursuant to the Declaration of War and the particular commands of Her Majesty, Queen Anne." He stated that Captain Halsey had asked for a condemnation of the prize by Colonel Byfield, Judge of the Court of Admiralty; but that the Judge, after having taken steps towards her condemnation, pretended that she was not taken by a lawful Commission. Byfield furthermore alleged that the Government of Rhode Island had no au-

thority to grant any Commissions to private men-of-war, and, in consequence, suspended the act of condemnation.

Governor Cranston thought the refusal of the Judge of Admiralty, a contempt of the Queen's authority, here established, a detriment to Her Majesty's interests in the Colony, and a great injury to the captors of the vessel. The General Assembly, too, after debating the matter, and considering the privileges granted in the Charter, the Declaration of War, and the several Instructions, from time to time sent to the Government, relative to private men of-war, did not hesitate to declare that the Governor of the Colony, by permission of the General Assembly, had full power and authority to grant Commissions to such vessels to go against and annoy Her Majesty's enemies. They further declared that the Governors were fully justified in their proceedings in these matters, provided they had taken, and do continue to take, bonds, and do all other things required by law, relating to such private men-of-war. Governor Cranston accordingly addressed the following letter to Colonel Byfield :

"NEWPORT, ON RHODE ISLAND, June 16, 1705.

"SIR :—There being a Spanish prize brought into this port by Captain John Halsey, Commander of the private man-of-war, *Charles*, who was commissioned by myself against her Majesty's enemies, pursuant to her Majesty's Declaration of War and particular command to use our utmost endeavors to annoy the subjects of France and Spain, &c., all which you have been and are well knowing unto, and have made a considerable step towards the condemnation of said prize; but for what reason you defer the full accomplishment thereof, I am not fully satisfied, though I know there was a pretence or scruple made by you, whether said prize was taken by a lawfull Commission, &c.

"SIR :—Since the said prize was taken by my Commission, which has been deemed a lawfull and good Commission by yourself, and is now as good as ever, though otherways pretended, in behalf of Her Majesty, the Lord High Admiral, and captors, I can do no less (deeming myself thereunto obliged) than to require a condemnation of said prize, according to law, and that you give your positive answer thereunto, and if by you declined or delayed, your reasons for the same, that such methods and measures may be taken as the authority of this her Majesty's Collony shall think most proper for her Majesty's service and the interests of her subjects, and encouragement against the common enemy. I am, Sir, your humble servant,

"SAMUEL CRANSTON."

Colonel Byfield addressed the following letter

to Sir Charles Hedges, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State, wherein he enters into a full explanation of the capture of this Spanish ship, in question, and of his proceedings in relation thereto. The question of the Governor's authority so issue Commissions to privateers is also fully discussed :

"BRISTOL, [*Rhode Island*] July 19th, 1705.

"RIGHT HONORABLE :—I humbly take leave to inform your Honor that it is now a year since his Excellency, Joseph Dudley, Esq'r. her Majesty's Captain Generall and Governor of the Massachusetts Bay, &c., sent me her Majesty's Order in Council of the 28th January, 1703, referring to the irregularities practised in the proprietary Collony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, and her Majesty's letter of the 2d March, 1703, to the Governor and Company of that Collony, commanding them to submit to the Court of Admiralty, constituted by the Lord High Admiral, and to the powers of Vice Admiralty vested in Col. Dudley, Governor of the Massachusetts Bay, together with a letter from the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, dated the 17th March, 1703, referring to the said Order and letter from her Majesty; upon receipt whereof I went to the Governor of Rhode Island, and was with him upon receipt of said Order and letters, which he showed to me, and we read them, and he told me he had given a Commission to one Capt'n Lawrence, and if he took any prizes he did expect that his Commission should be acknowledged, and he would grant no more.

"Yet upon the 7th of November last, the said Governor Cranston, granted a Commission to Capt'n Halsey, Commander of the brigantee *Charles*, a private man-of-war, who the beginning of June last, brought a prize into Newport, on Rhode Island, being a ship of one hundred tons, laden with brandy, rum, wine, snush, sugar, paper, and oil, &c., which Capt'n Halsey acquainted me with, soon after his arrival, desiring me to go down to condemn her; and, at the same time, he moved for a Warrant to unload her, she being very leaky.

"Whereupon, I went the next morning to Newport, and gave order for a survey of the ship, and it being reported that the ship was leaky, the cargo was in danger, I made out a Warrant, to unload her, and appointed three men to take charge of the cargo, and to keep each man a lock upon each door, until condemnation.

"And upon the 6th day of June, I held a Court of Admiralty in order to the condemnation, having first told Capt'n Halsey that I had been illtreated of late by Mr. Colman, about the charge of a Court for condemning a prize

“in Boston; and he being one of the owners of
 “Capt’n Halsey’s vessel, I expected that some-
 “body should engage for the payment thereof,
 “being five per cent; but nobody would. How-
 “ever, I proceeded in holding a Court; and up-
 “on examination of the prisoners, it appeared
 “to be a Spanish ship, manned with Spaniards,
 “and loaded with goods belonging to the sub-
 “jects of the King of Spain, &c.; but when I
 “found she was taken by Governor Cranston’s
 “Commission, granted some months after his
 “receipt of the Queen’s commands, I declared I
 “could not proceed to a condemnation upon that
 “Commission, for that I was a witness to the
 “Governor’s having received the Queen’s com-
 “mands to the contrary; and adjourned the Court
 “until the next day, to consider, and found the
 “Governor and people much disturbed at my
 “questioning his Commission. And I having
 “taken care to secure the ship and cargo, I
 “adjourned the proceedings unto the 27th June,
 “in order to my taking the best advice I could
 “obtain, in so weighty an affair; I wrote to Mr.
 “Mumpesson, the Judge of the Admiralty in
 “New York, and went down to His Excellency,
 “her Majesty’s Vice Admiral of these parts, and
 “when I had advised all I could, I returned
 “home, fully determined to condemn the prize
 “to her Majesty, as taken without any Com-
 “mission.

“But, upon the 26th June, Colonel Nicholas
 “Page (who is one of the owners of the said
 “private man-of-war) brought me a Petition,
 “which he with the rest of the owners had sign-
 “ed, to his Excellency, the Governor, and his
 “Excellency’s advice thereupon, to condemn the
 “prize to the captors, a copy whereof, I shall
 “herewith send to your Honor.

“The next morning, I proceeded to Newport,
 “contrary to the advice of many of my friends,
 “who told me there was a talk that if I do not
 “condemn the prize upon Governor Cranston’s
 “Commission, my life was threatened—however,
 “I proceeded.

“And when I came to Newport, the Governor
 “came to me, who I acquainted with what I had
 “heard, and then proceeded to hold a Court of
 “Admiralty. And, in the first place, I did de-
 “clare, that I had considered Governor Cran-
 “ston’s Commission, on which Captain Halsey
 “founded his information against the prize, and
 “found that the Governor who referred to the
 “Charter in the Commission, had acted contrary
 “thereunto in granting the same, in his own
 “name; when, according to the Charter, it ought
 “to have been in the name of the Governor and
 “Company; and that the Charter itself empowers
 “them to resist, by force of arms, as well by sea
 “as land; and also to kill, slay, and destroy, &c.,
 “all such person or persons as, at any time, shall

“attempt or enterprise the destruction, invasion,
 “detriment, or annoyance of that, her Majesty’s
 “Plantation, which seems to fall very short of an
 “Admiralty jurisdiction. And her sacred Maj-
 “esty, in her letter to that Government, of the 2d
 “March, 1703, hath declared, that there is no
 “Admiralty jurisdiction granted in their Char-
 “ter. So that upon the whole, I could under-
 “stand no otherwise, but that the prize was tak-
 “en without a Commission.

“But, having considered the Petition of the
 “owners, in behalf of themselves and Capt’n
 “John Halsey and Company, to his Excellency,
 “setting forth that they had taken a Commis-
 “sion from the Governor of Rhode Island, which
 “they supposed had been a good Commission,
 “but now were made to understand by the Judge
 “of the Admiralty and otherwise, that the Com-
 “mission was not valid and legal, the Vice Ad-
 “miralty of Rhode Island being vested in his
 “Excellency, and praying that the owners and
 “captors who had ventured their estates and
 “lives, might have the full reward and benefit of
 “their prize, as if their Commission had been
 “legally granted, together with his Excellency’s
 “advice thereupon, and the odd circumstances of
 “things at Rhode Island at this time, I did ad-
 “venture to condemn her a lawful prize to the
 “captors, saving to the Lord High Admiral,
 “&c.

“When I had so done, about eighteen lusty
 “fellows drew up to the table where I sat, and
 “one of them delivered a paper to the Regis-
 “ter and demanded of him to read it, which he
 “going to do, I took it out of his hand, and
 “told them that no paper should be read there
 “without my allowance.

“They replied that they gave it to him as one
 “of the Council of that Government; and would
 “have it read.

“I told them he was there a Register of that
 “Court, and should read nothing there without
 “my allowance; and ordered the Court to be
 “dismissed. And when we came out, was hooted
 “down the street by those fellows that offered the
 “paper, without any notice being taken by any
 “in the Government there. The paper was di-
 “rected to Governor Cranston, in justification of
 “his Commission, which I had just before declar-
 “ed illegal and void.

“It is not the first time I have suffered in the
 “service of the Crown, but hope care will be
 “taken that her Majesty’s Courts and officers
 “may be treated more agreeably.

“They would not (I do think) have been so ab-
 “surd in their carriage, had not Mr. Colman
 “(who is Agent for the Lord High Admiral, and
 “one of the Commissioners for Prizes) solicited
 “that Government to hold a Court for the con-
 “demnation of the prize, and put them upon

"passing a strange Act in that Government, all
"which will appear by the copies of Mr. Col-
"man's letters and of Governor Cranston's let-
"ter to myself, and of the Act itself; all which
"are herewith sent.

"I humbly hope that my sincere desire and
"endeavors to serve her Majesty and her subjects
"in these parts will be accepted, and that upon
"the whole, your Honor will see reason favor-
"ably to represent me to her Majesty; for I am
"devoted to her service. And pray that I may
"be allowed to subscribe myself,

"Right Honorable,

"Your most dutifull humble servant,

"NATH'L BYFIELD.

"To the Right Honorable Sir CHARLES HEDGES,
"her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State.
"These present."

The owners of the Brigantine *Charles*, which captured the Spanish vessel, Nicholas Paige, John Colman, Benj. Gallup, and John Walker of Newport, appealed from the decision of Colonel Byfield to the Governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, who, in addition to being Governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, was Vice Admiral of the seas and maritime ports of Rhode Island, as well as of these Colonies. Governor Dudley, on the twenty-seventh of June, wrote to Colonel Byfield, at Bristol, stating that "if speedy proceedings and condemnation be not made, all the cargo of the prize will be embezzled or lost;" and that as it was no fault of Captain Halsey's, but an error of Governor Cranston's, in granting the Commission, he advised the condemnation of the prize and cargo; the particulars of this transaction, he said, he would represent to her Majesty, the Queen, and in conclusion, says he is "informed that the Governor as well as the people in that Colony are in such disorder, that he cannot advise any other method of proceeding."

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

VII.—THE NATIONAL LEGEND OF THE CHAHTA-MUSKOCHEE TRIBES.

By D. G. BRINTON, M. D.

The CREEK or MUSKOCHEE Nation was a loose association of a number of Tribes, speaking kindred languages, and inhabiting, at the earliest visits of the whites, the territory now embraced by the States of Georgia, Alabama, and portions of South Carolina, Mississippi, and Florida. They constitute a branch of the CHAHTA-MUSKOCHEE family, which includes the Choctaws (*chakta*), Chickasaws, and Creeks (*muskokee*), all of whom use allied tongues.

The survivors of the Creek Nation now reside in the vicinity of Tallahassee Mission, Indian Territory. Their language has been reduced to writing: a number of works, chiefly religious, have been printed in it; and many of the members have been converted to Christianity. Only the oldest men among them have any recollection of the traditions which their forefathers preserved, with superstitious care, and handed down from generation to generation. Soon, even these faint remembrances will be extinguished; and the national legend will be totally forgotten. Fortunately, however, for the student of American antiquity, there exists a very authentic, and a somewhat ancient, version of this legend, which was communicated under circumstances of peculiar solemnity, translated, and written down on the spot, and the buffalo-skin on which it was recorded transferred to the English, and conveyed to London.

The time and place of this interesting occurrence are thus referred to, in *The American Gazetteer* (London, 1762, Volume II, Art. GEORGIA, not paged:)

"In 1735, a ship from Georgia brought over
"to England, a Speech made there by one of the
"Indian Kings of Cherrikaw, etc. It was cu-
"riously written in red and black characters, on
"the skin of a young buffalo, and translated
"into English, as soon as delivered in the Indian
"language, in presence of about fifty of their
"Chiefs and of the principal inhabitants of Sa-
"vannah. The said skin was set in a frame and
"hung up in the Georgia Office, in Westminster.
"It contained the Indians' grateful acknowlege-
"ments for the honors and civilities paid to
"Tomochichi, etc."

Tomochichi, I may remark, was Chief of the Yamacraws, a small Creek Tribe, who occupied the bank of the Savannah-river, near where the City of that name now stands. He was taken by Governor Oglethorpe, to England, and assisted the whites materially in founding their Colony. A *Historical Sketch* of his life has been recently written by Mr. Charles C. Jones, Jr., (Albany, Joel Munsell, 1868.)

Mr. Jones refers to the extract I have just given from the *American Gazetteer*, but in a singularly erroneous manner. He says (p. 74:) "A letter was composed by a Cherokee Chief and sent to the Trustees. * * * Upon its receipt this hieroglyphic painting was set in a frame and suspended in the Georgia office, in Westminster." The Cherrikaws, however, were one of the Creek bands, and nowise akin to the Cherokees.

It is evident that Mr. Jones, in his researches, had never seen a translation of this "hieroglyphic painting;" and this is additional evidence to me, that the version of it I am about to give has

remained entirely unknown, even to special students in this field.

This version would be greatly increased in value, if I could connect with it a copy of the "hieroglyphic painting" of which it is a translation. Aware of this, I wrote, in November, 1868, to Mr. Nicholas Trübner, of London, enclosing the extract from the *Gazetteer*, and asking him to pass my letter to some one who would make the necessary searches for this interesting relic. With the greatest kindness, he took this labor upon himself, and wrote at once to the Colonial Office, inquiring for the papers relating to Georgia. These, he learned, are deposited in the Public Record Office, Chancery-lane. "At this office," he wrote me, "I went over two folios of original documents from Georgia, 1734 and 1735, old style, but could not find a letter relating to the transmission to England of the skin. But I saw a letter written by Chekilli, himself, dated in March, 1734, announcing his safe arrival in Savannah, and numerous letters of English Officers in which he plays a prominent figure. The future historian of Georgia will do well to examine these precious documents."

Mr. Trübner then examined the Archives at the Board of Trade, the Department of State, and Home Office, with similar ill success. Mr. Bucknall, of the State Paper Office, writes, in January, 1869, "I suppose the fact really is, that the 'Georgia' Office was the office of the then Crown Agents for the Colony. If so, I should imagine that any attempt to recover the document would be almost hopeless." Finally, the British Museum was questioned; and then my courteous correspondent, who had already done so much more than I could have asked of him, was obliged to abandon the search.

The interest which attaches to this lost document is the greater, as it displays in such mnemonic characters as the native tribes were familiar with, the legendary history of their Nation,—a legend which, for authenticity and purity of form, surpasses any other from the Indian hunting tribes with which I am acquainted. It would appear from Mr. Trübner's letter, that no version of it is among the papers in the State Paper Office, so that, probably, the only one extant is that which I am about to translate. It is found in a work published by Samuel Urlsperger, at Halle, in 1741, entitled, *Herrn Philipp Georg Friederichs von Reck Diarium von Seiner Reise nach Georgien im Jahr 1735*. The author, von Reck, was Commissary of the German emigrants from Salzburg, and visited Georgia in their interest. He wrote his Diary in French, from which language it was translated in manuscript, and published as a part of Urlsperger's *Nachrichten*. It is not the same work of von Reck which was published at Hamburg, in 1777; and, of course,

it is not the earlier production which appeared under his name, in 1732; and it is not mentioned in any bibliographical work. There are very few copies of the *Nachrichten* in this country, which are complete; and I think that von Reck's *Diarium* is one of the portions most frequently missing. This is doubtless because it contains a useful description of the Province of Georgia; and it was, therefore, separated and carried off by emigrants.

Apart from the stamp of accuracy which von Reck's account bears, it is borne out by two later authorities, and shown to be the national legend of the Chahta-Muskokee Nations—their *Illiad* and their *Voluspa*.

One of these is Colonel Benjamin Hawkins, who, about the close of the last and the commencement of the present century, was United States Agent to the Creeks; and was somewhat acquainted with their language, and familiar with their traditions. His *Sketch of the Creek Country* was published by the Georgia Historical Society, in 1848; and a manuscript copy of the same work is preserved in the Library of the American Philosophical Society. The version he gives, was delivered by Tus-se-kiah Mic-co, a Creek Chief, at a Council, about 1800. It is as follows: "There are in the forks of Red-river, (*we-cha-te-hat-che au-fus-ke*), West of Mississippi (*we-o-coof-ke*, muddy water), two mounds of earth. At this place, the Cussetuh, Cowetuh, and Chickasaw found themselves. They were at a loss for fire. Here they were visited by the *Hi-you-yul-gee*, four men who came from the four corners of the earth. One of these asked the Indians where they would have their fire (*tote-kit-cau*). They pointed to a place; it was made; and they sat down around it. One of these visitors showed them the *pas-sau*; another showed them *mic-co-ho* *yon-éjau*, then the *au chen-au* (cedar), and *too-loh* (sweet-bay;) the sacred plants, seven in all. After this, the four visitors disappeared in a cloud, going from whence they came.

"After this, some other Indians came from the West, met them, and had a great wrestle with the three towns; they made ball-sticks and played with them, with bows and arrows, and the war club (*au-tus-sau*). They fell out, fought, and killed each other. After this warring, the three towns moved eastwardly, and they met the *Au-be-cuh*, at Coosau-river. Here they agreed to go to war, for four years, against their first enemy. They made shields (*te-po-lux-o*) of buffalo hides; and it was agreed that the warriors of each town should try and bring forward the scalps (*e-cau-hal-pe*) of the enemy and pile them; the *Au-be-cuh* had a small pile, the *Chickasaws* were above them, the *Cowetuh*s above them, and the

"*Cussetuks* above all. The two last towns raised the scalp-pole (*itlo-chate*, red-wood), and do not suffer any other town to raise it. *Cussetuh* is first in rank.

"They then commenced their settlements on *Coo-saw* and *Tal-la-poo-saw*; and crossing the falls of Tallapoosa, above *Tool-can-bat-che*, they visited the *Chat-to-ho-che*, and found a race of people with flat heads, in possession of the mounds in the *Cussetuh* fields. These people used bows and arrows, with strings made of sinews. The great physic-makers (*aulic-chul-gee*) sent some rats in the night time, which gnawed the strings, and, in the morning, they attacked and defeated the flats. They crossed the river at the island, near the mound, and took possession of the country. After this, they spread out eastwardly, and met the white people on the sea-coast."—*Sketch of the Creek Country*, 81, 82, 83.

We have here a tradition which claims to date back long before the Columbian era, for we know that, early in the sixteenth century, the Creeks occupied what is now the State of Georgia, back to a period when they lived far West of the Mississippi; and when the large tumuli and earth-works, still found along the Chattahoochee-river, were occupied by a flat-headed race of warriors, who, it would not be difficult to show, from collateral evidence, were pure-blooded Choctaws.

The importance of substantiating this legend impressed me so much that, last year, (1869) I copied and sent it to Mrs. A. E. W. Robertson, of the Tallahassee Mission, who has, probably, a more critical knowledge of the Muskokee or Creek tongue than any other person living, with the request to examine the original words it contains, and to ascertain whether the Tribe still retains this ancient account. Mrs. Robertson spared the time from her many duties to write me several letters of great interest, and throwing much light on points of the recital, otherwise very obscure. She read the legends to intelligent Creeks, who at once recognized them as versions of others which they had heard from the old men. The explanations of various words and customs, which Mrs. Robertson sent me, I shall insert in the Notes to the older and fuller version given by von Reck. She has adopted the modern orthography of the Muskokee—that found in the printed books, and which was decided upon, in 1853, by a number of Interpreters and Chiefs, under the auspices of the Missionaries, at the Old Agency, in the Indian Territory. I may say of this alphabet, that the letters, vowels and consonants, are pronounced very nearly as in English, except the *c*, which has the sound of *ch*, the *r* which has the sound *hl*, the *a* which is as in *far*, and the *v* which represents the neutral or semi-vowel. Each vowel has a corresponding soft nasal sound.

I shall now proceed to translate, from the Sixth Chapter of von Reck's *Diarium*, appending, in the form of Notes, such explanatory remarks as have suggested themselves.

[THE LEGEND.]

"WHAT CHEKILLI, THE HEAD-CHIEF OF THE UPPER AND LOWER CREEKS SAID, IN A TALK HELD AT SAVANNAH, ANNO, 1775, AND WHICH WAS HANDED OVER BY THE INTERPRETER, WRITTEN UPON A BUFFALO-SKIN, WAS, WORD FOR WORD, AS FOLLOWS :

"*Speech which, in the year 1735, was delivered at Savannah, in Georgia, by Chekilli, Emperor of the Upper and Lower Creeks* [1]; *Antiche, highest Chief of the town of the Cowetas, Eliche, King; Ousta, Head Chief of the Cussitaws, Tomecharo, War King; Wali, War Captain of the Palachucolas, Pcpiche, King; Tomehuichi, Dog King of the Euchitaws; Mittakawye, Head War Chief of the Okonces, Twelchiche, King; Whoyanni, Head War Chief of the Chehars and of the Hokenulge Nation; Stimelacoweche, King of the Ososches; Ophilli, King of the Juucocolos; Erenauki, King; Tahmokmi, War Captain of the Eusantees; and thirty other Warriors.* [2]

"At a certain time, the Earth opened in the West, where its mouth is. The earth opened and the Cussitaws [3] came out of its mouth, and settled near by. But the earth became angry and ate up their children; therefore, they moved further West. A part of them, however, turned back, and came again to the same place where they had been, and settled there. The greater number remained behind, because they thought it best to do so.

"Their children, [4] nevertheless, were eaten by the Earth, so that, full of dissatisfaction, they journeyed toward the sunrise.

"They came to a thick, muddy, slimy river, came there, camped there, rested there, and stayed over night there. [5]

"The next day, they continued their journey and came, in one day, to a red, bloody river. [6] They lived by this river, and ate of its fishes for two years; but there were low springs there; and it did not please them to remain. They went toward the end of this bloody river, and heard a noise as of thunder. They approached to see whence the noise came. At first, they perceived a red smoke, and then a mountain which thundered; and on the mountain, was a sound as of singing. They sent to see what this was; and it was a great fire which blazed upward, and made this singing noise. This mountain they named the King of Mountains. It thunders to this

“ day; and men are very much afraid of it.

“ They here met a people of three different Nations. They had taken and saved some of the fire from the mountain; and, at this place, they also obtained a knowledge of herbs and of many other things. [7]

“ From the East, a white fire came to them; which, however, they would not use.

“ From Wahalle, [8] came a fire which was blue; neither did they use it.

“ From the West, came a fire which was black; nor would they use it.

“ At last, came a fire from the North, which was red and yellow. This they mingled with the fire they had taken from the mountain; and this is the fire they use to-day; and this, too, sometimes sings.

“ On the mountain, was a pole which was very restless and made a noise, nor could any one say how it could be quieted. At length, they took a motherless child, and struck it against the pole; and thus killed the child. They then took the pole, and carry it with them when they go to war. It was like a wooden tomahawk, such as they now use, and of the same wood. [9] Here, they also found four herbs or roots, which sang and disclosed their virtues: *First, Pasaw*, the rattle-snake root; *Second, Micoweanochaw*, red-root; *Third, Souatchko*, which grows like wild fennel; and, *Fourth, Eschalapootchke*, little tobacco. [10]

“ These herbs, especially the first and third, they use as the best medicine to purify themselves at their Busk. [11]

“ At this Busk, which is held yearly, they fast, and make offerings of the first-fruits.

“ Since they learned the virtues of these herbs, their women, at certain times, have a separate fire, and remain apart from the men five, six, and seven days, for the sake of purification. If they neglect this, the power of the herbs would depart; and the women would not be healthy.

“ About that time, a dispute arose, as to which was the oldest and which should rule; and they agreed, as they were four Nations, they would set up four poles, and make them red with clay, which is yellow at first, but becomes red by burning. They would then go to war; and whichever Nation should first cover its pole, from top to bottom, with the scalps of their enemies, should be the oldest.

“ They all tried, but the Cussitaws covered their pole first, and so thickly that it was hidden from sight. Therefore, they were looked upon, by the whole Nation, as the oldest.

“ The Chickasaws covered their pole next; then the Atilamas; but the Obikaws did not cover their pole higher than the knee. [12]

“ At that time, there was a bird of large size, blue in color, with a long tail, and swifter than an eagle, which came every day and killed and ate their people. They made an image, in the shape of a woman, and placed it in the way of this bird. The bird carried it off, and kept it a long time, and then brought it back. They left it alone, hoping it would bring something forth. After a long time, a red rat came forth from it, and they believe the bird was the father of the rat. They took council with the rat, how to destroy its father. Now the bird had a bow and arrows; and the rat gnawed the bow-string, so that the bird could not defend itself; and the people killed it. They called this bird the King of Birds. They think the eagle is also a great King; and they carry its feathers when they go to War or make Peace: the red mean War, the white, Peace. If an enemy approaches with white feathers and a white mouth, and cries like an eagle, they dare not kill him. [13]

“ After this, they left that place, and came to a white foot-path. The grass and everything around were white; and they plainly perceived that people had been there. They crossed the path, and slept near there. Afterward, they turned back to see what sort of path that was, and who the people were who had been there, in the belief that it might be better for them to follow that path. They went along it, to a creek, called *Coloosehutché*, that is Coloose-creek, because it was rocky there and smoked. [14]

“ They crossed it, going toward the sunrise, and came to a people and a town named Coosaw. [15] Here they remained four years. The Coosaws complained that they were preyed upon by a wild beast, which they called man-eater or lion, which lived in a rock. [16]

“ The Cussitaws said they would try to kill the beast. They digged a pit and stretched over it a net made of hickory-bark. They then laid a number of branches, crosswise, so that the lion could not follow them, and going to the place where he lay, they threw a rattle into his den. The lion rushed forth, in great anger, and pursued them through the branches. Then they thought it better that one should die rather than all, so they took a motherless child, and threw it before the lion, as he came near the pit. The lion rushed at it, and fell in the pit, over which they threw the net, and killed him with blazing pine-wood. His bones, however, they keep to this day; on one side, they are red, on the other, blue.

“ The lion used to come every seventh day to kill the people. Therefore, they remained

“there seven days after they had killed him.
“In remembrance of him, when they prepare
“for War, they fast six days and start on the
“seventh. [17] If they take his bones with
“them, they have good fortune.

“After four years, they left the Coosaws, and
“came to a River which they called *Nourphaupé*, now *Callasi hutché*. There, they tarried
“two years; and as they had no corn, they lived
“on roots and fishes, and made bows, pointing
“the arrows with beaver teeth and flint-stones,
“and for knives they used split canes.
“They left this place, and came to a creek,
“called *Wattoolahawka hutché*, Whooping-creek,
“so called from the whooping of cranes,
“a great many being there. They slept there
“one night.

“They next came to a River, in which there
“was a waterfall; this they named the *Owatunka-river*. [18]

“The next day, they reached another River,
“which they called the *Aphoosa pheeskaw*.

“The following day, they crossed it, and came
“to a high mountain, where were people who,
“they believed, were the same who made the
“white path. They, therefore, made white arrows
“and shot them, to see if they were good people.
“But the people took their white arrows, painted
“them red, and shot them back. When they showed
“these to their Chief, he said that was not a good
“sign; if the arrows returned had been white, they
“could have gone there and brought food for their
“children, but as they were red they must not go.
“Nevertheless, some of them went to see what sort
“of people they were: and found their houses deserted.
“They also saw a trail which led into the River;
“and as they could not see the trail on the opposite
“bank, they believed that the people had gone into
“the River, and would not again come forth.

“At that place, is a mountain, called *Motell*,
“which makes a noise like beating on a drum;
“and they think this people live there. [19] They
“hear this noise on all sides, when they go to War.

“They went along the River, till they came to
“a waterfall, where they saw great rocks; and
“on the rocks were bows lying; [20] and they
“believed the people who made the white path
“had been there.

“They always have, on their journeys, two
“scouts who go before the main body. These
“scouts ascended a high mountain and saw a
“town. They shot white arrows into the town;
“but the people of the town shot back red
“arrows.

“Then the Cussitaws become angry, and
“determined to attack the town, and each one
“have a house when it was captured.

“They threw stones into the River, until they
“could cross it, and took the town, (the people
“had flattened heads), and killed all but two
“persons. In pursuing these, they found a
“white dog which they slew. They followed
“the two who escaped, until they came again
“to the white path, and saw the smoke of a
“town, and thought that this must be the people
“they had so long been seeking. This is
“the place where now the tribe of Palachucolas
“live, from whom Tomochichi is descended. [21]
“The Cussitaws continued bloody-minded;
“but the Palachucolas gave them black drink,
“as a sign of friendship, and said to them:
“Our hearts are white, and yours must be white,
“and you must lay down the bloody tomahawk,
“and show your bodies, as a proof that they
“shall be white.

“Nevertheless, they were for the tomahawk;
“but the Palachucolas got it by persuasion,
“and buried it under their beds. The Palachucolas
“likewise gave them white feathers; and
“asked to have a Chief in common. Since then
“they have always lived together.

“Some settled on one side of the River, some
“on the other. Those on one side are called
“Cussetaws, those on the other, Cowetas; [22]
“yet they are one people, and the principal
“towns of the Upper and Lower Creeks. Nevertheless,
“as the Cussetaws first saw the red smoke and the
“red fire, and make bloody towns, they cannot yet
“leave their red hearts, which are, however, white
“on one side and red on the other.

“They now know that the white path was
“the best for them. [23] For, although Tomochichi
“was a stranger, they see he has done them good;
“because he went to see the great King with Esquire
“Oglethorpe, and heard his talk, and had related it
“to them, and they had listened to it, and believed it.”

[EXPLANATORY NOTES.]

1.—Emperor of the Upper and Lower Creeks.

The Creek Nation was divided into Upper and Lower Creeks. The former were settled chiefly on the upper tributaries of the Alabama-river. The latter occupied both banks of the Chattahoochee-river, and extended over the territory between this and the lower course of the Savannah-river. At this period, each of these divisions numbered about twelve hundred warriors. Both were united under one ruler, in whose family, the supreme power was hereditary, in the female line. He is called in the French narratives, *l'Empereur*, in the Spanish, *el Emperador*, and in the German original of von Reck, *der Kayser*. His residence seems to

have been at or near Coosa, on the river of that name. (See Barcia, *Ensayo Cronologico*, Fol. 331). His subjects were divided into four clans or families, apparently a politico-geographical division; and each of these, again, into towns. Nearly every town had its Peace-chief, or King, *mekko*, who exercised civil functions, and its War-chief, who led the fighting men, in times of strife. This distinction is observed in the list which heads Chekilli's Oration. A few towns had no War-chiefs, and were called white or Peace-towns; still fewer had no Peace-chiefs, and were styled, Red-towns.

[2] Of the Nations here mentioned, the Eusantees, or Santees, and, perhaps, the Jawocolos, lived North of the Savannah-river; the remaining eight all belonged to the Lower Creeks. Chekilli and his Warriors represented the Upper Creeks.

3.—Cussitaws.

Von Reck says, in a Note to this passage: "Cussitaw means Sun; the Sun wished that they should be so called."

This is evidently an explanation of the Interpreter. But Mrs. Robertson tells me that this is not a Creek word. Its Creek form is *kvshetv*. Rev. James Perryman, an aged Indian, informed her that "in the old Nation, the village of '*kvshetv* was *A-pv-tá-ye*," which is corroborated by Hawkins's *Sketch of the Creek Country*, 59.

According to a tradition of the Chickasaws, the Cussitaws (*Cush-eh-tuh*) were originally a band of their Nation who migrated East, earlier than the remainder. They were subsequently invited by the Chickasaws to return; but they replied, they were tired of moving, and declined.—Schoolcraft's *History and Statistics of the Indian Tribes*, i., 309. Yet Hawkins, throughout, speaks of them as real Muskokee.

This hint leads us to look for the meaning assigned to the word, in the Chahita or Choctaw tongue, which was that spoken by the Chickasaws. According to a manuscript *Vocabulaire Chacta*, now in the Library of the American Philosophical Society, formerly in the possession of Mr. Duponceau, *cou-tchá* is the rising, the East, *oriens*, as *háché cou-tchá*, the sun-rising. This is clearly the origin of the name Cussitaw, and was applied to the Tribe because it was the easternmost, the nearest the sun-rise, of any of the ancient Chahita Tribes. This is confirmed by a venerable Choctaw tradition, which states that, "The Creeks, Choctaws, and Chickasaws emigrated together from a distant country, far in the West. The Creeks were in front; the Choctaws in the rear; and the Chickasaws between them."—Rev. Alfred Wright, in the *Missionary Herald*, xxiv, 214;

a most excellent authority on Chahita traditions. Moreover, Colonel Hawkins tells us that "Cussetuh and Chickasah consider themselves people of one fire. *to-te-kit-cau humgoce*, from the earliest account of their origin."—*Sketch*, etc. 83.

This traditional identity of these three Nations, is borne out by language, as has been recognized by all who have compared Muskokee and Chahita.—See Buckner's *Muskoke Grammar*, 36; Gallatin, *Transactions American Antiquarian Society*, ii., 405. This identity adds greatly to the interest of the legend of Chekilli.

4.—Their children.

i. e. The children of those who returned eastward. I do not venture to explain what is meant by the earth eating them. The original has a Note, apparently intended to bear upon the question. It is as follows: "According to the French Indians, there is a large city where a blue-lipped people live, of whom they have often heard it said, that if any one tries to kill them, he becomes insane."

By the "French Indians," I presume the Choctaws are meant; but I know of no reference to this singular superstition in their myths. The only other reference I have found to it, is in a tract called, *A State of the Province of Georgia*, published, London, 1741, and included in Colonel Peter Force's *Collection*. The author says: (p. 1,) "The Blew-mouths and other Indians live toward the South Sea."

5.—A thick, muddy, slimy river.

Weokúfke, muddy-water,—from *ueov*, water, *okhúfke*, muddy—the usual Creek name for the Mississippi. This fixes the first geographical point in their wanderings.

6.—A red, bloody river.

Wecate rakko, great red water, from *ueov*, water, *cate*, red, *rakko*, great, is a name applied by the Muskokee, at present, to both the Arkansas and the Red-river. It is equally suitable to any stream which is colored by a reddish soil. As they were journeying eastward, from the Mississippi, Chekilli could, of course, have referred to neither of these. For reasons which will presently appear, I think the Big Black is the stream meant.

7.—The King of Mountains.

One might suppose, from his description, that Chekilli had seen or heard of a volcano; but his language is more probably to be understood largely metaphorically; and the mountain as the "Hill of Heaven."

It is a striking analogy, that both Choctaw and Chickasaw legends refer the origin of their

civil and social regulations to instructions acquired during their residence at a certain Mountain. The Creeks, as we see, call this Mountain, the King of Mountains, *rvne-em-mekko*, or *ekenelee-em-mekko*, the latter from *ekene*, land, which may also mean, world; and the compound is translated by Mrs. Robertson "World or land-king;" and she adds that it is a common expression. The Choctaws and Chickasaws called the Mountain, *nanih waiya*, the stooping or sloping hill.

At this place, they agreed in saying, they learned the properties of the sacred plants, the use of fire, the laws which governed their Confederation and their social life, and such instruction in religious rites and medicine, as the Supreme Being deemed necessary for them. Some legends, indeed, distinctly declared that they were originally created at this mount; and that it was the first part of the earth to emerge from that state of moist chaos, which they hold was the primal condition of things, and which they express by a word now applied to clotting blood, or other similar gelatinous mass. Fortunately their memory served them to locate definitely this venerable elevation. It is in the present State of Mississippi, on the Big Black-river; and is represented to be a very large tumulus, seemingly of artificial origin, connected with the bluffs, a half mile distant, by a high causeway. This is, undoubtedly, as I have elsewhere shown, the same mount which figures in Muskokee tradition—See *Myths of the New World*, 226.

The three Nations whom they met at this point, were the Chickasaws, Atilamas, and Obe-kaws, as we learn later. Other traditions state that the whole Chahta-Muskokee Tribes were one Nation, divided into two clans, and first separated into several distinct nationalities, at this Mountain. This is probably the signification of the text.—See Wright, as above.

8.—*Wahalle*.

From Muskoki, *wa-hle*, the South. The four cardinal points are here connected with the four colors, as they were in Central American and Mexican symbolism.—See my *Myths*, 80. They correspond to the four visitors, who brought fire from the four cardinal points, mentioned in Colonel Hawkins's version; and called, by his informant, the *Hi-you-yul-gee*, a cabalistic word, the plural form of *hi-yo-yu*, a charm or invocation, constantly repeated in their sacred chants.

The word for fire given by Hawkins, *tote-kit-cau*, is from *tot-ke*, fire, *etke*, kindled. This element was regarded by all these tribes, with great veneration. The Choctaw songs call fire, *hashtali iticapu*, eldest son or mate of the sun; and they

avoid discreditable deeds before a fire, saying it will tell them to the Sun.

9.—*The restless pole*.

The pole is mentioned in all the legends of this cyclas. The Choctaws said that when they left the far West, they were guided by a prophet, who carried in his hand the *hobuna*, or sacred bag containing charms, and a long white pole. At every encampment, he planted the pole firmly in the earth, and suspended to it the bag. If, the next morning, the pole was found upright, it was to be the sign that their long journeying was terminated, and that they had reached the seats destined for their permanent abode; but if it was leaning, then they must go forward in the direction it pointed. Every morning, the pole was found inclining toward the East, until they reached *nanih waiya*, where it remained upright; and its "restlessness," as Chekilli called it, was quieted. This they recognized as the sign that they were to live in that region.—Rev. Alfred Wright, as above.

The Chickasaws related that they also were guided by a pole, with no mention of a prophet, which pointed constantly the way they should go. At length, the pole rested in that part of Alabama, South-west of Huntsville, formally known as the "Chickasaw Old Fields."—Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes*, i., 309.

The Creeks still carry with them, when they go to War, the pole, or the War-pole, *etosse*; and Bartram speaks of it as always erected in their town squares. In their sacred dances, they still flourish, as I am informed, the *etossehake*, or image of the pole.

10.—*The Sacred Plants*.

Mrs. Robertson has taken pains to ascertain for me precisely what these four plants are, and their correct names; *Passe*, is the button-snake-root; *Eryngium aquaticum*, an active emetic; *Mekko hoyneer* (king purger?) is a variety of willow, probably *Salix candida*; *Sowacko* is described by old Creeks, as an herb about three feet high, with blue flowers, about an inch in length, having a root with a bitter taste. Hawkins says "it has the effect of intoxicating and mad-denying;" (p. 78) *esse* or *osse lupocke*, (leaves small) is a small tree found in Georgia.—Hawkins calls it *itch-au-chu-le-puc-pug-gee*; and translates this long name "the old man's tobacco." (P. 77).

11.—*The Busk*.

This solemn festival was held at the time the green corn became old enough to be fit for use. It commenced with a fast of several days duration, whence the name *poskete*, fasting, from *pos-ke*, to fast, corrupted into *busk*. Colonel Haw-

kins, in his *Sketch*, gives a full description of the interesting ceremonies which took place at this time. By the whites, it was often called "the green corn dance," as saltation was a conspicuous feature in the ceremonies. It is referred to by Laudonniere, who visited the coast of Georgia, in 1562, under the name *toya*.

12.—The Four Tribes.

The fourfold division of the Muskokee Tribes dates from an ancient epoch, and is referred to by several writers; but there is a discrepancy in the names assigned the divisions. The text gives;

Cussetaws.
Chickasaws.
Atilamas.
Obikaws.

Colonel Hawkins differs in one name:—

Cussetuh.
Chickasaw.
Cowetuh.
Aubekuh.

"*Atilamas*," is, I think, a mistake for "*Alibamas*," the name given by the French to a Tribe of the Upper Creeks, and from which the State of Alabama derives its name. *Cowetuh*, *Coweta*, or as spelled by the Spanish, *Caveta*, was a later designation; and is probably the Uchee word, *cohuita*, man or people. The Uchees lived a short distance below the town of Coweta, on the Flint river.

Mr. Mitchell, a former Indian Agent, gave Mr. Gallatin the divisions, as follows:—

Cussetah.
Cowetah.
Tuckawbatchie.
Osooche.

Transactions American Antiquarian Society, ii., 95. This, however, must refer to the Lower Creeks only, as none of the Upper Creek towns are represented.

It is an important observation, that, in both Chickilli's and Hawkins's divisions, the Chickasaws are mentioned as an integral part of the Muskokee, as it illustrates the unity of these tribes, in early times.

13.—The Eagle.

The Creeks, of to-day, venerate the Eagle, *lvnhe*, and regard it as the King of Birds. At the celebration of the *posketv*, they erected a wooden image of it.

When Tomo-chi-chi was presented to the King of England (1734) he held forth several eagle feathers, and said: "These are the feathers of the Eagle, which is the swiftest of birds, and flies all around our nations. These feathers are a sign of Peace in our land; and we have brought them over to leave with you, O! King, as a sign of everlasting Peace."—Jones's *His-*

torical Sketch of Tomo-chi-chi, Mico of the Yamacraws, 64.

The red rat is a figure of speech as difficult to decipher as the famous *rothes Mäuschen* in Goethe's *Walpurgisnacht*. In Muskokee, rat is *cesse*, red, *cate*.

14.—Coloose—hutch.

I am informed that this is not a Creek word. It is, I think, a false orthography of *Tuska lusa hatche*, from Choctaw, *tuska* warrior, *lusa*, black, Mus. *hatchi*, creek; and the reference is to the river, still known as the Black Warrior, or Tuscaloosa. This they had now reached, in journeying eastward, from the upper waters of the Big Black.

15.—Pursuing an easterly course they reached *Cusa*, *Coosaw*, or *Coça*, a famous town, visited by De Soto, in 1540, and the "objective point" of the ill-starred expedition of Tristan de Luna, in 1559. It was situated on the left bank of the river of that name, in northern Alabama. The word is not Muskokee, but probably Choctaw. Hawkins's version speaks of it as the ancestral residence of the Obikaws, which conflicts with the text.

16.—*Man-eater or lion*—literally, *este papv*, people-eater.

This voracious, and probably mythical, beast, figures extensively in Muskokee legends. His bones are still carried with them on their war-trails, as *horre holesov*, war-medicine. The tradition is briefly given by Hawkins (*p.* 79.) as in the text.

These bones were mingled with the fragments of the horn of the horned-snake, likewise a mythical animal. The Creek name of this serpent, *chetto yhubbi*, is remarkable for its similarity to the generic term for a poisonous snake in the Cakchiquel of Guatemala, *chitakyagobi*—*Diccionario de la Lengua Cakchiquel*, MS. in the library of the American Philosophical Society.

No known animal bears either of these names in the Creek tongue, to-day; and they are probably personifications of natural forces, the exact meaning of which can no longer be recognized.

17.—Seven days.

The seven-day period, several times repeated in this legend, is worthy of notice as being one of the few instances among the American aborigines, where any sacredness is attached to this number, so conspicuous for the religious associations which surround it, in early Aryan and Semitic mythology. The Quichuas of Peru, according to Garcilasso de la Vega, were accustomed to alternate in performing services in their temples, every seventh day.

18.—*Ouatunka*.

They had now left the Coosa, and journeying South of East, were approaching the Chattahoochee. The Watunka, from Mus. *u-ee*, water, *temko*, rumbling or falling, is the main branch of the Uchee-creek. *Aphoosa pheeskaw* means "the barked sapling."

19.—*Moterell*.

This is not a Creek word, and the reference is unintelligible.

20.—This river was the Chattahoochee, a name from the Mus. *celto*, rock or stone, and *heche*, marked or pictured, so called from some rocks, curiously stratified, found near the falls.

21.—The town of the Palachucolas was on the right bank of the Chattahoochee, four miles below the confluence of the Uchee-creek.

22.—The Coweta town was on the right bank of the Chattahoochee, three miles below the Falls. The Cussetaw town was on the left bank, a few miles farther down stream.

23.—In this last paragraph the symbolic character of the white path is disclosed. Adair remarks of these Indians: "White is their fixed emblem, of peace, friendship, happiness, prosperity, purity, and holiness."—*History of the North American Indians*, 159.

It is important in attempting to follow Chek-illi's meaning, to bear in mind the well-understood symbolism which the tribes he represented attached to different colors. They had definite meanings which often served in place of an alphabet or an interpreter.

[CONCLUSION.]

No doubt there are elements foreign to the Chahita in the language spoken by the Mukokee. But there is also so strong a similarity in verbal and grammatical forms, that the near relationship of these Nations, in ancient times, does not admit of question. The legend which I have here produced goes back to that almost forgotten period when the separation had not taken place. We learn from it, the historical fact that bands of Chahita, under the collective name, Cussetuh, or Eastern People, led the migration from beyond the Mississippi, certainly long before the Columbian era; and following the fertile river bottoms, drove out, destroyed, or absorbed into their own nationality, various tribes previously possessing those regions. By these changes, their language acquired many foreign elements; but their energy and superior skill retained for the Chahita the pre-eminence their valor had achieved, and in time gave them the control of the numerous tribes, affiliated for

the greater part with themselves, which, in later times, were known as the "Empire" of the Upper and Lower Creeks.

As there is independent evidence, which it is needless to rehearse here, showing that the Apalaches and the Caloosas of Florida were also Chahita in language and blood, we have satisfactory proof that, from West of the Mississippi to the Atlantic shore, and from the Mountains to the Gulf, this tribe, the Chahita, controlled the whole territory. When, therefore, we find that they distinctly retained reminiscences of a journey from the West or the South-west, to the abodes they occupied when first visited by the whites, (1540) the inquiry as to where was their previous habitat becomes one of no little importance in the ancient history of America, and one which we may venture upon with fair hopes of success.

VIII.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.]

REV. THEODORE PARKER AND WASHINGTON. —I recollect a strange thing I once heard with my ears, which sounded like, and was regarded by the press as, a reflection against the purity of Washington's moral character.

I had never heard, nor even seen, the Rev. Theodore Parker, though he was so prominent a man and so frequently before the public eye, when, in the Winter of 1858-9, I read the announcement of a lecture on John Adams, by Theodore Parker.

I determined to hear it; and though the inclemency of the weather seemed to forbid the lecture to be delivered on the evening appointed—the snow having fallen so deep as to stop the horse-cars, and still falling and drifting—yet the evening papers announced that the lecture could not be deferred for the weather, Mr. Parker's engagements to repeat the same in other places allowing no other night for its delivery in Tremont Temple.

The audience was small. The lecture was not all that I expected from an eminent historical scholar, on the greatest of New England men. Too much time was given to anecdotes of the courtship of John Adams, and affairs of domestic and perhaps original interest. The passage relating to John Adams's defence of the soldiers indicted for the massacre of the fifth of March, 1770, was worthy of the noble subject, and gave many particulars which those who lately set on foot a celebration of the

hundredth anniversary of that event ought to have heard: it would have saved them from a mortifying back-down. John Adams was taunted with having been paid for his defence of the soldiers. He answered the charge with sneering contempt, and showed exactly how little he received. When Vice-president, he wrote to his wife, "Here I am in the most insignificant office God ever allowed a man to hold."

Mr. Parker at length came to the summing up of the character of John Adams, and reached these remarkable words,—the emphasis which he gave on each of which may be a measure inferred from the comparative size of the types: "John Adams was never *false* to **MAN** or **WOMAN**! and that is *more* than can be said of **WASHINGTON HIMSELF**."

These last words were uttered in a voice rising louder and louder to the last, which was almost a shriek. Mr. Parker paused with exhaustion, or to await the effect of the words. There was a quick motion in the audience—a rustle—then a looking round to see the impression on others—a few seemed between a laugh and a gape—their mouths opened like a cave or a slash in a fat ham, but no merriment played at the corners, no sudden flush of gaiety in the face.

Mr. Parker resumed his summary in a low voice, broken by a hacking cough; and the next day it was announced that Reverend Theodore Parker was unable, from the state of his health, to fulfil his engagements to repeat the lecture. *He never again addressed an audience; but went to Europe for his health, and died.*—Boston Correspondence of *The Salem Gazette*.

THE CARDIFF GIANT HOAX EXPOSED.

LETTER FROM THE MAN WHO CUT THE BLOCK.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE *Chicago Tribune*:

That statement made in the *Tribune*, about one week ago, that the "Cardiff Giant" was manufactured in Chicago, is true. One of Mr. Volk's workmen and myself cut it out of a block of gypsum, in a barn, near Lincoln Park, during the months of July, August, September and October, in 1868. George Hull, one of the former owners of the figure, made an arrangement with Henry Salle, who is employed by Mr. Volk, and myself, to cut out a statue; and he agreed to pay us either one hundred and fifty dollars or allow us a share in the money derived from exhibiting it, after being dug from the earth. We concluded to take the cash; but he has never paid us. Salle received forty dollars; but I did not get one penny. As Hull has not carried out his part of the agreement, I do not think it right for me to remain quiet

any longer; but think the swindle should be exposed.

When Hull came to us, he said he had a block of gypsum, which he had obtained from Fort Dodge, Iowa, and that it was in a barn, near the Park. Salle and myself took our tools to the place and worked at it whenever we had an opportunity; sometimes two days in a week, and on Sundays. We had a model about three feet long. Beer was supplied, and there was no necessity for leaving the place, while at work, for a drink. The stone, I was informed, was furnished by a man named Martin, who is at present interested in the giant. It was about eleven feet in length, four feet wide, by three thick, and worked nicely; did not crumble as some stone does. The figure was pronounced complete in the latter part of October. Hull came occasionally to see how the work progressed. Hair had been carved on the head and a beard on the chin. Hull did not like this, when he saw it, and said he would see about it. When he came, the next time, he told us that he had consulted with a geologist, and was informed that hair would not petrify. So he ordered it to be clipped off; and we shaved the giant.

Several ways were tried to make the figure look old, and, at last, one was invented. Quite a number of needles were placed in lead, with their points protruding, and the figure was pricked over with this. Two days were occupied in this work, as the chisel left marks on the stone which had to be effaced by this slow process of pricking. Some vitriol, sulphuric acid, and English ink were next procured and rubbed, which gave the antiquated look required. Hull thought, at first, it would be best to put on a clay covering, but concluded it had better not be done, as the clay where the statue was to be buried might be different. He was undecided where to bury it at first, and suggested Mexico. I told him I thought that would be a good place; but finally concluded not to take it there, as the distance was so great.

A box was obtained of a man who makes sashes and doors, on North Clark-street, just South of the entrance to the old City Cemetery. How to get the figure into the box puzzled Hull; but we hit upon a plan which was successful. A derrick was erected; bands were placed beneath the head, legs and body; and when raised to a sufficient elevation, the box was shoved underneath, and the giant was in it in a few moments.

During the course of the next week, a truck was engaged, and the box taken to the Michigan depot. It went over that road, so I was told, and was buried, how or by whom I do not know, on Newell's farm.

Hull, at one time, proposed that we should insert in the figure here and there petrified pieces of wood or stone, so that when geologists called to see it, he could clip off a piece and give it to them to examine. This, however, was not done, as he could not find the pieces.

The figure is well proportioned, in all parts except one, and that is the back. The stone was made up of layers; and while working on the back, one of them got loose and had to be taken off, leaving the thickness of the body six inches less than it should have been.

Hull was in Chicago about two weeks ago, and told me he had sold his interest, and had received notes therefor. Salle and I wrote to Martin about it; and he replied that Newell, another interested party, had the notes and had run away with them. We wrote to Hull and asked him why he had deceived us, and have not yet received an answer.

The beams of which we made the derrick are now in the yard, near the barn; and the bands are in my possession,

If Hull, or the parties now in possession of the giant, deny the truth of what I say, Salle and myself are willing to make affidavit that the facts given are true. Affidavits of other persons who are familiar with the circumstances connected with the making, will also be procured, and the gaint proven to be what it is, as every intelligent person knows—a humbug and a swindle. Respectfully,

F. MOHRMANN.

No. 146 North Water-street.

CHICAGO, Feb. 10, 1870. *Chicago Tribune.*

SHOO FLY!

This ludicrous yet popular song with the masses, and which is on the lips of nearly everybody, is quite old, having been sung by the negroes of Georgia before the War. It is well known that a fire engine bore the name of "Shoo Fly," in Savannah, as far back as 1856, having derived its name from this simple and senseless song. As a matter of curiosity to hundreds who have had the chorus ringing in their ears, on every hand, for several weeks past, we give the words of what may truly be termed the song of the period:

"I think I hear de angels sing,

"I think I hear de angels sing,

"I think I hear de angels sing—

"De angels now are on de wing.

"I feel, I feel, I feel—

"Dat's what my mudder said:

"De angels pouring 'lasses down

"Upon dis nigger's head.

"CHORUS: Shoo, fly! don't bodder me!

"Shoo, fly! don't bodder me!

"Shoo, fly! don't bodder me!

"Shoo, fly! don't bodder me!

"I belong to Comp'ny G.

"I feel, I feel, I feel;

"I feel like a morning star!

"I feel, I feel, I feel,

"I feel like a morning star!

"I feel, I feel, I feel,

"I feel like a morning star!

"If I sleep in de sun, dis nigger knows,

"If I sleep in de sun, dis nigger knows,

"If I sleep in de sun, dis nigger knows,

"A fly come sting him on de nose.

"I feel, I feel, I feel—

"Dat's what my mudder said:

"Whenever dis nigger goes to sleep,

"He must cober up his head.

"CHORUS: Shoo, fly! don't bodder me etc."

We find the following in our exchanges about the authorship of this song. The Philadelphia *Ledger* informs its readers that Charleston now claims the authorship of the "musical gem," to which a correspondent signing himself "Co. K." in the Bethlehem *Times*, replies:—"The above paragraph brought to my memory some facts which may prove, to a certainty, that Charleston, S. C., may justly lay claim to the origination of the above song. The facts are these: while the Forty-seventh Regiment P. V. were quartered in the city of Charleston, in 1865, I was a clerk in the Provost Marshal's Office, under Major Levi Stuber, of Allentown. The Provost Guards were quartered at the Pavilion Hotel, corner of Hazle and Meeting-streets, in which hotel I heard the history of 'Shoo Fly.' One evening, an old colored woman, whom we called 'Aunty,' came in to sell peanuts. The guards were whistling and singing 'Shoo Fly,' or some parts of it, when old Aunty went up to one of them and said: 'Master, you must not sing dat song, dat *am a bad song*; for her spirits won't rest.' This very naturally excited my curiosity; and, in reply to my question as to who that *spirit* was, she told in substance the following story: When the Union prisoners-of-war were quartered in the Race-course, in Charleston, it was her habit, with other colored friends, to take food to the starving Union men. One day they were caught throwing some corn-bread over the enclosure; when the rebel guard ran his bayonet through her friend's breast. While she lay, dying, under a blazing sun, myriads of flies swarming over her, she uttered, 'Shoo fly, don't bodder me, for I am goin' to h—l.' These words were set to music by a

"young colored man who lived or worked on East Bay-street, Charleston. This, Mr. Editor, was old 'Aunty's' story of 'Shoo Fly;' and "I have no doubt it can be verified by others "belonging to the Forty-seventh Regiment, "either in Easton or Allentown."—*Doylestown Democrat*.

IX.—NOTES.

AMEDA.—In Cartier's account of his voyage, 1535, he speaks of a tree by this name, having marvellous curative powers, but does not attempt to identify it with any tree known to him or his fellow voyagers.

In Mr. Parkman's valuable *Pioneers of France*, (p. 195) he says "the wonderful tree seems to "have been a Spruce." But in Hakluyt's *Voyages*, Edit, 1600, (pp. 227, 234) it is said to be the "Sassafras;" a tree well known to have been in demand, on European shores, for sanative purposes, in early days.

The word is otherwise written by different authors—*Annedda*; *Hanneda*.

BRUNSWICK, ME.

B.

PRIVATEERING IN 1748—121 YEARS AGO.

[From the *Boston Evening Transcript*, Jan, 24, 1854.]

A friend at the State House has loaned us a copy of the *Boston Evening Post*, printed August 29, 1748, by T. Fleet, at the Heart and Crown, in Cornhill—the building designated is now standing, and is occupied by Mr. B. H. Greene, 124 Washington-street, corner of Water.* This paper contains a letter from Captain Isaac Freeman, Commander of the *Bethel*, Frigate, to his owners, in Boston, dated at St. Johns, in Newfoundland, August 1, 1748. It is characteristic of the universal Yankee Nation, for shrewdness, bravery, and daring; and we give it entire. Well might the Spanish Don have said that he "was "jockeyed out of a prize," when he was captured by a Yankee Captain, in a small vessel armed with fourteen guns and six wooden ones, with a crew of thirty-seven men, when he himself was Commander of a man-of-war, carrying twenty-six guns with one hundred and ten men, and having a cargo valued at three hundred thousand dollars. Captain Freeman's letter is as follows, which we copy as accurately as modern type will give it:

"My last was from *Leghorn*, of the 9th of *April*, to which I refer, and have now to add, "that we sail'd from thence the 10th. On the

"16th, we took the *St. Joseph*, a Pollaca Pink, "from *Salonica* for *Marseilles*, laden with Tobacco, which we carried with us to *Cagliari*, "and after performing Quarantine, sold her for "5000 Dollars. We had her condemned at "Port-Mahon.—The 10th of *June* we left "Gibraltar, and the 19th, in Lat. 36. N. off the "Isle of *St. Mary's*, we met with and took the "*Jesus Maria* and *Joseph*, a Spanish Register "Ship, Don *Antonia de Borges*, Commander, "from the *Havanna* for *Cadiz*, with 110 Men "and 25 Guns. Her Cargo we are at loss to "know the Value of, as the papers were all "hove over-board; but, by the best Account we "can get, when she left the *Havanna*, it was "valued at 300,000 Dollars: We have found "on board her, in Specie, 171,000 Dollars, and "her other Cargo is *Cocheneal*, *Snuff*, *Hides*, &c. "We having such a vast Number of Prisoners "to secure, and both Ships to Man, and only "37 Men and Boys on board, were obliged to "put into *Fyal*, where we have been most barbarously used, as imprisoning my self and "People, attempting to force our Prize from us, "&c. In short, must defer Particulars till I have "the Pleasure of seeing you, which hope will be "in a short Time. We left *Fyal* the second of "*July*, very poorly mann'd as you may easily "judge, and arriv'd here the 28th. We have "apply'd to the Judge of Admiralty to condemn "the Ship, and hope the Affair will soon be determined.

"P. S. The Particulars in taking the Ship "are as follows. At 6, P. M., made a Sail, to "which we gave Chase, and as we were standing partly towards each other, soon found her "to be a large Ship. She took in her small "Sails, and hall'd up her Courses, &c. as getting "in a Posture to engage us; but we not regarding that, she soon made all the Sail she could "pack, in order to get from us; but we having the Heels of her, over-hall'd her a pace, "and the Night, tho' very dark, was not able to "conceal her from our Sight.—At 12 at Night "was along-side, when, after a Serenade of "*French Horns*, *Trumpets*, &c. demanded from "whence she came, and whither bound? when, "after a few Equivocations allowable in such "Cases, as pretending to be from *Suranam* for "*Holland*, &c, she answer'd she was from the "*Havanna* for *Cadiz*, at which we gave them a "Chear, and order'd her Boat and Captain on "board immediately. He begg'd we would "stay till Morning, as his Boat was large and "leaky, but we threatened him with a Broadside " (which he much feared) when he comply'd. At "Day-light, we had the last of the Prisoners "secured, who were ready to hang themselves "for submitting, when they saw our Strength, "having only fourteen Guns, besides six wood-

* This building has since been taken down and a new building has been erected on its site, which is occupied by the Erie Railway. The estate adjourns that where the *Boston Journal* is now published.—J. W. D.

"en ones; and you may easily imagine we had "Care and Trouble enough with them, till they "were landed at *Ityal*."

This is, perhaps, the only Instance since the War began, of so stout a Ship's being taken by so small a Force, without firing a Gun; and the *Spanish Don* may truly be said to have been jockey'd out of a Prize worth the best part of an hundred thousand Pounds Sterling, by the Courage and Art of an honest *New-England Man*.

The Art of fighting, each Commander's Care, Lies not in Strength, but Stratagems of War.

J. W. D.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH.—This Society was established in Baltimore, May 25th, 1843. Rev. Doctor Schmucker was called to the Chair; and Doctor E. Keller acted as Secretary. The object of the meeting was stated by Doctor Passavant. A Constitution was then proposed and adopted. The object of the Society was declared to be: "To make a collection of the published writings of Lutheran Ministers and Laymen in America, whether original or translated; to procure, as far as possible, the Minutes of all the Synods, from their organization, the printed proceedings of all Special Conferences, Church Councils, and other ecclesiastical Conventions, together with regular files of the periodicals, published under the patronage of the Church; decisions in Chancery; Charters of corporate institutions; Constitutions of individual Churches; legal reports relative to Church property; and, in general, to collect all publications, manuscripts and facts, that tend to throw light on the history of the Lutheran Church, in this country." It was, also, determined, that the regular meetings of the Society should be held at the time and place of the Conventions of the General Synod. The Library of the Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, was selected for the keeping of the Historical collections.

The first officers of the Society chosen were: S. S. Schmucker, D. D., *President*; J. Bachman, D. D., LL.D., and H. L. Baugher, D. D., *Vice Presidents*; W. A. Passavant, D. D., *Corresponding Secretary*; C. P. Krouth, D. D., *Recording Secretary*; W. M. Reynolds, D. D., *Treasurer*; M. Jacobs, D. D., *Curator*.

A discourse, by some one previously appointed, has usually been delivered during the Conventions of the General Synod. The following gentlemen have so far officiated:

S. S. Schmucker, D. D., in 1845, on *The Patriarchs of the American Lutheran Church*.

W. M. Reynolds, D. D., in 1848, on *The Early*

History of the Swedish Lutherans, in America.

C. F. Schaeffer, D. D., in 1853, on *The Present transition state of the Lutheran Church, in the United States*.

George Diehl, D. D., in 1857, on *The Practical Influence of Religious History*.

M. L. Stoever, LL.D., in 1862, on *The Fathers of the Lutheran Church, from Halle*.

J. G. Morris, D. D., in 1864, on *The Literature of the Lutheran Church, in the United States*.

S. W. Harkey, D. D., in 1866, on *The History of the Lutheran Church, in Illinois*.

H. N. Pohlman, D. D., in 1869, on *The German Colony and Lutheran Church, in Maine*.

The present officers of the Society are: *President*, S. S. Schmucker, D. D.; *Vice Presidents*, J. G. Morris, D. D., S. Sprecher, D. D., H. N. Pohlman, D. D., H. Ziegler, D. D.; *Corresponding Secretary*, M. L. Stoever, LL.D.; *Recording Secretary*, W. D. Strobel, D. D.; *Treasurer*, J. A. Brown, D. D.; *Curator*, C. A. Hay, D. D.

The next meeting of the Society will be held during the Convention of General Synod, at Dayton, Ohio, in the year 1871. The speaker selected for the occasion is F. W. Conrad, D. D., of Philadelphia.

GETTYSBURG, PA.

M. L. S.

"STONEWALL."—This cognomen, so appropriately bestowed upon the distinguished Confederate General, was, by a curious coincidence, given to an Indian Chief, more than two hundred years ago. In the *Archæologia Americana*, ii, 1836, in the article on Gookin's *History of the Christian Indians*, p. 440, we find, in a foot-note, the following passage: "It would seem, according to the author of *Letters to London*, that he had been taken prisoner by the forces under Major Talcot; for, after saying that they had killed the old Queen, Quaiapen, and Stonewall John, the writer goes on," etc.

RICHMOND, VA.

T. H. W.

MRS. BETSEY THOMAS.*—The venerable triad, which has long led the advanced guard of our aged native citizens, is broken; and its youngest member, after an affectionate and happy union of more than ninety-six years, has gently part-

* This interesting and important article is particularly so to us, because the writing of it was the last literary labor of our honored friend, the late Hon. WILLIAM WILLIS, of Portland, Maine.

It was printed in *The Press*, published in that city, on Tuesday, the fifteenth instant, [February 15, 1870.] the day before his own death; and only a few hours before his decease and among the closing actions of his honorable life, was the particular interest which he took in directing the transmission of a copy of the paper containing it, to our address.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

ed the chain and ceased to be. The two elder members, at ninety-eight and a hundred years, still keep on their way, calmly awaiting the good Providence which, having ever attended their steps through the century, will kindly remove from them, in its own time, the burdens of accumulated years, and reunite them, in perpetual youth, among the angels of light.

This is one of the most extraordinary cases in the history of longevity. The three I speak of, are the oldest children of Peter Thomas, who was born in Boston, in 1745; came to Portland, several years prior to the Revolution, to pursue the trade of a sailmaker; and died here, at an early age of fifty-two, in 1797. In 1769, he married Kerrenhappuck Cox, daughter of John Cox and Sarah Proctor, a grand-daughter of Anthony Brackett, a descendant of the earliest occupants of this Neck, now Portland. She survived her husband more than forty years, and died at the age of eighty-nine, in 1838. The marriage produced eleven children, all of whom but one survived their father, and four only their mother, viz: the three above-mentioned, and Hannah, the mother of our friend, Charles Rogers.

But, among these general characteristics, which are not without interest to our elderly readers, there is one, more extraordinary still, and that is that these children are lineal descendants of *two* of the most prominent victims of that Satanic tragedy which occurred in Salem Village, in 1692, by which twenty innocent victims were ruthlessly and remorselessly hurried out of the world, by this diabolical witchcraft delusion. John Proctor, the ancestor of Mrs. Peter Thomas, the family we are describing, was executed for witchcraft, at Salem Village, August 19, 1692; his son, Samuel, was the first immigrant of the name who came to Portland; his daughter, Sarah, married John Cox, by whom he had Kerrenhappuck, the subsequent wife of Peter Thomas, and mother of the remarkable children I am describing.

On the father's side, Elizabeth, daughter of the Rev. George Burroughs, who was executed at the same time and place with Proctor, married George Thomas, the first immigrant of his family, from Wales to Boston. Peter Thomas, father of these children, was her grandson; and thus, in these children, are united the blood of two of the most worthy victims of that ferocious tragedy which has left its "damned spot" on the fair escutcheon of New England, which will never "be out."

I will stop one moment to speak of another peculiar fact, which is characteristic of this remarkable historic family. Mr. Peter Thomas was a grandson of Anthony Brackett, who, at one time, owned and occupied nearly the whole of what is now Bramhall's-hill. He was a de-

scendent, in a direct line, from George Cleeves, who, in 1632, was the first occupant and settler of the Neck, now Portland, under the original Proprietor, Sir F. Gorges. Cleeves's only daughter married Michael Mitton; and two of his daughters, Mary and Ann, married Thomas and Anthony Brackett, brothers, who thus inherited immense tracts of land at the West part of this City and in Westbrook, which remained in their families to the close of the last century. What remarkable historic facts concentrated in this single race!

The Rev. George Burroughs was a man of education and respected life. For several years, he was a popular preacher on this Neck. Driven off, in 1676, by the first Indian War which destroyed the Town, he returned with the settlers, about 1680, and preached to the people, in a Meeting-house which stood where the Portland Company's works are. When the second utter overthrow of the Town took place, in 1690, he sought refuge in Salem; where, within two years, he found savages more savage than the wild natives of the forest, and came to an untimely end.

Miss Thomas, the respected subject of our rambling thoughts, has sat under the preaching of every settled Minister of the First Parish, on the Neck, since the death of her great ancestor, Burroughs; and there was less than thirty-five years between his death and the ordination of our good Parson Smith, his successor. She has, therefore, enjoyed the society of the whole series of the Ministers, since the revival of the Parish; has lived through the whole history of the Town, since it formed part of a British Colony, and of the Nation, since it became a Nation; has seen the wonderful changes which free institutions have produced, not only in our own country, but in the blessed influences they have impressed upon the world, in their benignant sway. What a privilege for an intelligent mind to have passed through such a hundred years of grand developments, not only in the institutions of civil, social, and political life, but in those of Art, Science, Literature, History, and, beyond all these, of *Humanity*. Here are three members of one family who have walked leisurely through these eventful years, in their native Town, with open eyes, watching the progress of men and things which have walked along beside them. They were part of the times. The life of our deceased friend has been a brimmer; it has had a continual sparkle. She had a bright, buoyant temperament; and the lights were always superior to the shadows. She was happy in the society of her elders, and her agreeable conversation and perpetual cheerfulness made them happy; she was fond of reading, and her memory not only retained the seed-thoughts which

were dropped in her path, but those which were gathered up by the personal observation of ninety years; and she had the gift of applying them, with an apt and ready wit, in her intercourse with her friends. One of these friends, of thirty-five years standing, observed to me that "her mind was richly stored with long years of attentive reading, and her conversation was always profitable as well as entertaining." By those fine qualities she made herself agreeable in any society; and, while by her presence she added graces to the life that now is, she never forgot that there is another life of higher charms and nobler possessions than any which this can bestow, and which will adorn with new graces and richer beatitudes, those who have attained the highest regards of this. She acted upon the fact that most of the shadows that cross our path, in life, are caused by our standing in our own light. And now, as we bid farewell to this time-honored object of our respect, we must not fail to turn back to the dear and loved companions with whom she has affectionately and tenderly walked through the years of her long life, and whose abrupt parting is the breaking of a heart-cord. Your turn must soon come; you cannot choose when; you move mistily through these bright shadows; you did not choose the time to come into the world; you cannot select the time when you will be taken out of it; it is for you to make the most and best of what remains of life, by patience and a calm submission to the movements of a Providence which you cannot control and to which you must submit; and prepare yourselves to receive, with serenity, the uncertain but blessed decree which shall lift from you the pains, the vicissitudes, and the trials, which no man who has once visited the world can escape or avoid:—

"Let this be the burden of the heart,
 "The burden that it always bore;
 "We live to love; we meet to part;
 "And part to meet on earth no more;
 "We clasp each other to the heart,
 "And part to meet on earth no more."

W.

X.—QUERIES.

GENERAL McCLELLAN AND THE WAR.

When the history of the Rebellion shall be written, Major-general McClellan will hold a foremost place in its pages. His merits as a commander, will then be decided by his management of the Campaign on the Peninsula; and the historian must then answer these questions:

FIRST.—With the means at his command and his universally conceded superiority in numbers, was it a proof of skill, on his part, to permit the

Confederate Army to remain within sight of Washington, during upwards of six months, without a single attempt to dislodge them?

SECOND.—Is not ample evidence forthcoming, that when the two advance Corps of the Army of the Potomac arrived on the Peninsula, the Confederates were so little prepared for their approach, that Yorktown might have been taken by a *coup-de-main*, with but slight opposition?

THIRD.—Had General McClellan been present on the field of Williamsburg, during the action of the fifth of May, thus insuring accord amongst his subordinates, is it not probable that the repulse of the Confederate Army would have been turned into a total rout?

FOURTH.—When the Confederate Army retreated up the Peninsula and across the Chickahominy, was there any reason whatever why General McClellan should not have immediately followed it over that stream?

FIFTH.—Was it not an unpardonable blunder to divide his Army in twain by a river which might, at any period, become so swollen as to render one portion of his command utterly powerless to assist the other?

SIXTH.—Did he display common foresight, humanity, or generalship, in drawing his lines around the City of Richmond, in a region notorious throughout the country as one of the most unhealthy of the South?

SEVENTH.—Were his enormous parks of artillery of any service to him throughout the Campaign?

EIGHTH.—Did he make use of his Cavalry, except during the retreat?

NINTH.—Commencing with the Battle of Williamsburg, the first on the Peninsula, and closing with the last, that of Malvern-hill, did not General McClellan persistently imperil the safety of his Army by leaving the conduct of the several actions to his subordinates, never appearing on the field, until the close of the engagement?

TENTH.—In discussing the question whether General McClellan were properly reinforced by the War Department, will it not be necessary first to inquire whether he made good and sufficient use of the means already at his disposal?

ELEVENTH.—Did General McClellan use the Army of the Potomac as a weapon with which to crush the enemies of the Union, or as a tool wherewith to build up a sectional political party, thereby seeking his own personal advantage?

Will the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE please answer these queries, now?

D.

GENERAL TAYLOR AND CAPTAIN BRAGG.—The old story of General Taylor's order to the celebrated artillerist, "A little more grape. Captain Bragg," has been declared to be apocryphal,

by one who professes to know: please inform me what is really *known* on the subject?

BRONXVILLE, N. Y.

DICK.

BATTLE OF QUEENSTOWN.—Where can I find a complete and accurate description of the Battle of Queenstown, in which Captains Armstrong and Wool are said to have successively commanded?

BRONXVILLE, N. Y.

DICK.

DID HE DO IT? General Grant is said to have said, on a well-known occasion, he would "fight it out on this line, if it takes all Summer:" without questioning the accuracy of the statement referred to, *did he do it?* Did or did not General Grant change his "line;" and "fight it out" on an entirely different one from that which he occupied when he is understood to have made the promise which I have quoted above?

BRONXVILLE, N. Y.

DICK.

XI.—REPLIES.

FIRE SWOBS, IN BOSTON. (*H. M.*, II., vii, 52.) You will find in Mr. Drake's *History and Antiquities of Boston*, (page 334)—the evident origin of the scrap, on this subject, which you re-produced in your last number—pretty much all that can be said on the subject.

The use of "swobs" is easily explained. In swaby Boston, of 1650, the houses did not exceed a height that required a pole longer than that mentioned in your extract; especially if the person using the swab stood upon the head of a barrel or other similar article.

BOSTON.

D.

PEACH-TREES ON THE FORTIFICATIONS AT PETERSBURG, VA., (*H. M.* II., vi, 248).—The exaggerated accounts, written by the correspondents of Northern newspaper-men, give very incorrect ideas of this and many other vestiges of the late sectional War. So far from there being "a grove of trees, forty miles long, loaded with fruit," the only peach-trees which exist along the whole line of entrenchments around Petersburg, are to be found near the scene of the explosion of the mine, fired by the United States forces, and which has gone by the name of the "Crater," ever since. The trees do not number more than fifteen or twenty; and, being the growth from stones planted by accident, in 1864, have not yet borne fruit.

It may not be amiss to add, what is not generally known, that out of about eight or ten miles

of earth-works, erected by the Confederates, to protect Petersburg, and which extended around the city, from the Appomattox-river, in the form of a semi-circle, only about one-third of them remain; and this on the eastern side; where there was little or no fighting. The rest have been leveled by the negroes, since the cessation of military hostilities, who dug into them to obtain the leaden balls, which were in great demand among the junk-dealers—a class of merchants unknown in Richmond and Petersburg, until the advent of the Union Army. It is a remarkable fact, that hundreds of negroes made a living by the sale of lead there obtained, for nearly three years after the War.

We may also add, that, although no remains of the Confederate works exist, save at the Crater, on the eastern side of the city, there is still to be seen miles of works, with palisades or chevaux-de-frise, which were erected by General Grant, to protect his rear from the attack of the raiding parties who had previously rendered that portion of his Army uncomfortable, at least.

RICHMOND, VA.

T. H. W.

ROBERT SANDEMAN. (*H. M.* II., vii, 51, 52).—This article was copied entire, by the *Transcript*, to which you have credited it, with slight omissions and a few variations of style, from Mr. Drake's *History and Antiquities of Boston*. In that sadly underrated and unpaid-for volume—pp. 686, 687—you will find a more ample account of the Sandemanian Church than in the re-hash of it, in the *Transcript*.

Walford Butler was the last of the Society, here, as his daughter informed me. She was living here as lately as 1828, or thereabouts; but she subsequently moved to New York, and died there, soon after her removal. She carried on the millinery business.

BOSTON, MASS.

BROMFIELD.

JANE MCCREA (*H. M.*, II., vi., 364, 365).—In reply to the Query of your correspondent, Isaac Smucker, in the *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, I would say that, in the *Galaxy*, for January, 1867, there is given a long and detailed account of the Jane McCrea tragedy, which, as I have reason to believe, contains the true and connected history of that event.

WM. L. STONE.

"TURN TO THE LEFT AS THE LAW DIRECTS." (*H. M.*, II., vi., 365).—In some of the Southern States, the old-country custom still prevails, of "turning to the left."

NEW YORK CITY.

R. B.

XII.—BOOKS.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

[Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HENRY B. DAWSON, MORRISANIA, N. Y.," or to MESSRS. CHARLES SCRIBNER & Co., Booksellers, 654 Broadway, New York City, as shall be most convenient for them.]

A.—PRIVATELY PRINTED BOOKS.

1.—*A narrative of the wonderful escape and dreadful sufferings of Colonel James Paul, after the defeat of Colonel Crawford, when that unfortunate commander, and many of his men, were inhumanly burnt at the stake, and others were slaughtered by other modes of torture, known only to savages.* By Robert H. Sherrard. Printed for J. Drake. Cincinnati: 1863. Octavo, pp. 22.

This very neatly-printed pamphlet purports to be descriptive of the sufferings of a body of volunteers, from Fayette and Washington-counties, Pennsylvania, who, under Colonel Crawford, in the Summer of 1782, moved from Red-stone Old Fort, now Brownsville, Pennsylvania, for the purpose of checking the Sandusky Indians and of destroying the Indian settlement at Upper Sandusky. This expedition, numbering four hundred and eighty-two men, was badly defeated, on the sixth of June; and small parties of the fugitives wandered through the wilderness, exposed to the merciless and enterprising savages; and the greater number perished. In one of these parties, James Paul sought to return home; but, of the five composing the party, he alone escaped, and that only by what seemed to be an almost miraculous out-running of those who pursued him.

In this tract, we have what purports to be Colonel Paul's own narrative of both the origin and history of the expedition and his own escape. It is brief, simple, and unadorned; seeming to correct some of the errors which have possibly prevailed, concerning the objects of the expedition; and adding, it may be, to the scanty supply of material for a history of the West, what is both interesting and important. There cannot be too many additions to our local history, of such works as this seems to be; but we know nothing of either its origin or its character for reliability.

2.—*Sketch of the Life and Character of John Lacey, a Brigadier General in the Revolutionary Army.* By W. W. H. Davis, A. M. Privately Printed. 1863. Octavo, pp. 118, (Appendix) 6.

It was our duty, as a writer of the military history of our country, several years ago, to look into the records of the Battle of the Crooked Billet—now called Hatborough;—and, subsequently, we were favored with the personal friendship of the venerable Doctor William Darlington, the son-in-law of the commandant in that affair and, we believe, the custodian of his papers. At that time, we were taught to regard, with unusual respect,

the manly virtues of the Quaker General from Pennsylvania, as well as his good qualities as a soldier; and a close perusal of accurate copies of his remaining papers, placed in our hands by the Doctor, threw new light on some points of much misrepresented history.

It seems that, in 1861, our respected contemporary and friend, WILLIAM W. H. DAVIS, Esq., the gallant Colonel of the One hundred and fourth, Ringgold, Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers, conceived the excellent idea that the memory of General Lacey and that of his companions in arms who fell at the Billet, should be no longer allowed to remain unrecognized by a monumental stone; and, in order to relieve the State of that ground for reproach, an Association was formed, at Hatborough and its vicinity; subscriptions were collected and a Fair was organized by the ladies, with complete success; a piece of ground, in the upper part of the village, was purchased; a fit monument, some twenty-four feet in height, was erected; and, on the fifth of December, in that year, the memorial was dedicated, with appropriate ceremonies.

At that time, and it may be as an auxiliary to other forms of labor which were required in the collection of funds for building the monument, General Davis gleaned, from the family papers and from other sources, the record of the life, and character, and services, of General Lacey, and published it in "a popular Magazine of the day;" and, as a graceful finish to his patriotic labors, in the handsome volume before us, he has re-produced that record, with an Appendix, descriptive of the monument and of the services with which it was presented to the world.

The narrative of General Lacey's life and services is carefully written, in this little memoir; and his character is estimated, from the testimony afforded by the papers and from the opinions of those who were his contemporaries, at no more than its true value.

The story of the Battle of the Crooked Billet, as it is given in this volume, is very minute and exceedingly well told. The author adopts the American date, (*May 1, 1778*) rather than the English (*May 4th*) with evident propriety; and, he follows Stedman, in describing the route of Simeoe, as the *New York-road*, instead of the *York-road*—correcting our doubt on the subject, in our *Battles*—also, we suppose, correctly.

The great minuteness with which the localities of the revolutionary era, connected with this affair, have been described by General Davis, makes this portion of the volume peculiarly important, as an evidently reliable authority on the subject; and this volume will be sought for, for that reason, by all who examine the history of that period with closeness and fidelity.

The proof-reader, or the compositor, or both,

have sadly marred the beautiful pages of this volume, by leaving several typographical errors uncorrected : with that exception the volume is a very handsome one.

3.—*History of the Hart Family, of Warminster, Bucks County, Pennsylvania.* To which is added the Genealogy of the Family, from its first settlement in America. By W. W. H. Davis. Privately Printed. 1867. Octavo, pp. 139, (Genealogy) 20.

Although not, strictly speaking, a recent issue from the press, we notice this work for the benefit of such of our readers as are interested in genealogical pursuits.

The Hart family, to whom it relates, was from Witney, in Oxfordshire ; emigrated, in the persons of John and Mary, son and daughter of Christopher, probably in company with William Penn, in the Summer of 1682 ; and settled at Byberry. They were Friends ; and John was a member of the first Assembly, representing Philadelphia-county. He married a Rush, who was also a Friend ; but, in 1691, he severed his connection with Friends ; became a Keithian preacher ; and was active and influential in the new connection. When, by the defection of their leader, the Keithians dissolved, John Hart united with the Baptist Church at Pennapeck ; and the family seems to have been generally of that denomination of Christians, from that time to the present. The distinguished Oliver Hart, Pastor of the Baptist Church at Charleston, was a grandson of the founder, John ; and others of the family have been eminently useful, as office-bearers in the Churches at Pennapeck, Southampton, etc.

This volume is not a mere genealogy, but a *history* of the family and, to some extent, of the Baptists of Pennsylvania ; and its diligent author has shown great skill in the management of his very intricate subject.

As a mere memorial of a family which has been very prominent, in each of its successive generations, both as Baptists and as citizens—not unfrequently also as soldiers—this volume is an exceedingly important one ; but its importance is increased from the fact that it occupies no unimportant place, too, as illustrative of the local histories of both Philadelphia and Bucks-counties.

It is very handsomely printed.

4.—1820. 1870. *Semi-centennial of The Providence Journal, January 3, 1870.* Providence: Knowles, Anthony, & Danielson. 1870. Octavo, pp. 20.

“The Golden Wedding” of *The Providence Journal*, on the third of January last, afforded an opportunity to those concerned, to review the Past ; to relate the story of the ups and downs of its half-century life ; to re-call the recollec-

tions of old “boys ;” and to take a fresh start, on the journey of life.

This tract submits that review, tells that story, and revives those recollections. The small beginnings of that influential newspaper are described in its pages ; and the steady progress to power, of *The Journal* and its conductors, are duly noticed. The first Editor of the then penny sheet, the venerable William E. Richmond, Esq., furnishes some *Notes on the early History of the Journal*—such as only he could have written ;—and the accurate pen of the Rev. E. M. Stone sends out the closing paper of the series, in a careful description of *Providence, fifty years ago*.

All these papers probably appeared in *The Journal*, before they were sent out in this form ; yet we must say that the proprietors of that fine printing-office and prosperous journal have taken to themselves very little credit by the issue of this tract. The occasion, the importance of the subjects of the several papers, the care with which those subjects were handled, and the importance to those who shall come after us of the materials for history which they contain, one would have supposed, should have induced Knowles, Anthony, & Danielson to afford a respectable dress for them : as it is, they have been thrown into a large, double-columned pamphlet, part “leaded” and part “solid,” which would have reflected no credit on either the skill, as a workman, or the liberality, as a young man of taste, of their very youngest apprentice, after a six-months probation in their office. Such freaks of printers, like other monstrosities, are unaccountable.

The intrinsic value of the contents of this tract are not affected by this strange peculiarity, however ; and Providence has nothing, in the record which it displays, at which she may blush, except the unaccountable disrespect displayed by her well-supported journalists.

5.—*Memoir of Hon. Daniel P. King.* By Charles W. Upham. Read at a meeting of the Essex Institute, held on Monday, April 19, 1869. Salem, Mass.: Essex Institute Press. 1869. Octavo, pp. 51.

Mr. King was a native of Danvers, and was widely and honorably known as a prominent Whig politician and as a Representative in the Congress of the United States, from Massachusetts. He was born to wealth ; knew none of the cares and anxieties which the greater number of young men are subjected to ; was carefully educated ; occupied a large farm, which he married, and enjoyed the proceeds of others which he inherited ; was sent to the General Court and to Congress ; discharged, with credit, the official duties which devolved on him, without unmaning himself by his personal misconduct ; and everywhere exhibited, without being brilliant, a

character for honesty and strong common sense, which is as honorable and as useful as it is uncommon.

Mr. Upham has carefully recounted the various events of Mr. King's well-spent life, in a well-written memoir, and it has been printed in this form, separate from the Institute's Collections, for private circulation.

Like all that comes from the Institute's Press, it is well printed.

6.—*Appeal to the President of the United States for a Re-Examination of the Proceedings of the General Court Martial in his Case.* By Maj. Gen'l Fitz John Porter, with accompanying Documents. Morristown, N. J.: 1869. Octavo, pp. iv, (unpaged) 64.

Reply to the Rejoinder of Maj. Gen. John Pope to the Appeal of Maj. Gen. Fitz John Porter, for a re-examination of the proceedings of the Court Martial in his Case. Morristown, N. J.: 1870. Octavo, pp. 10.

In these two tracts, evidently printed for private circulation, General Porter has presented, in dignified but earnest words, his plea for a re-examination of the proceedings of a General Court Martial which, in 1862, pronounced him guilty of grave Charges and sentenced him "to be cashiered and to be, forever, disqualified from holding any office of trust or honor under the Government of the United States."

We confess that we have never been fully satisfied with the propriety of this judgment; and we should still desire to know more of the subject before we could fully assent to it, in all its parts. The high character of the accused and of those who were under his command, the unquestioned character and ability of those whose adverse testimony is presented in these tracts, and the peculiar terms of the sentence inflicted, indicate, too clearly, that there was something in the case which the great eye of the public was not permitted to look on; and it seems to us that, if for no other reason than to correct the evidently invalid sentence of the Court—than which no sentence has ever been more evidently invalid, in law, nor more certain to be reversed by the Courts of the United States, if it shall ever come before them—such a re-consideration of the case as has been asked might be not only just but expedient.

The pamphlets are very neatly printed.

7.—*Local Law in Connecticut, historically considered.* By William Chauncey Fowler, LL.D. Boston: 1870. Octavo, pp. 22.

This is a historical examination of the settled policy of Connecticut, in support of the local against the pretensions of a national law; and its excellent author has traced that policy through her history, from the beginning until the close of the War of 1812, and exhibited the steady

opposition, by that State, to a centralization of power, in a central Government.

It is very carefully written; was partly read before the Historic-Genealogical Society, in Boston, in December, 1868; and is re-produced, in this form, for private circulation, from *The Historical and Genealogical Register*.

8.—*The Composition of Indian Geographical Names, illustrated from the Algonkin languages.* By J. Hammond Trumbull, President of the Connecticut Historical Society. From the *Connecticut Historical Society's Collections*, Vol. II. Hartford. 1870. Octavo, pp. 51.

In our last number, (pp. 47, 48,) we presented to our readers a specimen of the great extent of Mr. Trumbull's information concerning the languages of the American Indians; and in this neat pamphlet we have a still more extended specimen of his wonderful knowledge on that subject.

To historical students, our recognition of Mr. Trumbull's peculiar scholarship, both in early New England History and in the Indian languages, will not be fresh information, since the learned President of the Connecticut Historical Society is as well known among them, and as highly regarded, as the best of that little party; but those who are not of that tribe may credit us when we say that we know of one on whom we should more implicitly rely, on all matters on which he pretends to possess knowledge, than on the learned and liberal author of this tract.

In this tract, which seems to be composed of one of the papers contained in a forthcoming volume of *The Connecticut Historical Society's Collections*, Mr. Trumbull analyzes, with great particularity, the structure of Indian geographical names, displaying the origin of many of the well-known local names throughout the Union, and bearing testimony to the better taste of our "savage" predecessors, who never cursed their country, as we have done our country, by giving meaningless and, therefore, inappropriate names to their towns, rivers, and other localities.

The paper is a monument to Mr. Trumbull's patient industry as well as to his extended knowledge of the Indian languages; and it will be welcomed by all who are at all interested in that class of studies.

The pamphlet is a very neat one; and the edition numbered only fifty copies.

B.—PUBLICATIONS BY SOCIETIES.

9.—*Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, for April and May, 1869.* S. l. s. a. Octavo, pp. 1-99.

....., for June, July, and August, 1869. S. l. s. a. Octavo, pp. 99-142.

....., for September, October, and November, 1869. S. l. s. a. Octavo, pp. 143-158.

The venerable Society whose published *Pro-*

ceedings, during eight months, are above referred to, have adopted the excellent plan of issuing them in parts, from time to time, instead, as hitherto, of waiting two years for the completion of a volume. In this, it has done well; and if this sensible movement could be extended to other portions of its management and to the general management of many other Societies which pretend to be more practical than this Society desires to be, it would be a public blessing. We rejoice that so good a beginning has been made; and hope it will not end here,

The parts before us contain a journal of a trip from Plymouth to New York, in 1789; the Annual Reports of the Officers of the Society; memoirs of Hon. Levi Lincoln and Isaac P. Davis; and a variety of other papers of great historical interest, besides the record of the Society's doings, at its various business meetings.

The typography, undoubtedly done by Wilson, is excellent.

10.—*The Capture of Ticonderoga, in 1775.* A paper read before the Vermont Historical Society, at Montpelier, Tuesday, October 19, 1869. By Hiland Hall. Montpelier: 1869. Octavo, pp. 32.

Our venerable friend, Governor Hall, has kindly sent to us a copy of this paper, prepared by him in response to "a few historical writers in 'New York City,'" especially to Mr. De Costa's essay on the subject, published in the *Galaxy*, several months since.

If we except several flings at Mr. De Costa and at New York, which we hardly expected from Governor Hall, we find nothing else in this paper than the old faded green cloth, turned, patched with some of the same piece, and reformed into a Vermont cloak, very well adapted to cover this portion of Vermont's really unprotected historical nakedness.

This matter of Ethan Allen and Ticonderoga is nothing more nor less, after all, than a question of History; and it is to be determined only by evidence, which in its turn, shall be tested by all the recognized standards of authority. Rhetoric, and claptrap, and personal attacks on writers who differ, and sneers at those who happen to live in another State, may serve a purpose among those who love to be ignorant rather than be just, if that justice shall be awarded at the expense of State pride; but they will not remove nor even shake a single fact, nor will they make him a hero or a patriot, who was, in reality, only a blusterer, a thief, and a traitor.

In this paper, Governor Hall admits, flatly, that the idea of the movement against Ticonderoga did not originate in Vermont; that the Vermontese made no movement toward such capture, until they were hired to do so, by the sub-committee from Hartford; that that Committee con-

trolled the movement—as it should, since it paid for it—and that Allen was subordinate to its authority. He does not tell, however—how unjustly we will not say—where this Hartford Committee was originally started nor at whose inspiration; nor does he say—he may know why—that when the expedition moved against Ticonderoga, Benedict Arnold was the only person present who bore a military Commission from Connecticut—he was Captain of her Governor's Guard—at whose cost and under whose nominal authority, if under any, this very movement was made.

But we do not propose to enlist in the controversy; and, with the single additional remark that we regret that Governor Hall has not examined this subject with more candor and disinterestedness than we find in this paper, we close the volume.

It is very neatly printed, by Poland, at Montpelier.

11.—*Essex Institute Historical Collections.* Volume X. Part I. Salem: Essex Institute Press. 1863. Octavo, pp. 104.

The *Collections* of the Essex Institute have ever been distinguished for their importance to students of American history; and the part before us is equal in importance to any which has preceded it. It opens with Mr. Upham's memoir of Mr. King, which we have elsewhere noticed; and a paper by Mr. Rantoul, on *The Port of Salem*, and the *Diary of Rev. Joseph Green, of Salem Village, 1706-1714*, close the volume.

Typographically considered, this is a handsomely-printed volume.

12.—*Historical Sketches of the Disciple Churches in Licking County, Ohio*, being *Pioneer Paper* No. 53. of the Licking County Pioneer Association. By Jacob Winter, Esq. Newark, O.: 1869, Octavo, pp. 7.

In a recent number of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, we noticed The Licking County Pioneer Association and its several publications; and the tract before us is No. 4, of its *Pioneer Pamphlets*. It contains a brief sketch of each of the Churches of Disciples—Campbellites—which are seated in or near Licking-county, Ohio; and, as a "local" and as an instrument for elevating the taste of Western readers above the mere trash which overflows the country, it deserves encouragement.

It is the work of a country printing-office; and is not particularly handsome, as a work of art.

13.—*Address of Hon. Abel Rawson, before the Seneca County Pioneer Association, November 6, 1869.* Tiffin, O.: 1869. Octavo, pp. 12.

We do not know who this Mr. Rawson is, but

we have never read a better Address nor one which was better suited for the occasion which produced it.

It is a most graphic description of North-western Ohio, as it was when civilization first approached it; of the original settlement of that country; and of its gradual progress to greatness; and it closes with one of the most interesting of domestic pictures—a portrayal of pioneer every-day life, from morning until night, in the course of which *The Cotter's Saturday night* of Burns is admirably matched in a description of the frontier's-man's evening, in his humble log-cabin, in the West.

Such an Address is the product of no ordinary man; and we shall be glad to learn more of him and see more of his writings.

14.—*Bulletin of the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society* Vol. I, No. 1. New York, December, 1869. Octavo, pp. 8.

This is the initial number of a new work, issued by a young Society, probably for the purpose of introducing itself to the public.

It relates the history of the Society and its doings; re-produces its Circulars; records the names of its Officers and Members; alludes to the significance of American Genealogy; notices several books, announces other yet unpublished; etc.; and is very well calculated for the purposes of its publication.

Both the Bulletin and the Society which issues it have our best wishes for their complete success.

15.—*A Sermon preached at the dedication of the Second Congregational Meeting-House, Keene, N. H., on Thursday, September 16, 1869.* By Rev. C. L. Woodworth. Boston: Rand, Avery, & Frye. 1869. Octavo, pp. 19.

This Church is peculiarly organized and peculiar in its workings. *First: The Church*, proper, constitutes the Society; and none, therefore, who are not *professed* Christians, at least, have any voice in any portion of its management. *Second: All monies necessary for its support are raised by contributions*; and there are not, therefore, either begging Sermons or begging Deacons in the place of worship. The Lord is not jostled by the World, within his own house; and those who go there to worship are not reminded, while there, of the littleness and meanness of their neighbors, by the rattle of the coppers or the nickles which they drop in the circulating church-plates. Boxes are placed in the vestibule; and each gives freely, without the influence of others, as he or she shall be disposed to give. *Third: Every thing is free*; and there is, therefore, no hesitation, on the part of any one, to go there and to stay there until the close of the services.

This peculiar system pleases us. It comes up, as nearly as may be, to our notions of what a Church should *be* and what a Church should *do*—notions, we admit, which preclude much worldliness within the Churches; but, nevertheless, notions which are warranted by the teachings of the Savior, as we understand them.

Nor has this Church found any trouble in practically carrying out these ideas. Not an appeal for money has ever yet been made from the pulpit; yet there is not, there, any trouble in raising money. There is no Church in the State, in proportion to its assessed wealth, which has given as much for benevolent purposes, during the three years of its existence; and the Meeting-house and all its properties were paid for before they were dedicated. "The poor come, too, and evidently feel at home;" and, as far as we can see, the great ends for which Churches were originally established are carried out, with more than usual fidelity.

The Sermon before us is an excellent one; well adapted to the purposes for which it was prepared; and well calculated to do good.

We commend the example of this Church to those who, elsewhere, are faint-hearted, time-serving, and idle.

16.—*Review of Ministry in Windsor.* Farewell Sermon, preached in the Congregational Church, Windsor, Vt., Sabbath Morning, September 26, 1869. By Rev. E. H. Byington. Windsor: 1869. Octavo, pp. 16.

This is a very interesting Sermon, whether because of the contrast which it enables us to exhibit of the old style and the new style, as seen at Keene and Windsor, respectively; or as a record of the local church history of Windsor; or as a most touching rebuke of coldness in church matters, by one who was then retiring, a victim of neglect.

Indeed, we do not remember an instance where in our sympathy has been more freely extended to a stranger than it was to this retiring Pastor, while reading his Sermon, now before us; and we hope the words of parting, overflowing with kindness, yet without concealment of his past sufferings, will enter deeply into the hearts of his hearers, and effect a change where a change is so much needed.

As a "local," merely, this tract is important; and collectors of such material for history will do well to secure copies.

17.—*The American College.* An Address before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Marietta College, June 29, 1869. By Rev. Israel W. Andrews, D.D. Marietta, Ohio: 1869. Octavo, pp. 22.

This Address is on "Higher Education;" and it treats of matters in which the great body of our countrymen has no practical interest.

We are tired of hearing, over and over again, in this form and in that, about this "higher Education." Why not tell us how those whose inevitable destiny it is to *labor*, shall be taught how to make that labor more productive at the same cost; how to produce the same or greater results with less labor than their fathers could; how to be better workmen, more intelligent in the every-day concerns of their lives, and better fathers and mothers, at home? All this preaching about "higher education" will do very well where men have no necessity to *work* for a living, either at the plow-tail, or at the work-bench, or at the desk, or at the tiller; but it is mischievous, as it commonly goes, and should be heard less frequently among those in whose minds and every-day life it too often breeds discontent, disturbance, and ruin.

18.—*Catalogue of the Officers and Students in Marietta College*, 1869-70. Marietta, Ohio: 1869. Octavo, pp. 20.

The title-page indicates the character of this tract.

19.—*Proceedings of the Vermont State Historical Society, October 19 and 20, 1869*. Montpelier: Poland's Steam Printing Establishment. 1869. Octavo, pp. 15, 32, 15.

This record of the proceedings of the Society contains nothing of unusual interest; but there are appended to it, the paper of Governor Hall, on the capture of Ticonderoga, hereinbefore referred to, and the Eulogy on Rev. Pliny H. White, the lamented President of the Society, which was pronounced by our friend, Henry Clark, of Rutland.

Of the paper by Governor Hall, we have already spoken, in another place: of that by Mr. Clark, we need only say that it is an appropriate and acceptable tribute to the memory of one of the most zealous and best-informed of historical students, and one of the most respected of Vermont's sons.

The pamphlet is a handsome one.

20.—*Bulletin of the Essex Institute*. Vol. I. Nos. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. Salem: May-September, 1869. Octavo, pp. 73-128.

Few associations in the country are more actively employed and more honorably fulfil their mission than The Essex Institute, of Salem; and there is no one which deserves more from the earnest student and the steady citizen.

In the *Bulletin* before us, are articles, well-written and valuable, on the *First Houses in Salem*, a *Notice of the Temperance organizations in Salem*, and *The Fire Clubs* of that City, besides a record of the proceedings of the Institute.

The *Bulletin* is well printed.

21.—*Manual of the Grand Army of the Republic*, containing its Principles and Objects together with Memorial Day in the Department of Michigan, May, 1869. List of Officers, etc. Edited and Compiled by Comrade J. M. Cravath. Lansing: 1869. Octavo, pp. viii, 143.

This "Grand Army of the Republic" is like many others of that class—a political association, disguised by a cloak of assumed and exaggerated benevolence. Like the Tammany Society and the old Washington Benevolent Society, it professes to be organized for *charitable* purposes; but, like theirs, its charity ends there.

In the volume before us, we have an authoritative exposition of its "Principles and Objects," as far as they are allowed to be published; and there are appended to it a record of the proceedings, in various parts of Michigan, on what is known as "Memorial Day," when the "Army" commemorated, on the thirtieth of May, 1869, the deeds of its fallen comrades.

As an interesting memorial of the professed objects and of the doings of one of the controlling political associations of the time, this volume will be quite as important, in days to come, as it is now.

It is printed without any regard to typographical excellence; and it is quite an ordinary affair.

22.—*Two Sermons preached Fifty years from the Building of the "New Meeting-house," for the First Church, Dedham, January, 1870*. By Jonathan Edwards, Pastor. Published by Request. Dedham, Mass.: 1870. Octavo, pp. 22.

"The First Church, in Dedham," was organized in 1639, and embraced within its territorial jurisdiction, some twelve or fifteen modern Towns, where, to-day, there are probably not less than fifty churches, actively engaged in the service of their Master.

In 1818, a dispute arose between the legal and the ecclesiastical Churches—between "the Society" and "the Church"—concerning a Pastor, which the former had employed; and, as the *legal* Church imposed upon the *ecclesiastical* Church a Pastor who was distasteful to it, by reason, evidently, of his heretical doctrines, the latter withdrew, carrying with it the *ecclesiastical* organization, but leaving behind it, the Meeting-house and the *legal* "Society."

The kernel of the nut having thus been separated from its shell, a new shelter was soon provided, on the opposite side of the street, where the Parsonage had stood; and, on the thirtieth of December, 1819, the "New Meeting-house" which it had meanwhile erected, was dedicated; and on the second of January, 1820, it was first occupied for stated Lord's-day worship.

In the very neat pamphlet before us, this transfer of the body ecclesiastical to its new house of worship, is duly commemorated; and the sub-

sequent history of the Church is very agreeably glanced at, in a survey of its leading departments and of those who have conducted them. There is, also, a very clear and very excellent exposition of the Faith of the Church, as distinguished, evidently, from that of the other Church, across the street, which seems to occupy the old Meeting house which was left behind; yet, there is not a single unkind sentiment, in any portion of the work. Indeed, with the antecedents to which we have referred, these Sermons may serve as models for dignified forbearance and Christain-like manliness, in this that while they assert, with boldness, the Truth, as it was understood by the preacher and the Church, there is no personal or ecclesiastical unkindness visible in them, toward any one.

23.—*Twenty-eighth Annual Report of the Ministry at Large, in the City of Providence*, presented and read at a Public Meeting held in the Westminster Congregational Church, Sunday evening, January 23, 1870. By Edwin M. Stone. Providence: 1870. Octavo, pp. 20.

We have, several times, already called our readers' attention to this excellent institution, in Providence, Rhode Island, and to the fidelity with which its Pastor, Rev. E. M. Stone, discharges his very important duties; and we need not return to the subject, in this place.

The volume before us is the twenty-eighth Annual Report of the Society; and it is evident, therefrom, that, during the year 1869, there has been no faltering, either by the faithful Pastor or by those whose support him.

24.—*Historical Discourse delivered at the Semi-centennial Celebration of Christ Church, St. Louis, On All-Saints' Day, 1869*, by the Rev. Montgomery Schuyler, D.D., Rector. St. Louis, Mo.: 1870. Octavo, pp. 85.

In November, 1819, a small number of Churchmen, residents "in the town of St. Louis, Territory of Missouri," organized the first Protestant Episcopalean Church, to the westward of the Mississippi; and, last November, the semi-centennial anniversary of that event was duly honored by the "Rector, Wardens, Vestry, and 'Congregation of Christ Church,' in that City.

The first Pastor was Rev. John Ward, and his first service was held in a small frame building, on the South-west corner of Second and Walnut-streets. Among those who thus associated were those who then were or subsequently became the first Governor of the Territory of Missouri, the first Governor of the State, the first Mayor of the City, the Surveyor-general, the Judges of the Supreme Court and of the Probate Court, and the distinguished Senator, Thomas H. Benton; but, eighteen months after, it was virtually abandoned by its Rector.

In December, 1825, the Parish was again as-

sembled, and, after many discouragements, it invited Rev. Thomas Horrell to become its Rector. In 1829, a new Meeting-house was erected; and, in 1832, Mr. Horrell was succeeded, after much delay, by Rev. William Chaderton, of Philadelphia. In May, 1834, the Church edifice was consecrated by Bishop Smith of Kentucky, now the Senior Bishop in the United States. In 1835, Bishop Kemper, then recently appointed Missionary Bishop for the States of Missouri and Illinois, succeeded Mr. Chaderton. In 1836, the Church edifice was sold and a new structure built; and, in 1839, the latter was consecrated. Bishop Kemper was succeeded, in 1840, by Rev. F. F. Peake; and, four years after, Bishop Hawks became the Rector of the Church. Mr. Schuyler succeeded the Bishop, in 1854; and still occupies that honorable post.

The history of this pioneer Church, in all its parts, is admirably told in this *Discourse*; and the precision of the narrative and its great minuteness will gladden the eyes of those who shall hereafter be called upon to look into the Church-history of the West; while their good taste will not be offended by the style in which it has been presented to the world of letters. In every respect, this *Discourse* reflects credit on the laborious Rector and on the Church of which he has the oversight.

As we have said, the pamphlet is a handsome one, being well printed on tinted paper, with old-style type—in all respects a credit to the mechanics of St. Louis who manufactured it.

25.—*Dedicatory Services of the New Edifice of the Third Presbyterian Church, of Pittsburgh, Penn'a.* With some account of the History of the Church, from its Organization, together with a full description of the present building and its appointments. Pittsburgh: 1869. Octavo, pp. 96.

The Third Presbyterian Church of Pittsburgh—an offshoot of the First Church of that City—was organized "early in the year 1833," with a membership of thirty-six persons; and, in June of that year, the Rev. D. H. Riddle was called to the pastorate. In August, 1834, its new Meeting-house—"the most commodious and beautiful Protestant place of worship in the City"—was dedicated. In October, 1857, Doctor Riddle resigned the pastorate and was succeeded by Rev. Doctor Kendall; in 1862, by Rev. Herrick Johnson; and, in February, 1869, by Rev. Frederic A. Noble, its present Pastor.

In June, 1863, the beautiful Meeting-house of this Church, to which we have referred, was entirely destroyed by fire; in June, 1866, the corner-stone of a new structure was laid; and, in November, 1868, the latter was dedicated, with appropriate services.

In the volume before us, the Church has re-

corded the interesting events of her history to which we have only briefly referred; and, in a *Historical Discourse*, by her first Pastor, in several independent papers, each more minutely illustrative of some special subject than Doctor Riddle's discourse could be—"The Old Church Building," "Alterations of the Old Church," "The Burning of the Old Church," "Laying of the Corner Stone of the New Church," "The New Church Building," "The Dedictory Services," and "The Organ," forming their respective subjects—and in the Dedictory Prayer and Sermon, all beautifully illustrated, there seems to be very little room for further enquiry on the subject.

But it is not alone in the literary character of this volume that there is evidently a master-hand, guiding the affairs of the Church. As a specimen of fine printing and neat binding, we have pleasure in looking at this elegant volume; and, among the local histories of Pennsylvania, it will continue to occupy a well-deserved place of prominence.

26.—*Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, at the Semi-annual meeting held in Boston, April 28, 1867. Worcester: 1869. Octavo, pp. 79.

....., at the Annual Meeting, held in Worcester, October 21, 1869. Worcester: 1869. Octavo, pp. 53.

In the first-named of these volumes, beside the Semi-annual Reports of Officers, we find a Report on the date of the Origin of Man, and an elaborate paper, by C. C. Jones, on the ancient Tumuli of Georgia, the latter illustrated with Maps: in the last-named volume, besides the usual Reports of Officers, we find an elaborate Report, by Professor Washburn, in which that distinguished pundit exhibits his littleness, in the most orthodox style.

These volumes form Nos. 52 and 53 of the Society's "Minor Publications;" and they are printed in the usual elegant style of its series.

C.—PUBLIC DOCUMENTS.

27.—*Report of the Commissioners on Equalization of the Municipal War Debts*. Augusta: Sprague, Owen, and Nash, Printers to the State. 1879. Octavo, pp. 29.

In our November number, of last year, we noticed the Public Documents of Maine, concerning the recent War; and here is an addition to the series.

In 1868, the Legislature of Maine, as it ought, took measures to reimburse to the towns the expenses to which the latter had been legitimately subjected, in raising the State's quota of men for the recent War; and this is the Report of the Commissioners to whom was referred that arduous and delicate duty.

It is fortunate for the cause of justice and for students of history that this Commission was ordered and appointed; and Maine is entitled to additional honor that such a Report as this can be made in her Capitol and be published to the world. It lifts one corner of the curtain which has hitherto concealed the most monstrous frauds; and it explains how one portion of the Union, controlled by members of one party, came out of the War with more showy records, and less debts, and less outlays of money, than did other portions of the same Union, which were controlled by members of the opposite party. It tells how "a strong Government" works; how a helpless people suffers when the sanctity of the written laws are allowed to be invaded; how the many are impoverished and the few fattened, when the law of "might" becomes the supreme law. It tells how "the mill of the Gods grinds," slowly but surely, for the vindication of the truth and the shame of falsehood and crime.

In Maine, thousands of "paper credits" were sold at four hundred and fifty dollars each, wherein the Towns were "credited" with purchased names of men, obtained from "an individual" who "made his appearance at the State Capital claiming to have come from Washington, and bringing in his pocket a long list of names, many of them quaint and unpronounceable by an American tongue, and others so very common as to be remarkable," after a faithful officer, who had refused to accept them, as men, had been removed and another substituted, who was less scrupulous about prostituting himself, in the service of infamy. There were, also, "naval enlistments" allowed on many quotas, of names which were openly sold by, among others, "one gentleman of some note and prominence in the State," the character of which names is too obvious.

The Commissioners have evidently attempted to do their whole duty; and they have generally succeeded. Their Report is an exceedingly important one; and, as an addenda to the record which we have already referred to, it will be welcomed by all who study the history of that period, with closeness and fidelity.

28.—*Message of Robert K. Scott, Governor of South Carolina, to the General Assembly, November 24, 1869*. Columbia, S. C.: 1869. Octavo, pp. 30.

A very creditable exhibit of the condition of the State; and very sensible suggestions for its further improvement.

How strange it is, that, in the Message of the Governor of "re-constructed" South Carolina, such a sentence as this is to be found, after so much has been said and done, within the past

few years, to contradict it: "*The State being sovereign, no action can be brought against it*" "to enforce payment of claims against it."—Page 5.

29.—*Digest of the Laws of New Hampshire, pertaining to Common Schools, with Decisions, Forms, and Statutes.* By Charles R. Morrison. Concord: B. W. Sanborn & Co. 1869. Octavo, pp. 57.

An exceedingly useful work, to those who live in New Hampshire and to those, out of that State, who are interested in Public Education.

30.—*Annual Report of the State Geologist of New Jersey, for 1869.* Trenton, N. J.: 1870. Octavo, pp.

This important paper contains a statement of the Geologist's work, during the year 1869, together with articles on, *First*, the Fertilizers found in the State, and the means of making them useful; *Second*, Marshes and tracts of lands subject to protracted freshets, which article is illustrated with four large maps: *Third*, the Soils of the State; *Fourth*, the Iron Ores; and, *Fifth*, the Fire and Potter's Clays.

The thoroughness of Professor Cooke, in his work, was seen in the elaborate Report which was published last year; and this little paper, therefore, especially in that portion of it which relates to fertilizers found in the State, possesses the highest importance to that class of her citizens who till the soil. It does not, however, neglect other interests in which she is largely interested; and the iron-master, and the potters, and the owners of waste lands, of which there are equal to one-third the area of the State, will find matters therein which merits their very careful consideration.

The Report is very neatly printed; and the maps, by Bien, are excellent.

31.—*Message of Governor Campbell to the First Legislative Assembly of Wyoming Territory, convened at Cheyenne, October 12, 1869.* Cheyenne: 1869. Octavo, pp. 12.

We notice this offspring of "the Far West," for its own sake. It is the *first* Message of the *first* Governor of Wyoming, to the *first* Assembly, of that Territory; and it contains, *First*, a sketch of the organization of what will very soon pretend to be a "sovereign" State; *Second*, a narrative of the principal events which had occurred there, when this Message was written, since its organization; *Third*, a description of the country, thereabouts; and, *Fourth*, an exhibit of its productive capabilities.

It will be seen that, one of these days, this little affair will inevitably become a pretty important "local."

It is pretty fairly printed, all things considered.

32.—*Roll of Honor (No. XX) Names of Soldiers who died in defense of the American Union, interred in the National Cemeteries at Corinth, Mississippi; Pittsburg Landing, Tennessee; and Jefferson Barracks, Missouri.* Washington: Government Printing Office. 1869. Octavo, pp. viii, 400.

....., No. XXII. Names of Soldiers who died in defense of the American Union, interred in the National Cemetery at Nashville, Tennessee. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1869. Octavo, pp. 324.

....., No. XXIV. Names of Soldiers who died in defense of the Union, interred in the National Cemeteries at Vicksburg, Miss., and New Albany, Ind. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1869. Octavo, pp. 224.

We have so often called the attention of our readers to this sad record, and the title-pages have so fully described the character of these particular volumes, that we have little more to do, at this time, than to notice their issue from the press and cite their titles.

We may be permitted to say, however, that No. XX. contains the record of the burials of nineteen thousand, four hundred, and thirteen bodies; No. XXII, that of sixteen thousand, four hundred, and eighty-five; and No. XXIV, that of eighteen thousand, three hundred, and seventy-five—each, as far as possible, described by name, Regiment, day of death, where originally buried, number of grave, etc.—and that they afford evidence of the jealous care which is exercised, in the collection and re-interment of the remains of our fallen soldiers.

33.—*University of Michigan. A General Catalogue of the Officers and Graduates from its organization in 1837 to 1864.* Ann Arbor: Published by the University. 1864. Octavo, pp. 40.

University of Michigan. Catalogue of the Officers and Students for 1868-9, with a general description of the University. 1869. Octavo, pp. 79.

These well-printed pamphlets tell their own story, by their own title-pages; and we need say little more about them.

Of the noble institution to which they refer, as little need be said, since it is as widely and as favorably known—and as justly so—as any similar institution in the country.

34.—*The School Laws of Michigan, with Notes and Forms: to which are added Designs for School-houses and styles of Furniture.* Published by Authority. Oramel Hoxford, Superintendent of Public Instruction. Lansing: 1869. Octavo, pp. 186.

In this volume, we have a collection of the Constitutional provisions and the Statutes of Michigan, concerning her State Schools; with running Notes, illustrative, in many instances, of the *utter disregard* of the demands of those *Laws*, by those who are in authority—a state of affairs which extends beyond Michigan, on other matters besides Schools, and with results, both present and prospective, which are any thing but

flattering to our integrity, as peoples, and every thing but promising to the Republic.

This compilation and commentary is followed by a series of Forms for all kinds of School papers; and that by Chapters on School Architecture and School Furniture, copiously illustrated with designs and plans for School-houses of all sizes and descriptions, and for School-furniture of every pattern—some, in the former case, which evidently originated in places where a correct taste was at a heavy discount.

The volume is a useful one to every instructor, either within or without Michigan.

35.—*Eighteenth Annual Report of the Trustees of the Free Public Library of the City of New Bedford*. Printed by Order of the City Council. New Bedford: 1870. Octavo, pp. 32.

An interesting Report of the operations of one of those "Public Libraries" which have been organized in various towns in New England, and which reflect so much honor on that portion of the Union, and are productive of so much good to the public, there.

36.—1869-70. *City Document. No. 2. Annual Report of the School Committee of the City of Providence*, June, 1869. Providence: 1869. Octavo, pp. 187.

We call attention to this Document only because it contains what we consider an admirable Report on the "Right and Duties of Parents, Teachers, and Pupils;" an elaborate plea in behalf of Public Schools,—included in which are historical sketches of Free Schools in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, and an elaborate account of the origin of Free Schools, in Providence—and a complete Catalogue of the Teachers and Pupils of the High School of Providence, from 1843 to 1869.

This volume is very handsomely printed.

37.—*Report on the Stockbridge Indians, to the Legislature*. By Charles Allen, Attorney-general of Massachusetts. Boston: White & Potter, State Printers. 1870. Octavo, pp. 23.

We have seldom seen a Public Document which has pleased us as much as this; and Mr. Allen certainly deserves credit from historical students, for his labors in this little piece of Indian history.

It seems that a body of men, representing themselves to be Stockbridge Indians, have been accustomed to foist themselves, once in a while, on the General Court of Massachusetts, for the purpose of obtaining grants of money; and, on the last of these raids, in March, 1869, the subject was referred to the Attorney-general, for his consideration and Report.

It seems that these Indians, so called, insist

that fraud was exercised against their ancestors, in the purchase of their lands; and they pray that an allowance of money may be made by the Commonwealth, in order that that stain may be wiped out. The learned Attorney-general, however, seems to differ from them, in his estimate of the facts; and in support of his particular view, he has entered, very elaborately and very carefully, into an examination of the history of these "Stockbridge Indians," of which we read so much, and of their intercourse with the whites, both in Massachusetts and elsewhere. He traces them, from place to place, from the earliest days of the Colony until now; and he certainly removes, as the case now stands, the censures which have been so liberally cast on the Commonwealth, by those who are using these Indians for the purpose of "raising the wind."

As we shall take early occasion to present some portions of this interesting Document to our readers—the best evidence we can give of our estimate of its value—we will not enter more largely into the subject, in this place.

38.—1869. *Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York*. Joseph Shannon, Clerk of the Common Council. [New York: 1870.] Octavo, pp. xvi, 896.

Like the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE and some other works of similar character, the *Corporation Manual* for 1869, is behind time; and this, notwithstanding the City Clerk has no fear of an insufficient treasury before him nor anxious creditors with unpaid bills.

A year behind its date and proper time of issue, the *Manual* is before us, however; reminding us, by its beauty and its portliness, of the growth of the work from the small beginning of 1841, the volume for which year can find a place, comfortably, in an ordinary vest-pocket, until now, when a small carpet-bag would be necessary to shelter the yearly issue.

It has grown in size, too, without deteriorating in quality, notwithstanding the supply of old maps and old views has, since 1841, been almost wholly exhausted; and we are pleased to notice some excellent features in this volume—evidently the offspring of Captain Twomey's matured judgment—which no one but an experienced artizan and one accustomed to handle such materials as are found in this work, might be expected to produce.

The ancient Charter of the City, critically copied from the venerable parchments, opens the volume, as it opened that for 1868; and the usual statistics of the City and a variety of smaller articles of interest to historical students follow, and fill the volume.

As a specimen of book-making, this certainly surpasses any volume of either the old or the

new series of *Manuals*; and we are pleased to witness such continued improvements in the successive issues of this very useful work.

D.—TRADE PUBLICATIONS.

39.—*Pocahontas and her Companions*; a Chapter from the history of the Virginia Company of London. By Rev. Edward D. Neill. Albany, N. Y.: Joel Munsell. 1869. Small quarto, pp. 32.

In this very beautiful little volume, Mr. Neill has reproduced the early records and authorities, concerning the little squaw, Pocahontas; and completely overturns the theory which prevails among the people, concerning her character and history; and he also overthrows the pretensions, resting on her name, about which we hear so much.

There is no doubt there was such a little savage as this Pocahontas; that she was neither more nor less than the other squaws of her day; that she frolicked, naked, as other squaws frolicked, with the men and boys among the English settlers; that she was picked up by one, Rolfe, an Englishman, who seems to have had a wife and family then living—she is said to have been married to him; but *where* or *by whom* does not appear—that she went with him to England, where he deserted her; and that she was about to be returned to Virginia, probably by the Company, when she died.

There is one feature, also, which is significant. Pocahontas evidently bore a child to this John Rolfe; yet the Parish Register of Gravesend, where she was buried, describes *what is said to have been her*, as "REBECCA "WROTHE, wyff of Thomas Wroth, gent." Now John Rolfe was so well known that there is little probability that his name would have been recorded, in Gravesend, as "THOMAS "WROTHE," had he been her legal husband; while the evident existence, at that time, of another Mrs. Rolfe, who went to Virginia in 1610, and was living, a widow, as recently as 1622, throws additional light on the subject.

We may safely say, then, that this young squaw was married at an early age, after the manner of her people and, probably, for an equivalent to her father, to an Indian, named Kocoum (*Strachey*;) was a lively, shameless savage, ready and willing to cohabit, adulterously, with Rolfe or any other person, and did thus cohabit with him and bore him a son; accompanied him to England, and was there abandoned by him; was considered a Princess, introduced to the Court, and, possibly, married, legally, to one Thomas Wrothe, whose love of the marvellous and of her royal blood had overcome what should have been his abhorrence of her wantonness.

If this Mrs. Pocahontas Kocoum was really Mrs. Pocahontas Rolfe, how could she have been Mrs. Pocahontas Wrothe, Mr. Rolfe being then alive, to say nothing of poor, abandoned Mr. Kocoum? and if Mrs. Kocoum bore a son to Mr. Rolfe, as a result of their evidently adulterous connection, wherein was the glory of having been a descendant of that little wanton, through this bastard, of which the Randolphs were wont to boast?

The volume, as will be seen, is a very important one; and as a specimen of book-making it is very elegant.

40.—*Lady Geraldine's Courtship*, by Elizabeth Barrett Browning. Illustrated by W. J. Hennessy. Engraved by W. J. Linton. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1870. Small quarto, pp. lv. 64. Price \$5.

The text of this volume is an old acquaintance, having been published, many years ago, and received by the reading public of that day with great favor: it is now re-introduced, in most elegant attire, as a holiday-book.

The wood-cuts, by Linton, are pronounced superior by those who claim to be judges, although they do not meet our expectations; but the typography of the volume is very fine, as every one must confess who will carefully examine it. Altogether, it is one of the choicest books of the season.

41.—*The Life of Joseph Addison Alexander, D.D., Professor in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, New Jersey*. By Henry Carrington Alexander. In two volumes. New York: C. Scribner & Co. 1870. Crown octavo, pp. (I.) xii, 1—480; (II.) viii. 481—921.

There have been few more learned, among the Clergy of America, than Joseph A. Alexander; and few have wielded a wider influence, at home and abroad.

In the two volumes before us, neatly but evidently very inaccurately printed, we have a well-written biography of this distinguished man. It is the work of an ardent admirer of Professor Alexander; and it deals gently and lovingly with the great peculiarities in that gifted man's character and manners—his extreme fondness for change and his consequent instability, both in his labors and his ideas—peculiarities which, in almost any other person, would have destroyed all his usefulness, both to himself and to others. It will be welcomed by a wide circle of personal and denominational friends, notwithstanding its typographical imperfections.

A number of Book Notices which we had prepared for this number are necessarily laid over for the next.

THE
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. VII. SECOND SERIES.]

MARCH, 1870.

[No. 3.]

I.—A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF
BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS RELATING TO
THE HISTORY AND STATISTICS OF
MAINE, OR PORTIONS OF IT.

PREPARED, FOR THIS WORK, BY THE LATE HON.
WILLIAM WILLIS, OF PORTLAND, 1869.

[INTRODUCTORY.]

At the time of the Separation of Maine from Massachusetts, in 1820, its literary condition was of a humble character. It had published few works of importance; and had produced a very limited number of authors. Its population was but two hundred and ninety-eight thousand. Some Sermons had been published, and numerous tracts on the subject of the Separation, which had begun to be agitated, soon after the Revolution. On the first day of January, 1785, the first newspaper published in Maine was issued from the press. In 1789, General Benjamin Lincoln, of Massachusetts, who was interested in Eastern lands, published a small quarto pamphlet, entitled *Observations on the Climate, Soil, and Value of the Eastern Townships in Maine*. Another quarto pamphlet, of forty-four pages, on the same subject, was published in 1793, with particular reference to bringing the two million acres of land purchased by William Bingham, of Philadelphia, into the market. In 1816, Joseph Whipple, of Bangor, published a pamphlet of one hundred and two pages, on the resources of the District, with statistical tables; and, the same year, Moses Greanleaf published a work of one hundred and fifty-four pages entitled *A Statistical View of the District of Maine; more especially with reference to the value and importance of its Interior*. This was a Separation document. There were, also, published in the *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, historical and topographical notices of several Towns in the District. And Samuel Freeman, the time-honored Postmaster, Clerk of Courts, Register, and Judge of Probate, had issued, toward the close of the last and in the early part of the present century, several du-

odecimo books of legal forms, which, for many years, were guides to the practise in the Courts, at a time when even elementary books were rarely to be found in the District; and, the year after the Separation, he did the State the good service of giving to the public, *Extracts from the Journal of the Rev. Thomas Smith*, under whose preaching he had sat for fifty years, during many of which he had been a Deacon of his Church.

But the most important work, and a really valuable one, was the *History of the District of Maine*, published in Boston, in 1795, by that indefatigable author and most distinguished man, James Sullivan, a native of Maine, a patriot of the Revolution, a distinguished lawyer, Attorney-general, Judge, and Governor of Massachusetts, whose busy and many-sided life, as civilian and politician, closed in 1808, while exercising the office of Governor of the State. Governor Sullivan commenced practice at Georgetown, on the Kennebec, a very insignificant Town; and when inquired of by a friend why he commenced life in so humble a station, he replied, "that as he had to break into the world, he thought he would begin at the weakest place." He was one of the founders of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and its President. Accustomed to travel the Circuit, in Maine, he improved every opportunity to collect materials for his History, from old witnesses, ancient documents used in the trial of causes involving titles, etc. The volume was accompanied by a valuable map, "drawn from the latest surveys, by Osgood Carlton," of Massachusetts, a map-maker of some repute in his day.

The other most considerable writers of the last century in Maine, were the Rev. Moses Hemmenway, D. D., of Wells, and the Rev. Samuel Deane, of Portland.

Doctor Hemmenway was graduated at Harvard College, in 1755, and commenced a ministry of over fifty years, at Wells, in 1759. He was an able controversial writer, maintaining the liberal side of Orthodoxy, with learning and candor. His published works were *Seven Sermons on the Obligation of the Unregenerate to Strive for Eternal Life*; a pamphlet on

the same subject, of one hundred and seventy-two pages, against Doctor Hopkins, founder of the Hopkinsian System; and another, in reply to Doctor Hopkins, of one hundred and sixty-six pages, a treatise on Baptism, an Election Sermon, and a discourse concerning the Church. All these were issued previous to 1793, and gave him an honorable reputation in New England, from two of whose Colleges, Harvard and Dartmouth, he received their honorary degree. He was the most learned theologian which had appeared in Maine. He died in 1811, at the age of eighty-four.

Doctor Deane was also a graduate of Harvard, in the Class of 1760; and was settled over the First Parish, in Portland, in 1764, the beginning of a ministry of fifty years, which ended only with his life. In his last year in College, he contributed an English poem, and it is also thought a Latin one, to the quarto volume presented by the College to George III., on his accession to the throne, entitled *Pietas et Congratulatio Collegii Cantabrigiensis Apud Novanglos*, containing an introductory address and thirty-one other pieces, in Latin, Greek, and English, utterly nauseous, at the present day, by their exuberant adulation. He also wrote other short poems, a Fourth of July Oration, and several occasional Sermons. But his principal work was the *New England Farmer or Geological Dictionary*, the first work on the subject published in the country, of which two editions, in octavo, were issued—one from the press at Worcester, in 1790, the other in 1797. Doctor Deane paid great attention to Horticulture; and his large and fine garden was a model for that day. He was a man of noble presence, of dignified and formal manners, of general culture, and a ready wit; one of the last representatives of the old-school clergy and gentlemen.

After the Separation, new vitality was given, not only to material improvements, but also to literary enterprises.

In 1821, the Rev. Jonathan Greenleaf published his valuable *Ecclesiastical Sketches* of the State; in 1829, his brother, Moses Greenleaf, published his most laborious and useful work, in octavo form, *The Statistics of Maine*, accompanied by an excellent map, in which he developed all the sources of the growth and future hopes of the State; and, in 1830, George Folsom, lately deceased, then a student at law in Saco, published his full and accurate History of the sister towns of Saco and Biddeford, in which are preserved many interesting and valuable facts and documents, which would otherwise have perished. The next year, 1831, the Maine Historical Society published their first volume, containing the first part of the *History of Portland*, prepared by W. Willis; which was followed, in 1832, by the second part,

completing the work. These two town histories, of Saco and Portland, were the earliest, in a separate form, which had issued from the press in Maine. The same year, 1832, appeared Mr. Williamson's *History of Maine*, a work of great labor and research, and an invaluable contribution to the history of his adopted State. He pursued his investigations with untiring industry, opening a correspondence with every Town in the State, and omitting in his researches no accessible source of information.

The following general description of the State, taken from the Report of Walter Wells, on its Water Power, recently published, will be found to contain valuable information:

"The position of the State influences its water-power in an important degree, chiefly through its meteorological conditions. It is only in the mid latitudes that water-power can generally be counted upon as an available motor. Maine is in the humid draft of the Southwest winds from the Gulf of Mexico, is situated upon the coast, and projects eastward so far as to be largely under the influence of oceanic breezes. The circulation of the cold waters of the Arctic Ocean around her shores, also keeps the temperature low, and prevents evaporation. Maine has an area of thirty-one thousand, five hundred square miles, or twelve hundred square miles less than all the rest of New England combined. Assuming the annual rainfall, upon this breadth of the country, to be forty-two inches, the total amount would be not far from three trillion cubic feet. If forty per cent. of the whole rainfall is removed by drainage, the annual discharge of the rivers would amount to nearly one and a quarter trillion cubic feet, or about three billions, three hundred and sixty-eight million cubic feet per day. The mean height of the surface of the State is about six hundred feet above the level of the sea. The quantity of water, before named, seeking its passage to the sea, along this descent, would yield a gross power of four thousand, four hundred, and twenty-nine horse power for each foot of fall, giving an aggregate of two millions, six hundred and fifty-seven thousand, two hundred horse power, which is equivalent to the working energy of over thirty-four million men, working without intermission, from year's end to year's end.

"The elevation and slope of the lands are favorable. The mountains are insignificant and do not interfere with the volume and constancy of the stream, as is the case in mountainous districts. The valleys also partake of the character of the plain and not of the ravine, allowing the waters to pass off gradually, and affording good locations for railroads.

“The geological features are favorable. The
“rocks are hard and the streams run in rock-
“bound conduits that will not wear away, and
“afford firm foundations for dams. Stone for
“all purposes of construction is abundant. The
“granite quarries are unrivalled. The soil is of
“such a character as to absorb the rainfall to a
“large extent and allow it to drain off gradual-
“ly, thus aiding in keeping the streams more
“constant. Our forests have a beneficial effect,
“checking the movement of the atmosphere and
“preventing evaporation. Lakes, as reservoirs,
“are the most important agents in keeping up a
“regular supply of water. The lake system of
“Maine is not equalled, except in three or four
“districts, on the globe. The number of lakes
“in the State, not including small ponds, is not
“less than sixteen hundred and twenty. The
“Kennebec-river has more lakes connected with
“it than the gigantic Orinoco; and the Penob-
“scot more than the Amazon. The lake surface
“of Maine is about three thousand, two hun-
“dred square miles. These lakes are all con-
“nected with the streams; and their value, for
“storage, has been tested, with the best results.
“They gather up the heavy rainfall, in Spring
“and Autumn, lessening the freshets on the
“streams, and then giving of their abundance,
“in time of drought, to keep up the supply in
“the rivers. Besides the water-power thus far
“mentioned, there is the tidal power, along the
“coast, which may be put to profitable use. The
“amount of it is almost without limit; and it
“may be operated under as many favoring cir-
“cumstances, upon our shores, as anywhere.
“The temperature of Maine is low, the aver-
“age being 41° 65′. This is due mainly to the
“cold ocean-current from the Northeast. The
“effect is to promote rainfall by condensation
“of the moist southern winds, and prevent evap-
“oration, so that a large quantity runs off by
“the rivers. Our Summers are cooler and Win-
“ters warmer than interior places, in the same
“latitude, a fact which not only aids the water-
“powers but promotes the health and increases
“the labor of its operatives. The annual rain-
“fall of the State is about forty-two inches, an
“amount in excess of that in any other part of
“the country. And this rain is distributed
“quite evenly through the seasons, falling in
“Winter as well as in Summer. The amount of
“moisture carried off, annually, by evaporation,
“has not been accurately determined; but it is
“considered a safe calculation to estimate the
“amount at .60 of the yearly downfall, which
“is the same as to say that of the forty-two
“inches of rain received yearly, 25.20 are re-
“absorbed by the atmosphere and 15.18 pass off,
“by the rivers, to the sea.”
With these preliminary remarks, I will proceed

to the details of my work. And, first, I will pre-
sent a Catalogue of the Authors, either native or
resident of Maine, distinguishing the natives by
N., and the residents by R. I do not include in
the list, the writers merely of Sermons, Orations,
or fugitive pieces, nor the Editors of papers,
whose writings have extended no farther than the
columns of a newspaper. The starred * are dead.

ABBOT, EZRA.....	N
ABBOTT, CHARLES N.....	“
ABBOTT, GORHAM D.....	“
ABBOTT, JACOB.....	“
ABBOTT, JOHN S. C.....	“
AKERS, MRS. PAUL, (<i>Florence Percy</i>)...	“
* ALLEN, MRS. FREDERIC.....	R
* ALLEN, REV. JESSE.....	“
ALLEN, REV. STEPHEN.....	N
ALLEN, WILLIAM, of Norridgewock...	R
* ALLEN, WILLIAM, President of Bow- doin College.....	“
ANDERSON, M. B.....	N
ANDERSON, REV. RUFUS.....	“
* APPLETON, JESSE. D.D.....	R
APPLETON, JOHN.....	N
BALLARD, REV. EDWARD.....	R
BARKER, DAVID.....	N
BARKER, NOAH.....	“
BARTOL, REV. CYRUS A.....	“
BARTOL, GEORGE M.....	“
BARTOL, MARY.....	“
BECKETT, SYLVANUS B.....	“
BLAINE, JAMES G.....	R
BOARDMAN, SAMUEL L.....	N
BOURNE, EDWARD E.....	“
BRADBURY, CHARLES.....	N
BRADBURY, OSGOOD.....	“
* BRADFORD, ALDEN.....	R
BROOKS, ERASTUS.....	N
BROOKS, JAMES.....	“
* BROWN, CHARLES F. (<i>Artemas Ward</i>)	“
* BURGESS, Bishop GEORGE.....	R
BUTLER, JOHN JAY.....	N
* CALDWELL, REV. MERRITT.....	“
CARUTHERS, REV. JOHN J.....	R
CHAMPLIN, REV. JAMES T.....	“
CHANDLER, PELEG W.....	N
CHAPLIN, REV. JEREMIAH.....	R
CHEEVER, REV. GEORGE B.....	N
CHEEVER, HENRY T.....	“
CHICKERING, REV. JOHN W.....	R
CLARK, BISHOP D. W.....	N
CLEVELAND, NEHEMIAH.....	R
* CLEVELAND, PARKER.....	“
COBB, EMMA D.....	N
COFFIN, JOHN H. C.....	“
* COFFIN, REV. PAUL.....	R
COGSWELL, JOHN G.....	“
* COGSWELL, REV. JONATHAN.....	“

COLERWORTHY, DANIEL C.....	N	* HERRICK, JEDEDIAH.....	N
* COLMAN, MRS. SAMUEL.....	"	HILL, JOHN B.	R
COTHREN, WILLIAM.....	"	HILLARD, GEORGE S.	N
COX, REV. GERSHOM F.....	"	HITCHCOCK, ROSWELL D.....	"
CRAIG, HENRY K.....	"	HOLDEN, CHARLES.....	"
* CUMMINGS, REV. ASA.....	"	HOLMES, EZEKIEL.....	N
CURTIS, LAURA.....	"	* HOLMES, JOHN.....	R
CUSHAM, REV. DAVID.....	N	HOPKINS, LOUISA PAYSON.....	N
* CUTTER, WILLIAM.....	"	* HUBBARD, JEREMIAH.....	"
DAVIS, A. H. S.....	"	ILSLEY, CHARLES P.....	"
* DAVIS DANIEL....	R	* INGRAHAM, JOSEPH H.....	"
* DAVIES, CHARLES S.....	N	* JENES, WILLIAM.....	R
DEAN, JOHN WARD.....	"	JOHNSON, WARREN.....	R
DEANE, CHARLES.....	"	JOHNSTON, JOHN.....	N
* DEANE, JOHN G.....	R	* JUDD, REV. SYLVESTER.....	"
* DEANE, REV. SAMUEL.....	"	KEELEY, GEORGE W.....	R
* DEARBORN, HENRY A. S.....	R	KELLOGG, ELIJAH.....	N
DEERING, NATHANIEL.....	N	* KING, RUFUS.....	N
DOW, NEAL.....	"	KINGSBURY, BENJAMIN.....	R
DRUMMOND, REV. JAMES.....	"	* LADD, WILLIAM.....	"
DRUMMOND, JOSIAH H.....	"	LAMSON, CHARLES H.....	"
DUNNELL, MARK H.....	"	LANCY, S. HERBERT.....	N
DUREN, E. FREEMAN.....	"	* LARRABEE, REV. WILLIAM C.....	"
* DWIGHT, REV. WILLIAM T.....	R	* LINCOLN, ENOCH.....	R
EATON, REV. CYRUS.....	"	LOCKE, JOHN L.....	N
ELWELL, EDWARD H.....	N	LONGFELLOW, HENRY W.....	N
EMERSON, GEORGE B.....	"	LONGFELLOW, SAMUEL.....	"
EVERETT, REV. C. CARROLL.....	"	LOOMIS, JUSTIN R.....	"
FISKE, REV. JOHN O.....	R	LORD, REV. NATHAN.....	"
FLAGG, EDMUND.....	N	LUDWIG, MOSES.....	"
FLETCHER, REV. E. B.....	"	MARTIN, MRS. CLARA BARNES.....	N
* FOLSOM, GEORGE.....	"	* MELLE, GREENVILLE.....	"
FOSTER, JOHN.....	"	* MERRICK, JOHN.....	R
FREEMAN, REV. CHARLES.....	"	MERRILL, S. H.....	N
* FREEMAN, SAMUEL.....	"	Mc DONALD, REV. WILLIAM.....	"
FREEMAN, WILLIAM.....	"	Mc LELLAN, ISAAC.....	"
GARDINER, FREDERIC.....	N	* MICHELLS, J. W.....	"
* GARDINER ROBERT H.....	R	MILLETT, JOSHUA.....	"
* GEORGE, DANIEL.....	"	MORGAN, JONATHAN.....	R
GEORGE, REV. N. D.....	N	MORSE, EDWARD S.....	N
* GILLETT, REV. ELIPHALET.....	R	MUNGER, REV. CHARLES.....	"
GODDARD, HENRY.....	R	* MURRAY, REV. JOHN.....	R
GOODALE, GEORGE L.....	N	NEAL, JOHN.....	N
GOODALE, S. L.....	"	NEWMAN, MRS. C. W. (<i>Richardson</i>)....	"
GOODWIN, REV. DANIEL R.....	"	* NEWMAN, SAMUEL P.....	R
* GREENE, ROSCOE G.....	R	* NICHOLS, REV. ICHABOD.....	R
* GREENLEAF, REV. JONATHAN.....	"	NORTH, JAMES.....	N
* GREENLEAF, MOSES.....	"	* NOYES, GEORGE F.....	"
* GREENLEAF, SIMON.....	"	OWEN, MOSES.....	"
HACKLETON, MRS. MARIA W.....	R	PACKARD, ALPHEUS S.....	N
HAMLIN, A. C.....	N	PACKARD, ALPHEUS S. JR.....	"
HAMLIN, CHARLES E.....	"	PACKARD, EDWARD N.....	"
HAMLIN, REV. CYRUS.....	"	PAINE, ALBERT W.....	"
HANSON, JAMES W.....	"	PALFREY, REV. CAZNEAU.....	R
HARRIS, REV. SAMUEL.....	"	* PARKER, ISAAC.....	"
HAYDEN, WILLIAM B.....	R	PARKER, JOHN.....	"
* HEMMENWAY, REV. MOSES.....	"		

PARKER, THOMAS.....	N	* SULLIVAN, WILLIAM.....	N
* PARSONS, USHER.....	"	SWEAT, MRS. MARGARET J. M.....	"
PARTON, SARAH PAYSON WILLIS.....	"	* SYMMES, WILLIAM.....	R
PATTISON, REV. ROBERT E.....	R	* SYMONDS, WILLIAM L.....	N
* PAYSON, REV. EDWARD.....	"	TALBOT, GEORGE F.....	"
PAYSON, GEORGE.....	N	TALCOTT, REV. D. S.....	R
* PERLEY, JEREMIAH.....	"	TAPPAN, REV. BENJAMIN.....	N
PERRY, ADELINE.....	"	TEFT, REV. BENJAMIN F.....	"
PERRY, REV. WILLIAM STEVENS.....	R	* THATCHER, B. B.....	N
PICKARD, J. L.....	N	THORNTON, J. WINGATE.....	"
* PIERCE, JOSIAH.....	"	* THURSTON, REV. DAVID.....	R
PIKE, MRS. M. H. (<i>Ida May</i>).....	"	THURSTON, REV. STEPHEN.....	"
* PIKE, REV. RICHARD.....	"	TRUE, DOCTOR N. T.....	N
PIKE, MRS. RICHARD. (<i>Atherton</i>).....	"	UPHAM, THOMAS C.....	R
PLACE, EDWARD R.....	"	VAUGHAN, BENJAMIN.....	"
POND, REV. ENOCH.....	R	* WAIT, THOMAS B.....	"
POOR, HENRY V.....	N	WAKEFIELD, A. G.....	"
POOR, JOHN A.....	"	WARE, ASHUR.....	"
PREBLE, GEORGE.....	"	WARREN, REV. WILLIAM.....	"
* PREBLE, WILLIAM P.....	"	WEBB, J. W.....	R
PRENTISS, MRS. ELIZABETH PAYSON.....	"	WELLS, WALTER.....	"
PRENTISS, REV. GEORGE L.....	"	WESTON, EDWARD P.....	N
PRINCE, GEORGE.....	"	WESTON, REV. ISAAC.....	R
* PUTNAM, HENRY.....	R	WHEELER, WILLIAM A.....	N
RAND, WILLIAM WILBERFORCE.....	N	* WHIPPLE, JOSEPH.....	R
RAY, ISAAC.....	R	WHITE, WILLIAM.....	N
REDDINGTON, ASA.....	N	* WHITMAN, EZEKIEL.....	"
RUSSELL, EDWARD.....	"	* WHITMAN, JASON.....	"
SABIN, REV. ELIJAH R.....	N	WHITMAN, W. E. S.....	"
SABINE, LORENZO.....	"	* WHITTAKER, NATHANIEL, D.D.....	"
* SEWALL, DANIEL.....	"	WILCOMBE, MRS. M. D.....	N
* SEWALL, DAVID.....	"	* WILLARD, REV. JOSEPH.....	R
* SEWALL, JOSEPH.....	"	* WILLARD, REV. SAMUEL.....	N
SEWALL, REV. JOTHAM B.....	"	WILLEY, BENJAMIN G.....	"
SEWALL, RUFUS KING.....	"	WILLIAMSON, JOSEPH.....	R
* SEWALL, WILLIAM B.....	"	* WILLIAMSON, WILLIAM D.....	N
SHELDON, REV. DAVID N.....	R	* WILLIS, NATHANIEL PARKER.....	"
* SHEPARD, REV. GEORGE.....	"	WILLIS, RICHARD STORRS.....	R
SHEPLEY, REV. DAVID.....	"	WILLIS, WILLIAM*.....	"
SHEPPARD, JOHN H.....	"	* WISE, REV. JEREMIAH.....	N
SIBLEY, REV. JOHN L.....	N	* WOOD, MRS.....	"
SMITH, E. C.....	"	WOODMAN, CYRUS.....	R
SMITH, MRS. ELIZABETH OAKES.....	"	WOODS, REV. LEONARD.....	"
SMITH, FRANCIS O. J.....	R		
SMITH, GAMALIEL E.....	N		
SMITH, REV. HENRY B.....	"		
* SMITH, SEBA.....	"		
SMYTH, EGBERT C.....	"		
* SMYTH, WILLIAM.....	"		
* SOUTHER, REV. SAMUEL.....	"		
SOUTHGATE, REV. HORATIO.....	"		
SOUTHGATE, REV. WILLIAM S.....	"		
SPRAGUE, PELEG.....	R		
STEARNS, O. S.....	N		
STONE, REV. THOMAS T.....	"		
STORER, REV. HENRY G.....	"		
STORER, D. HUMPHREYS.....	"		
STOWE, REV. CALVIN E.....	R		
* SULLIVAN, JAMES.....	N		

The examination of this list of authors cannot fail to impress the reader, not only by its large number, but by its high quality. Many of the *native* writers have attained a degree of eminence, which has given them a world-wide reputation. We need only to recall the names of a few of the most prominent among them, to place the State in a position of commanding literary influence. The Abbots, Rufus Anderson, Bartols, Charles Deane, John Ward Dean, Emerson, Folsom, Goodwin, Hillard, the Longfells,

* Since this was written by the distinguished author, he, too, has been taken from us; but we leave his name unstarred.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Lord, Neal, the Packards, Parsons, Sabine, Sullivan, James and William Wheeler, and N. P. Willis. From the *Residents*, too, a list of equally distinguished authors may be selected.

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..... Year Books—the last, 1869. Hartford: *Octavo*.

AMERICA Painted to the Life. A true history of the original Undertakings of the advancement of Plantations into those parts, with a perfect Relation of our English Discoveries, shewing their beginning, progress, and continuance, from the year 1628 to 1658. * * * More especially an absolute Narrative of the North parts of America, and of the discoveries and plantations of our English in New England. Written by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Knight and Governor of the Fort and Island of Plymouth in Devonshire, one of the first and chiefest promoters of those Plantations. Publisht since his decense, by his Grandchild, Ferdinando Gorges, Esq., who hath much enlarged it, and added severall accurate descriptions of his owne. * * * For the reader's clearer understanding of the Countreys, they are lively described in a compleat and exquisite Map. *Vivit post funera virtus*. London: Printed by E. Brudenell, for Nathl. Brook, dwelling at the Angel, in Cornhill. 1658. *Quarto*, pp. 60.

..... A briefe Narration of the originall undertakings of the advancement of Plantations into the Parts of America. Especially shewing the beginning, progress, and continuance of that of New England. Written by the right Worshipfull Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Knight and Governor of the Fort and Island of Plymouth, in Devonshire. London: Printed by E. Brudenell, for Nath. Brook, at the Angell in Corn-hill. 1658. *Republished, Maine Historical Collections*, ii. 1.

This valuable tract was not published until after the death of its author, and was then included in the more general work, whose title is given first above, published by his grandson. Many of the facts contained in the publication of the grandson relate to other countries than New England; and many of those peculiar to the latter country are taken from Johnson's *Wonder Working Providence*, and other sources within the reach of the compiler.

The work described in the first article of this Catalogue also contains *A briefe description of Laconia, a Province in New England*; also a short description of Gorges' "Province of Maine." The author makes Laconia, which he says is "so called by reason of the 'great Lakes therein,' to be on the Northeast side of the rivers Sagadahoc and Myrameck; but his description is so vague and indefinite, that it cannot be located. His information seems to have come from the Indians.

ANCIENT Dominions of Maine: Embracing the earliest facts, the recent discoveries of the remains of aboriginal Towns, the voyages, settlements, battle-scenes, and incidents of Indian warfare, and other incidents of history; together with the Religious Developments of Society within the Ancient Sagadahoc, Sheep-

- scot, and Pemaquid Precincts and Dependencies. By Rufus King Sewall, author of *Sketches of the City of St. Augustine*. Portland: Published by Sanborn & Carter. 1859. *Duodecimo*, pp. 366.
- ANDROSCOGGIN-RIVER. Some account of the early Settlements at Sagadahock, and on the Androscoggin-river. By John McKeen, Esq. *Maine Historical Collections*, iii., 311.
- Richard Wharton's Patent. *Maine Historical Collections*, iii., 325; and Indian troubles in Maine, 1702-1704. *Maine Historical Collections*, iii., 342.
- APPLETON. REV. JESSE, President of Bowdoin College. His Works, Life, and Character. By Alpheus S. Packard. In two volumes. Andover: 1837. *Octavo*.
- Addresses at the Annual Commencements of Bowdoin College, 1808-1818.
- ARNOLD'S Expedition to Quebec, through Maine, in 1775. By William Allen. *Maine Historical Collections*, i., 387.
- Letters, written on his expedition to Quebec, 1775. *Maine Historical Collections*, i., 341.
- These original letters are attached to the Journal of Colonel Montrossor, a British Officer, whose explorations into Maine, about fifteen years before, suggested the route.
- AROOSTOOK Territory. Report of an Exploration and Survey of, in 1838. By Ezekiel Holmes. Augusta: 1839.
- AUGUSTA, Trading House, 1630. Bradford's *History*, Deane's Edition, pp. 233.
- Centennial Address, on the erection of Fort Western. By Nathan Weston. Augusta: 1854. *Octavo*, pp. 23.
- Reminiscences of. By Nathan Weston. *Kennebec Journal*, October 23, 1853.
- History of. By James W. North. Augusta: 1870. *Octavo*. *In press*.
- Bills of Mortality of, from 1852 to 1856, inclusive. *Maine Historical Collections*, v., 431.
- BAILEY, REV. JACOB. The Frontier Missionary, Memoirs of. By Rev. William S. Bartlett. 1853. *Octavo*, pp. 366. *See full title under Frontier Missionary*.
- Letter of, in 1775, describing the destruction of Falmouth, Maine (now Portland). *Maine Historical Collections*, v., 437.
- BAKERSTOWN, Poland, and Minot, Annals of. By William Ladd, Esq. *Maine Historical Collections*, ii., 111.
- BANGOR. Centennial Celebration, September 30, 1869. Address by John E. Godfrey, and other proceedings. Bangor: 1870. *In Press*.
- City Charter, granted in 1834, and City Ordinances, 1865.
- Mayor's Addresses and Annual Reports of Departments, from 1836 to 1869.
- Register, 1815 to 1818. By P. Edes and others.
- Northern Monthly. A Literary Magazine.
- Eastern Monthly. A Literary Magazine.
- Clarion Monthly. A Literary Magazine.
- Quarterly Journal of Sons of Temperance.
- Voices from the Kenduskeag. David Bugbee, Publisher. 1848. Various authors.
- City Directory. Scattered numbers, from 1834 to 1867.
- Quarterly Journal of Sons of Temperance. 1847 to 1849. Bangor.
- Newspapers, in great variety, from 1815 to 1869, of which only four are continued, viz.: *Daily Whig and Courier*, *Weekly Courier*, *Bangor Jeffersonian*, and *Democrat*, both weekly.
- *See New American Cyclopædia, Hayward's and other Gazetteers, Mansfield and Coolidge's History of New England*.
- Theological Seminary. History of.
- Report of Trustees, 1860. Prepared by Charles W. Jenkins. Bangor: 1860. *Octavo*, pp. 15.
- Historical Sketches. Founders of the City. *Bangor Daily Whig*, December 26 and 29, 1864.
- Centennial. *Bangor Weekly Courier*, October 5, 1869.
- BAPTISTS IN MAINE. History of. By Joshua Millet. Portland: 1845. *Duodecimo*, pp. 474.
- History of, in Maine. Willis's *History of Portland*, 636.
- First Century of the Baptist Church of North Berwick, Maine. Centennial Discourse, on the tenth of September, 1868, on its one hundredth Anniversary. By Edmund Worth, Pastor of the Baptist Church at Kennebunk. Biddeford: 1868. *Octavo*, pp. 32.
- Minutes of Maine Baptist Missionary Convention. Annual Series, from 1824-1869. *Octavo*. 1824-1869.
- Argument against. By Rev. Moses Hemenway, D. D., of Wells. Boston: 1781.
- Letters to Pædo-baptists, by Daniel Merrill, Pastor of the Church in Sedgewick, Maine. 1819. 16mo. pp. 227.
- Greenleaf's *Ecclesiastical Sketches*.
- Close Communion. By Rufus Anderson. Salem: 1805. pp. 39.
- Rev. Enoch Pond's reply to A. Judson, on Baptism. 1816.
- Minutes of County Associations.
- BARTON and others. Trial for the murder of Paul Chadwick, 1809. *See John Merrick's Report, and Boston Journal*, July 18, 1851.
- BATH. History of Bath, Maine. By Joseph Sewall. *Maine Historical Collections*, ii., 159.
- A Contribution to the History of Bath.

- pointing "Commissioners to investigate the Causes of the Difficulties in the County of Lincoln." The Commissioners made a full and able Report, giving the history of all the titles from the Indians and the English Proprietors, from the earliest period of the settlement, with the various occupations under them, depositions of old settlers, &c. A very interesting and valuable document. *Octavo*, pp. 174.
- visit to. By William A. Drew. *Gospel Banner*, August 26, 1854.
- Ancient Pemaquid. *Boston Traveller*, two numbers. 1843.
- BRUNSWICK. Report of a Survey of the Water Power and Falls. By Loanmi Baldwin. With Plan. 1836.
- [..... Three Discourses upon the Religious History of Bowdoin College. By Egbert C. Smythie. Brunswick: 1858. *Octavo*, pp. 80.]
- In 1802. By J. McKeen. *Brunswick Telegraph*, July, 1859.
- A Description of Brunswick, in Letters. By a gentleman of South Carolina, to a friend in that State. Brunswick: 1820. *Octavo*, pp. 28. The writer was Henry Putnam, a lawyer in Brunswick. He graduated at Harvard College, 1802; and died in Massachusetts, 1827.
- See *New American Cyclopædia*, Hayward's *Gazetteer*, Mansfield and Coolidge's *New England*.
- CONVENTION. See title, *Journal of Brunswick Convention*.
- PROPRIETORS, Their title. See title, *Plymouth and Pejepscot*.
- BURGESS, GEORGE. A Discourse delivered before the Maine Historical Society. at Brunswick, August 2, 1854. By George Burgess, D. D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Maine. *Maine Historical Collections*, iv., 63.
- The Right Rev., the first Bishop of Maine. Memoir of. Edited by the Rev. Alexander Burgess, D. D., Rector of St. John's Church, Brooklyn, Long Island. Philadelphia: 1869. *Octavo*, pp. 500.
- Notice of. By William S. Bartlett, in *Church Monthly*. 1867.
- BURROUGHS, Rev. George, the Witchcraft Martyr. Willis's *History of Portland*; Upham, in the *Historical Magazine*; Calef.
- BURROWS and Blyth, Commanders of the *Enterprise* and *Boxer*, in the sea-fight, September 5, 1813. Buried in Portland. Lossing's *War of 1812*; Willis's *History of Portland*.
- BUXTON. Records of the Church of Christ in, during the pastorate of the Rev. Paul Coffin, D. D. Cambridge: 1868. *Octavo*, pp. 88.
- History of the Narragansett Towns, by Charles Coffin. See *Narragansett*.
- An Address delivered at Buxton, Me., being the First Centennial Celebration of the Settlement of this Town, 1850. By Rev. Nathaniel West Williams. Portland, Me.: 1850. pp. 34.
- CADILLAC, M. DE LA MOTHE, Grant to, of Mount Desert Island and adjoining main land, by Louis XVI., 1691, confirmed in part to his grand-children, by Massachusetts, 1787. *Maine Historical Collections*, vi. 273; *Massachusetts Statutes*, 1787.
- Memoir of. By W. Willis. *Maine Historical Collections*, vi. 275.
- CALAIS. City Charter, 1850, and Ordinances. See *Coolidge and Mansfield's New England*.
- CAMDEN. Sketches of the History of the Town of Camden, Maine, including incidental references to the neighboring places and adjacent waters. By John L. Locke. Hallowell: 1859. *Duodecimo*, pp. 235.
- [..... Address delivered there, September 11, 1855, at the expiration of half a century from the organization of the First Congregational Church. By B. C. Chase. Boston: 1855. *Octavo*, pp. 28.]
- CAMPAIGNS of the First Maine and the First District of Columbia Cavalry, 1861-1865. By J. H. Merrill, Chaplain. Portland. *Duodecimo*.
- of the Seventeenth Maine Regiment, 1862. By E. B. Houghton.
- CANAAN, History of. See *Norridgewock*.
- CANADA-county. Earl of Sterling and others' Petition for, 1760. See *Sterling*.
- Invasion of. By Benedict Arnold, 1775, across the wilderness of Maine. By Edwin M. Stone. 1867. *Journal of Captain Simeon Thayer*.
- Arnold's Expedition across Maine, 1775, to Quebec. By William Allen. *Maine Historical Collections*, i. 387.
- CARRABASSET. A Play, on Indian Traditions, By N. Deering.
- CARTHIA AMERICANA, a habit of. By A. C. Hamlin. *Boston Journal of Natural History*, x., 80.
- CASTINE, Journal of the Siege of, in 1779. By J. C. (John Caleb). London: 1781. Caleb had been a Physician, in Ipswich, Massachusetts; became a Loyalist; and was Chaplain to the English Forces.
- A series of Historical Articles, By S., in *The Telegraph and News*, during July and August, 1855.
- Notice of. By Joseph Williamson. *Maine Historical Collections*, vi. 105. Also in *The Belfast Signal*. 1851; and in *The Bangor Daily Whig*, September 9, 1868.
- Articles in *Boston Post*, October, 1853. By George B. Moore.
- Coins found at. *As above*.
- Baron de St. Memoir of. *As above*.
- CATALOGUE of Original Documents in the English Archives, relating to the early History of the State of Maine. New York: Priv-

ately printed. *Royal octavo*, pp. 137.

The copy from the Archives and the printing of this valuable book were paid for, wholly, by the Hon. George Folsom, of New York, whose interest in the history of Maine, his native State, time, and distance, and residence in foreign lands, did not abate. He died in Rome, March, 1869.

CATALOGUE of the Portland Institute and Public Library. Portland: 1869. *Octavo*.

CATHOLIC Missions in Maine. By Enoch Lincoln. *Maine Historical Collections*, i., 323.

..... See *Missions of the Jesuits*, etc.

CATHOLIC, Roman, Statistics of. In *Annual Almanacs*.

CENTURY of Episcopacy in Portland. Centenary Sermon in St. Stephen's Church, Portland, November 1, 1863. By the Rector, Rev. William Stevens Perry.

CHARTERS and Grants of Territory in Maine—Colonial and Provincial.

..... 1603, November 8. Lettres Patentes from Henry VIII, to Sieur de Monts, Lieutenant-general à l'Acadie & pays circonvoisins. *L'Escarbot*; Hazard's *Historical Collections*, i. 45.

This embraced the country, from Latitude 40° to 46°, North, that is, from Philadelphia to Newfoundland. The eastern border of Maine was occupied by deMonts, under this Charter, in 1604; and was the first attempt at Colonization, in Maine.

..... 1606, April 10. Charter to the Virginia Company, by James I., of that part of America lying between 34° and 45°, North Latitude, with the Islands within one hundred miles of the Coast. The Territory, by the Charter, is divided into two parts, called the Southern, or London, Company, and the Northern, or Plymouth, Company. Hazard's *Historical Collections*, i. 50.

Under this Charter, Virginia was colonized, and the Popham Colony, in 1607, planted itself at the mouth of the Kennebec, taking possession of the country under the Charter. *Popham Memorial Volume*; Gorges's *Brief Narrative*; *Maine Historical Collections*, ii., 1.

..... 1620, November 3. James I. to the Council established at Plymouth for the planting, ruling and governing New England, in America.

This Patent embraced "all the Circuit, Continent, Pre-cincts and Limits, in America," from the fortieth to the forty-eighth degree of North Latitude, and from Sea to Sea. Hazard's *Historical Collections*, i., 103; *Popham Memorial Volume*, Appendix.

The Council of Plymouth, under this Charter, proceeded immediately, to parcel out the country. In 1621, they relinquished to Sir William Alexander, all the territory lying East of St Croix-river, now New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.

The following Grants, in Maine, were made by the Council, for particular notices of which, I refer to Sainsbury's *Colonial Calendar*; *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, April, 1867; S. F. Haven's *History of Grants*; *Catalogue of Original Documents relating to the State of Maine*, in the *English Archives*, procured by Honorable George Folsom, and printed in 1858; and Willis's *History of Portland*:

..... 1621, June, 1, to John Peirce. See Bradford's *History*—Deane's Edition.

..... 1622, July 24.

The Council ordered that the Duke of Lenox, Secretary Calvert, and the Earl of Arundel should have Grants on the Saco and Kennebec-rivers; but we have no evidence that Patents were issued or possession taken.

..... 1622, August 10, to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and John Mason, from the Merrimac to the Kennebec-river.

In this Patent, it is recited that the Patentees "intended to name it the Province of Maine."

..... To Sir Robert Mansell.

The same year, an Order was passed for a Patent to Sir Robert Mansell, for Mount Desert, to be called Mount Mansell; but nothing seems to have come from it.

..... In 1622, Abraham Jennens bought an interest in Pemaquid and Monhegan, of the Council.

..... In 1614, Captain John Smith, occupied Monhegan. Prince's *New England Chronology*; Smith's Letter to Lord Bacon; *The Popham Memorial Volume*; *Historical Magazine*.

..... 1622, April 20, and November 16, 1626, to John Peirce. Location uncertain, probably in Maine. *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, April, 1867, 91.

..... 1623, May 5, to Christopher Levett, six thousand acres to be selected by him.

He ranged the coast of Maine, from Piscataqua-river to Pemaquid, and made a location in Casco-bay, near Portland, and built a house on it. *Maine Historical Collections*, ii.; Willis's *Portland*.

..... 1626, November 6, to the Plymouth people, land on the Kennebec-river, enlarged in 1628; and defined, January 30, 1630, of fifteen miles on each side of Kennebec-river, Prince's *New England Chronology*, i. 196; Haven's *Grants*; Hazard's *Historical Collections*, i. 583.

The titles are held under this Grant, at the present day.

It has gone under the name of the Kennebec Purchase, in which it came in contact with the Pejepscot Purchase and the Waldo Patent, and a violent controversy, of many years standing, ensued. See R. H. Gardiner's History of "Kennebec Purchase,"—*Maine Historical Collections*, ii., 269; John McKeen's Account of the Early Settlements at Sagadahoc—*Maine Historical Collections*, iii. 311; and Grant to Richard Wharton, *Ibid.* 325.

A large collection of Documents, printed and in manuscript, relating to these Grants and the controversy, throwing a flood of light upon this central portion of Maine, are preserved in the archives of the Maine Historical Society, and have been methodically arranged and indexed by the learned Secretary, Edward Ballard, D. D.

..... 1630, February 12. By Plymouth Council, to John Oldham and Richard Vines, four miles by eight miles, on the West side of Saco-river.

..... to Thomas Lewis and Richard Bonington, the same quantity, on the East side of Saco-river. *York Records*; Haven's *Grants*; Folsom's *Saco*.

These Grants constitute the present Cities of Saco and Biddeford.

..... 1630, March 13, to John Beauchamp and Thomas Leverett, ten leagues square on the West side of the Penobscot-river, now called the Lincoln or Waldo Patent. Prince's

New England Chronology, i., 203; Hazard's *Historical Collections*, i., 318; and *Maine Historical Collections*, vi.

..... 1630. To John Dye and others, the Plough Patent, called the Province of Ligoniam, lying between Cape Porpus and Casco-bay, and extending back, forty miles. *York Records*; Sullivan's *History*; and *American Antiquarian Society's Proceedings*.

This was afterwards sold to Sir Alexander Rigby; and Government, for a time, exercised under it, in Cromwell's time. Willis's *History of Portland*.

..... 1631, November 1. To Thomas Cammock, one thousand, five hundred acres, on Black Point and Scarborough. *Ibid*; Southgate's *History of Scarborough*; and *Maine Historical Collections*, v.

..... To Richard Bradshaw, for one thousand, five hundred acres, at Spurwink, on Cape Elizabeth.

..... To Walter Bagnall, of Richmond Island and one thousand, five hundred acres, on the main land at Cape Elizabeth. Sainsbury's *Colonial Calendar*.

..... To John Stratton, of two thousand acres, on the South side of Cape Porpus-river. *Ibid*.

..... 1631, December 1. To Robert Trelawney and Moses Goodyear, of a tract between Cammock's Patent and Casco-bay. *Ibid*.

..... December 2. To Ferdinando Gorges, Lieutenant-colonel Walter Norton, and associates, twelve thousand acres, on the East side of the Accomenticus-river, and one hundred acres, additional, for each settler. *Ibid*.

..... To Sir F. Gorges, twelve thousand acres, on the West side of the Accomenticus-river, with one hundred acres, additional, for each settler. *Ibid*.

..... To Edward Godfrey and others, twelve thousand acres, on the Accomenticus-river; Sainsbury says: "To be renewed March 2, 1638;" but it was, in fact, renewed in 1634. *Ibid*.

Godfrey states, in a Petition to Massachusetts, in 1654, that he had been an inhabitant at York twenty-four years and the first that built or settled there. Willis's *History of Portland*, 30; and Hazard's *Historical Collections*.

..... 1632, February 29. To Robert Aldworth and Gyles Elbridge, twelve thousand acres, at Pemaquid, with one hundred acres, additional, for each settler. Thornton, in *Maine Historical Collections*, v., 200.

..... June 16. To George Way and Thomas Purchase, a tract between the Kennebec and Androscogin-rivers. Hazard's *Historical Collections*, i. 457; Sainsbury's *Colonial Calendar*; McKeen's *Account of the Early Settlers at Sagadahoc*; and *Maine Historical Collections*, iii.

This was afterwards known as the Pejepscot Purchase, and the subject of a long controversy. Willis's *History of Portland*. Manuscripts, printed statements, and arguments are in the Archives of the Maine Historical Society, duly arranged and indexed.

The only fragments remaining of the Records of the Plymouth Company, are embraced between the last of May, 1622, and June 21, 1623, and from November 4, 1631, to November 26, 1632, and scattering entries in 1634 and 1635, and one entry each, in 1637 and 1638. The last two years were after the surrender of their Charter to the King. The whole of these fragments were, for the first time printed, in the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, April, 1867, with introductory remarks, by Charles Deane. The copies were obtained of S. F. Haven, the learned librarian of that renowned institution, whose valuable comments upon them are separately published.

Prior to the final surrender of the Charter, the territory of New England was divided among the members of the Council. Only three of these assignments were in Maine, made February 3, 1635—the first was to Sir F. Gorges, extending from the Piscataqua-river, to the Kennebec; and the North half of the Isles of Shoals: the second, to Captain John Mason, of ten thousand acres, between Sagadahoc and Pemaquid; and the third, to Sir William Alexander, Lord Sterling, extending from Pemaquid to the River St. Croix. This last Grant, made February 3, 1635, is thus described: "To begin at St. Croix next to New Scotland, and so to pass along the Sea Coast to Pemaquid, and up the river thereof to the furthest head thereof, as it tendeth Northwards, and from thence, at the nearest, to Kennebecqui, and up that River by the shortest course to the river of Canada."

At a meeting of the Council, November 1, 1638, this Grant was extended "to the Bay or River Called Sagadahocke."

At the same meeting, which is the last remaining entry of the Records, it was agreed that Sir F. Gorges should have sixty miles more added to his proportion, further up into the main land. Gorges's *Narrative*; Hazard's *Historical Collections*, i., 390; *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*; Haven; and Willis.

There is no evidence that Mason or Alexander occupied these Grants; and, in fact, the last to Alexander absorbed that of Mason.

..... 1636, March 21. First Court under Gorges's Grant, held at Saco. *York Records*; and Willis's *Portland*.

..... 1636, March 30. Grant of Harpswell and one thousand acres, adjoining, to Harvard College. *Massachusetts Records*, v., 397.

..... Commission to Sir F. Gorges, as Governor of New England, 1637. *Popham Memorial Volume*, Appendix.

..... 1637, January 27. Lease, for two thousand years, from Sir F. Gorges to George Cleaves and Richard Tucker, of the Neck of land on which Portland is situated, and the adjacent country and Hog Island. *York Records*; and Willis. Under this Grant, Cleaves and Tucker parcelled out the Territory to settlers and others: constituting the basis of the titles, at the present time, in Portland, Westbrook, and Falmouth.

..... 1639, April 3. Grant of the Province of Maine, to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, by Charles I., a confirmation of former Grants, with ample powers of Government. *York County Records*, copied into Hazard, i., 442.

..... 1639, July 22. Thomas Purchase, to Massachusetts, all his land at Pejepscot, four miles square. Hazard, i., 457.

..... 1640, January 28. Letter from Gorges to Secretary Windebank, about encroachments, by Massachusetts. *Original Documents, relating to Maine*.

- 1640, June 25. First General Court, held at Saco, under the Charter of 1639. *York Records*; Willis; and Folsom.
- April, 1641. Gorges invested the Town of Accomenticus with City power. *Hazard*, i. 470.
- 1642. A new Charter granted by Gorges to Accomenticus, for a City Government, and the name changed to Gorgiana. *Hazard*, i., 480.
- 1643, April 7. Conveyance, by Dye, Smith, and others, of the Ligonía or Plough Patent, to Alexander Rigby, from Cape Porpus to Casco-bay. Sullivan, 312; and Winthrop.
- Rigby confirmed to Cleaves and Tacker, the lease from Gorges. *Willis's History of Portland*.
- 1652. Letter from Edward Rigby, heir of Sir Alexander, to the inhabitants of Ligonía. *Willis's History of Portland*.
- 1652, November. Gorgiana and Kittery submit to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. Sullivan, 335, 337; and *Hazard*.
- 1653, July 5. Wells, Cape Porpus, and Saco submitted. Sullivan, 355.
- 1656, August 9. Oliver Cromwell to Charles St. Etienne, Thomas Temple, and William Crowne, a Grant of Acadia, part of Nova Scotia, and of Maine, to the river St. George. *Hazard* i., 616.
- July, 1658. Falmouth and Scarboro submitted. Sullivan, 371; and *Willis's History of Portland*.
- 1664, March 12. Charles II. to James, Duke of York, all that portion of the main land, lying along the coast, between St. Croix and Pemaquid. *Original Documents, relating to Maine*, 101; *Maine Historical Collections*, v.; Records of the Government established by the Duke of York; *Maine Historical Collections*, v.; Surrender of Patent to Massachusetts, 1836; *Maine Historical Collections*, v.; and *Pemaquid Papers*.
- 1664, April 25. Commission to Colonel R. Nichols and others, to settle troubles in New England. *Hazard*, ii., 638.
- For Proceedings of Commissioners, and discussions and opinions in regard to the title and rights of Gorges and Mason, see *Original Documents relating to Maine*; *Hutchinson's Papers*—Prince Society's Edition, ii. 152; and *Massachusetts Records*, v.
- 1664, June 11. Letter from Charles II. to the Inhabitants of Maine. *Hutchinson's Papers*, ii., 110.
- 1677. Deed from Ferdinando Gorges, grandson of Sir Ferdinando, to John Usher, of the whole Province of Maine, for one thousand two hundred and fifty pounds; which Usher, on the fifteenth of March, 1678, conveyed to Massachusetts. *York Records*; *Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts*, i.; *Maine Historical Collections*, ii., 257, 261.
- CHASSE LA. Letter of, on the death of Father Rule, in *Lettres Edifiantes*, and in Kipp's *Je-suit Missions*.
- CHRONICLES of Casco Bay. By D. C. Colesworthy. D. C. Colesworthy. Portland. *Octavo*, pp. 56.
- Mr. Colesworth is a native author.
- CHURCH, Colonel Benjamin. Narrative of Expeditions against the Eastern Indians, 1676 to 1704. New Edition, with notes, etc. By Rev. H. M. Dexter. Boston: 1867. *Octavo*, pp. 204.
- A valuable and interesting work.
- CLAPP, ASA, Memoir of. Lives of American Merchants. By Freeman Hunt. New York: 1857. *Octavo*, pp. 576.
- CLEAVELAND, Parker, Eulogy on. By Leonard Woods. *Maine Historical Collections*, vi., 375.
- Mineralogy, Geology, Fossils, etc. See *Mineralogy and Meteorological Journal*.
- CLEEVES, George. First Settler of Portland, 1632, Deputy-governor of Ligonía, etc. *Willis's History of Portland*; Winthrop's *Journal*, Savage's Edition; *Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts*; etc.
- COFFIN, REV. PAUL. Memoir of Rev. Paul Coffin, D. D. (By his Grandson, Cyrus Woodman.) *Maine Historical Collections*, iv., 239.
- Sermon preached at the funeral of, June 8, 1821. By Rev. Nathaniel H. Fletcher, of Kennebunk. *Octavo*, pp. 33.
- Journals of his Missionary Tours in Maine, from 1768 to 1800. *Maine Historical Collections*, iv., 261.
- COLBY UNIVERSITY. Dedication of Memorial Hall. By Rev. Doctor Bosworth. Addresses and Proceedings, 1867 and 1869. Waterville: 1869. *Octavo*, pp. 53, with a Plate of the Hall.
- Triennial Catalogues.
- COLEOPTEROUS Insects, New Species, inhabiting the State of Maine. By John W. Randall. *Boston Journal of Natural History*, ii.
- COLESWORTHY, Daniel C. "My Minister." (Rev. Charles Jenkins.) Sketches of Portland. 18mo. pp. 112.
- My Teacher. Common Incidents.
- COLONIZATION of Maine. Bancroft's *United States*, Chapters i, viii, and ix; the *Popham Memorial Volume*; Gorges's *Narrative*; *Willis's History of Portland*; and *Williamson's History of Maine*.
- CONFESSION of Faith and Covenant of the First Church of North Yarmouth; with a Catalogue of its Members and Brief Historical Notices, April, 1848. Portland: 1848. *Pamphlet*.
- Anonymous. The author was Rev. David Shepley, Pastor of the Church.
- CONGREGATIONAL Ministers and Churches, in Maine. A complete list of, to 1840. By Rev. E. Gillet. *American Quarterly Register*, xiii. and xiv.

- This very thorough and comprehensive Work, admirably done by Deacon Duren, for many years Recording Secretary of the Maine Conference, supplies a great want in the ecclesiastical history of Maine.
- from 1672 to 1867. By E. F. Duren, Portland: 1867. *Octavo*, pp. 147.
- Greenleaf's *Ecclesiastical Sketches*. 1821.
- Covenant, Creed, and Members of the High-street Church, in Portland. Portland: 1868.
- Same of Second Church, in Portland.
- Minutes of the Forty-third Annual Meeting of the General Conference of, June, 1869. With Sermon by Al. E. Ives. Portland: 1869. *Octavo*, pp. 112.
- Conferences of. With full Minutes, from 1824-1869.
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- See Debates.
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- CUMBERLAND Bar. An Address to the Members of the Cumberland Bar, delivered during the Sitting of the Court of Common Pleas, at Portland, June Term, 1833. By James D. Hopkins, Counsellor-at-Law. Published at the request of the Bar. Portland: 1833. *Octavo*, pp. 79.
- This valuable pamphlet contains a history of the Cumberland Bar and notices of deceased members. Mr. Hopkins was a native of England, born in Axminster. He came to Portland, with his father, in 1784; studied law; and became a prominent lawyer and advocate. He died in 1840, aged sixty-eight.
- County. Description of the Plantations in. *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, iii.
- Congregational Churches in. By Isaac Weston. 1861.
- CUSHING, Judge William.
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- Rowland, (Distinguished Ante-revolution Lawyers in Maine). See *Memoirs of*, in *Willis's Law Courts, Law, and Lawyers of Maine*; and other Biographical Works.
- DAMARIS COVE ISLANDS. Bradford's *History*, Deane's Edition, pp. 114, 156, 267, etc.; and Williamson's *History*.
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- DANFORTH, THOMAS, appointed President of Maine, 1681. *Massachusetts Records*, v. 309.
- Settlement of Munjoy title and other titles, in Portland. *Massachusetts Records*, v. 395; and *Willis's Portland*.
- D'AULNEY and LA TOUR,—rival chiefs. Papers relating to. *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, III. vii.; *Winthrop's Journal*; and *Hutchinson's History*.
- DAVIES, CHARLES S. Address delivered at Fryeburg, May 19, 1825, on the First Centennial Celebration of "Lovell's Fight." Portland: *Octavo*, pp. 64.
- Discourse on the death of Adams and Jefferson, 1825. Portland: 1825.
- Report on the North-eastern Boundary. *Maine Documents*, 1829.
- DEANE, Rev. SAMUEL. *Journal of*. See *Journal*.
- New England Farmer; or, Geographical Dictionary. By Samuel Deane, A. A. S. Worcester: 1790. *Octavo*, pp. 332.
- Second Edition, 1798.
- This was the first work of the kind published in this country, and continues to form the basis of modern works on the subject. Dr. Deane was Pastor of the First Church in Portland.
- Sermon on his Ordination over the First Parish in Falmouth, October 17, 1764. Boston: *Octavo*, pp. 38.
- DEBATES, Resolutions, and other Proceedings of the Convention of Delegates, assembled at Portland, on the eleventh, and continued until the twenty-ninth, day of October, 1819, for the purpose of forming a Constitution for the State of Maine. To which is prefixed the Constitution. By Jeremiah Perley, Counsellor at Law. Portland: *Duodecimo*, pp. 301.
- DEED of Ferdinando Gorges, of the Province of Maine, to John Usher; and of John Usher to Massachusetts, 1678. *Maine Historical Collections*, ii., 257, 261; *York Records*; and *Massachusetts Colonial Records*.
- DENYS, M. Description Geographique et Historique des Costes de l'Amerique Septentrionale. Avec l'histoire naturelle du Pays. Par M. Denys, Gouverneur, Lieutenant General pour le Roy, et Proprietaire de toutes les terres et isles qui sont depuis le cap de Campseaux jusques au Cap des Roziers. In two volumes. A Paris: chez Louis Bellaine. 1672. *Duodecimo*, pp. 750.
- The country over which M. Denys claimed to exercise jurisdiction, under the King of France, extended from Cape Canso, at the eastern extremity of Nova Scotia, to Cape Rozier, at the mouth of Penobscot Bay.
- DISCOURSE delivered at the Dedication of the Stone Church of the First Parish in Portland, February 9, 1826. By I. Nichols. With an Appendix, containing a Memoir of the Parish. [By William P. Preble.] Portland: 1826. *Octavo*, pp. 25.
- DISCOVERY. The Northmen from Greenland, undoubtedly visited the coast of Maine, between the years 990 and 1012; but they have left no description of it, nor did they make any attempt to colonize it. For their voyages, see Doctor J. G. Kohl's treatise in the *Documentary History of Maine—Collections*,

Volume i., New Series; and in DeCosta's critique. Also, in *Discovery of America* by the Northmen, by Jacob Abbott. 1860. *Duodecimo*.

Neither did the Cabots, in 1497 and 1498, nor Cortereal, in 1501, make any discovery of our coast. They make no allusion to it.

The first particular description we have of this coast, is by John de Verazzano, in a letter to Francis I., giving an account of his voyage, in 1524, published next, at Venice, by Ramusio, in 1550, a good translation of which is in the *Collections of New York Historical Society*, New Series, I., 1841.

..... 1556. André Thevet, in a French ship, sailed along the coast, and spent five days in Penobscot-bay, which he called Norumbegue: he had free intercourse with the natives, whom he describes in his work entitled *Les Singularitez de la France antarctique autrement nommée Amerique*, published in Paris, 1556. Extracts relating to Maine are contained in *Documentary History of Maine*, i., 416. This closes the history of voyages to Maine in the sixteenth century. The next century is the era of colonization.

..... 1602. Bartholomew Gosnold made the first direct voyage on the northern route; and, making the coast of Maine at, or near Cape Elizabeth, followed it to the South side of Cape Cod. Brereton's *Relation*; and *Massachusetts Historical Collections*,

..... 1603. Martin Pring reached the coast, in the neighborhood of Penobscot-bay; minutely examined it, its whole length; and made a particular report of it to Gorges;—Purchas, Belknap and Williamson. In 1606, he made a second voyage and a more full survey; by which Gorges and Popham were induced to send forth a Colony, to the Kennebec.

..... 1605. George Weymouth made an Exploration of the coast between the Kennebec-river and Penobscot-bay, of which James Rozier made "a true Relation"—London: 1650; reprinted in the *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, III. viii.; and in a pamphlet, by George Prince, 1859, with Notes. In the *Maine Historical Collections*, v. and vi., is a full discussion of this Voyage.

..... 1605. De Monts cruised along the whole coast, from St Croix to Cape Cod, of which L'Escarbot gave a particular account, in his *History of New France*, published in Paris, in 1609. Republished, in 1618, with map. See *The Popham Memorial Volume*.

..... 1607. The first attempt to colonize Gorges's Province of Maine. A well-appointed Colony sent forth by Gorges and Popham landed on Hunnewells-point, then called, by the natives, *Sabino*, at the mouth of the Kennebec-river. Sullivan; Williamson; *Popham Memorial Volume*; Strachey; and *Maine Historical Collections*, iii., 279.

..... 1615. Captain John Smith occupied Showhegan-island, for a fishing station, from which a French Missionary Colony had been driven by the English. He made a minute examination of the coast of Maine, and prepared a map of it and of New England. Prince; Bancroft; Williamson; and Palfrey's *New England*, where is a *fac-simile* of the map.

..... 1616. Richard Vines, Agent of Sir F. Gorges, spent the winter at Saco-river, to explore the country for Gorges. Gorges's *Narrative*; and Folsom's *Saco and Biddeford*.

..... 1623. Christopher Levett cruised along the coast, from the Piscataqua-river to Penmaquid, minutely examining and describing the most prominent points which he visited. He appears to have selected his six thousand-acre Grant at, or near, Portland; and built a house upon one of the islands in Portland Harbor. He says: "And thus, after many dangers, much labor and great charge, I have obtained a place of habitation, in New England, where I have built a house, and fortified it in a reasonable good fashion." Levett's *Voyage*; and *Maine Historical Collections*, ii., 73.

See A popular History of the Discovery of America, by J. G. Kohl.

DISTRICT OF MAINE, Statistics of. By Joseph B. Felt. *Statistical Collections*, i., 57 to 99.

..... AND MASSACHUSETTS, Map of. Compiled from actual Surveys, by Order of the General Court. By Osgood Carlton. Boston: 1802.

..... A Statistical View of Maine: more especially with reference to the value and importance of its interior. Addressed to the consideration of the Legislators of Massachusetts. By Moses Greenleaf, Esq. *Salus publica mea merces*. Boston: 1816. *Octavo*, pp. 154.

This work was ably reviewed by the learned Benjamin Rand. of Boston, in the *North American Review*, III, 36; and the subject of the Separation of Maine fully treated in the article.

..... History of the District of Maine. By James Sullivan. Illustrated by a new and correct map of the District. Boston: 1795. *Octavo*, pp. 421.

Mr. Sullivan was born in Berwick, Maine, and practiced law first in Georgetown, on the Kennebec-river; then in Biddeford. He was afterwards Judge of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, Attorney-general, and Governor of the Commonwealth; in which latter office he died, December, 1808. He was the author of numerous publications, and one of the founders of the Massachusetts Historical Society. His life has been published in two octavo volumes, by his grandson, Thomas C. Amory, Jr., of Boston.

..... Travels in New England and New York. By Timothy Dwight. New Haven: 1821.

..... and Sagadahoc. Summary, Historical and Political, of the First Planting, Progressive Improvements, and Present State of the British Settlements in North America. Two volumes. By William Douglass, M. D. Boston, New

- England: 1749-1753. *Octavo*, pp. 568, 416. Part V. describes the several Grants of Sagadahoc, the Province of Maine, &c. Doctor Douglass was a native of Scotland; educated in Paris and Leyden; and came to this country in 1716, and to Boston in 1718, where he died, October 21, 1752.
- DOCUMENTS relating to the North-eastern Boundary of Maine. Published by the Legislatures of Maine and Massachusetts, and by the United States. With maps, etc. 1828 to 1842. These include the valuable Historical Report and Argument of the Hon. John G. Deane, and the submission of the case to the decision of the King of Holland.
-Charles S. Davie's Report to Governor Lincoln, on the New England Boundary Question. 1829.
-Rights of Maine defined. Speech of Peleg Sprague, in the United States Senate, on the Decision of the King of the Netherlands. 1832.
-Report on the said Decision, with Resolves of the Legislature. 1832. *Octavo*.
-relating to the Separation of Maine from Massachusetts. Published at various times, from 1790 to 1819. See Willis's *History of Portland*, and *Massachusetts Historical Collections*.
- DOWNING, Major Jack, of Downingville, away down East, in the State of Maine. Life and writings of. Second Edition. Boston: 1834. *Duodecimo*, pp. 260. Seba Smith, late of Portland, was the author of these satirical and entertaining letters.
- DRAKE, SAMUEL G. History of King Philip's War, 1675, and the French and Indians Wars at the Eastward, 1689-1704. By Thomas Church, with Notes and Appendix. 1827 and 1836. *Duodecimo*.
-Biography and History of the Indians of North America, from its discovery, and of their Wars. Boston: 1837. With Plates. *Octavo*.
-Indian Captivities. 1851. *Octavo*.
-Tragedies in the Wilderness, etc.
- DREUILLETTE, REV. GABRIEL. *Narré du Voyage*. Translated by J. G. Shea. New York: 1857. *New York Historical Collections*.
-Epistola ad Johannem Winthrop. New York: 1849.
- DUTCH in Maine. By J. Watts de Peyster. *Octavo*. Pamphlet.
- DWIGHT, REV. WILLIAM T., D.D. Life and Ministry of. With an Appendix. By Egbert C. Smyth, Professor in Andover Theological Seminary. Boston: 1869. *Octavo*, pp. 50.
- EASTERN COUNTIES, in the District of Maine. Observations on the Climate, Soil, and Value of. Written by the Hon. General Lincoln, 1789. *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, iv.
-INDIANS. Doctor Stiles and a letter from Colonel Frye, to the Governor of Nova Scotia. *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, x.
-Maine and Nova Scotia. Military operations therein, during the Revolution, comprising Journals and Letters of Colonel Allen. By Frederic Kidder. With map. Albany: *Octavo*, pp. 324.
- EASTPORT and Vicinity, History of. A Lecture delivered April, 1831, before the Eastport Lyceum. By Jonathan D. Weston, Esq., Counsellor at Law. Boston: 1834. *Octavo*, pp. 61.
- EATON, CYRUS. Histories of Thomaston, Rockland and Warren, which see
-REV. SAMUEL. Biographical notice of. By Professor A. S. Packard. *Brunswick Telegraph*, February 24, 1854.
- ECCLESIASTICAL History of the State of Maine, from the Earliest Settlement to the present time. Sketches of the. By Jonathan Greenleaf, Pastor of a Church in Wells. Portsmouth: 1821. *Duodecimo*, pp. 293; (Appendix,) 78. Mr. Greenleaf made large additions to this excellent work, with a view to a new edition. These are deposited in the archives of the Maine Historical Society, in MS.
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Colonel Church was born in 1639; fought many battles with the Indians; and died at Little Compton, Massachusetts, in 1717.
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- FROGS, Development of, as observed at Waterville, Maine. By A. C. Hamlin. *Boston Journal of Natural History*, x.
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-See Fight of Captain Lovell.
- GARDINER. History of Gardiner, Pittstown, and West Gardiner. With a Sketch of the Kennebec Indians and New Plymouth Purchase; comprising historical matter from 1602 to 1852; with Genealogical Sketches of many families. By J. W. Hanson. Gardiner: 1852. *Duodecimo*, pp. 343. Plates.
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-John. Barrister. Notice of, in *Gardiner Transcript*, November 27, 1852, and March 25, 1863; and in Willis's *Law and Lawyers*.
- GAZETTEER of Maine. By John Hayward. Boston: *Octavo*.
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Mr. DeCosta also criticises Doctor Kohl's *Discovery of Maine*, 1869.

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lished in 1822; seventeen volumes by John Shepley, 1835-1849; and the remainder by various hands, as Appleton, Reddington, Heath, etc. *Octavo*.

..... Legislative Documents, Laws, and State Papers, from 1821 to 1869, in bound volumes. *Octavo*.

A regular Series is in the State Library at Augusta.

..... Revised Statutes. Third Revision. 1870. *Royal Octavo*.

..... Reports of the Adjutant-general, from 1861 to 1866. In five volumes and a supplemental volume, published in 1864, containing the names of Maine Volunteers.

These Reports are very voluminous and valuable, prepared with great labor and skill by the able Adjutant-general Hodgson; and furnish a complete history of the efforts of Maine in the Civil War.

..... History of Maine Troops during the War. By W. E. S. Whitman and C. True, Lewiston.

..... History of the Seventeenth Maine Regiment, during the War. By Rev. S. H. Merrill, the Chaplain. Portland: *Duodecimo*.

..... History of the First Maine Cavalry.

..... Law. First Prohibitory Act passed, restraining the sale of intoxicating liquors, 1846. More stringent one, in 1855. Riot, and death of Robbins, June 2, 1855. Report of Committee.

..... Outlines of its History, and Description of Counties, Cities, and Towns. By A. J. Coolidge and J. B. Mansfield. In a General History and Description of New England. Boston: 1859. *Royal octavo*.

This comprehensive and useful book gives a brief description of every town then incorporated in Maine; and a general account of the History and Statistics of the State, with a sheet map.

..... Journal of a voyage to, in 1734, from Boston. By Rev T. Prince. *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, v. 376.

..... A History of the Law, the Courts, and Lawyers of Maine, from its first Colonization, to the early part of the present Century. By William Willis. Portland: 1863. *Octavo*, pp. 712.

..... The Water-power of. Reports of the Commissioners of the Hydrographic Survey. The First Report of the Survey of 1867. Augusta: 1868. *Octavo*, pp. 327.

..... Second Report, 1869. With Maps and Plans.

These very full and able Reports were prepared by Walter Wells of Portland, and contain careful and thorough description of the immense water-power of the State, as distributed over its numerous rivers and towns, a small portion of which is yet made useful.

..... Territory. Statistics of. By Joseph B. Felt. *Statistical Collections*, i., 57.

..... Geology of. By Charles T. Jackson and Ezekiel Holmes, M. D. Three Reports, published by the State, 1836-1839,

..... Geological Survey of. By George L. Goodale. In two volumes.

..... Annual Register.

The series was continued, with few omissions, from 1820 till 1857, with the usual civil and political matter.

Previous to 1820, back to the close of the Revolution, matter relating to Maine was embraced in the *Massachusetts Registers*.

..... Register and Business Directory, etc., for 1855. Portland: *Octavo*, pp. 500.

..... State Political Manual and Annual Register, for 1870. Compiled by Edmund S. Hoyt. With Map of the State. Portland: 1869.

This is the most complete Register ever published in the State, containing, besides the usual tables and statistical matter relating to the Courts, the Civil Governments of the United States and Maine, a Summary History of the State and Political parties, and brief Statistics of every town within the Territory. It is a new and improved Series, which it is hoped, will be continued.

..... MAPS OF. By Osgood Carlton. Boston: 1795.

..... By Moses Greenleaf, 1829, accompanied by an octavo volume, containing an exhaustive account of the population, commercial and agricultural statistics, and other valuable information relative to the resources and industrial pursuits of the State, collected with great labor and intelligence. The work is now very rare. Portland: 1829. pp. 467. Several other Maps of the State have been published, founded on Greenleaf.

..... In 1861, J. Chase, Jr. & Co., published a large and finely-executed Map, from actual Survey, laying down minutely the geographical and peculiar features of the State, its mountains, rivers, etc.; and accompanied it with a volume of historical and statistical information. *Octavo*, pp. 345.

This enterprising firm, as a preliminary to the general map of the State, published large separate Maps of each County, drawn from actual surveys.

..... United States Coast Survey, of the Coast of Maine, with charts, triangulations, soundings of harbors, shore, etc.

..... Mount Desert, on the coast of Maine. Anonymous. [Mrs. Clara Barnes Martin]. Portland: 1867. *16mo*, pp. 16.

..... By Rev. B. F. DeCosta. *See Mount Desert*.

..... Charitable Mechanic Association. Act of Incorporation, 1815. Sundry Reports of Exhibitions and Fairs. Report of Exhibition, 1854. Portland: 1865. *Octavo*, pp. 40.

..... MEDICAL ASSOCIATION OF. Constitution, By-laws and Medical Ethics. Portland: 1863. *Octavo*, pp. 23.

..... Transactions of, from its Incorporation, 1855. In three volumes. Portland: 1859-1866.

..... Report of Committee of, on the subject of a General Hospital. By J. T. Gilman.

..... Medical School of. Address on the opening of. By Leonard Woods, D. D.,

- President of Bowdoin College. Brunswick: 1862. *Octavo*, pp. 20.
- Introductory Lecture before the Medical Department of Bowdoin College, 1867. By Theodore H. Jewett, M. D. Portland: 1869. *Octavo*, pp. 28.
- Lecture before the same. By William C. Robinson, M.D. 1868. Portland: 1868. *Octavo*, pp. 23.
- COMMON SCHOOLS. See Education.
- TEMPERANCE SOCIETY. First Annual Report. Belfast: 1833. *Octavo*, pp. 25.
- Subsequent Reports.
- MISSIONARY SOCIETY. Reports from General Conferences of Congregational Churches. By E. F. Duren.
- Report of, for 1869. Portland: 1869. *Octavo*, pp. 112.
- STATISTICS. Letter from John A. Poor, to the Governor of Maine, on the population, resources, etc., of the State. 1869. *Octavo*.
- MEMBERS OF CONGRESS. Biographical Notices of. Lanman's Dictionary of Congress. Second Edition: 1864.
- Articles in *North American Review*—volume xiii., (by B. Rand,) on Separation; on first Settlement, in volume xv., 24, 41; on Revision of Laws, in volume xxiv. 201.
- MASONIC. Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Maine, from 1820 to 1869. In six volumes. Portland: *Octavo*.
- Proceedings of the Grand Commandery of Maine, from 1852. Annual Reports. Portland: 1852-1869. *Octavo*.
- Statutes of the Grand Commandery of Maine; with Constitution, Ceremonies, etc. Portland: 1860. *Octavo*, pp. 80.
- History of. By Simon Greenleaf. 1821.
- History of the Rising Sun Lodge, No. 71, Orland, Maine, from 1852 to 1869. By Freeman H. Chase, M. D. Bucksport: 1869. *Octavo*, pp. 19.
- Address at Hallowell. By John H. Shepard.
- Address at Portland. By John H. Shepard.
- History of Star in the West Lodge.
- Lincoln Lodge. History of. By Rufus K. Sewall.
- McKEEN, JOSEPH. An Eulogy pronounced at Brunswick, Maine, July 18, 1807, at the Funeral of the late Rev. Joseph McKee, D. D., A. A. S., and President of Bowdoin College. By William Jenks, A. M., one of the Ministers of Bath. Portland: 1807. *Octavo*.
- McLELLAN Family of Gorham. The Old Home. By Rev. Elijah Kellogg, in *Our Young Folks*, 1867.
- MELEN, PRENTISS. Biographical notices of. *American Quarterly Journal*, xiii., 438; in *Maine Historical Collections*, v., xxii.; and in Willis's *Law and Lawyers of Maine*.
- MEMORIALS of the English and French Commissioners, concerning the limits of Nova Scotia, or Acadia. In two volumes. London: 1766. *Quarto*, pp. 771 and 520.
- This valuable work contains the arguments of the English Commissioners, William Shirley and W. Mordaunt, and the French Commissioners, appointed to settle the controversy respecting the boundary line between Massachusetts and Acadia and other controverted points arising under the Treaty of Utrecht. The first volume relates wholly to Acadia and adjacent territory, furnishing a summary of the various Grants, Occupation, etc.; the second relates to St. Lucie.
- MERRICK, JOHN. Memoir of. By Rev. D. R. Goodwin, D.D., 1862. *Octavo*, pp. 39.
- Historical Report of the Trial of David Lynn, Elijah Barton, and others, for the murder of Paul Chadwick, at Malta, in Maine, September 8, 1809. Before Hon. Theodore Sedgwick and other Justices of the Supreme Court, at Augusta, November 16, 1809. Taken in short hand by him. Hallowell: 1810.
- METEOROLOGICAL Journal kept at Brunswick, Maine, from 1806 to 1858. By Professor Parker Cleaveland, of Bowdoin College. Published by the Smithsonian Institution, Washington: 1869.
- METHODISM in Maine. Greenleaf's *Ecclesiastical History of Maine*, 275; Willis's *History of Portland*, Second Edition, 681; Williamson's *History of Maine*, ii., 697; Stevens's *History of Methodism*; *Memorial of Methodism*; and the Minutes of the Sessions of the Maine Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The last of these Annual Minutes were those of the Forty-fifth Session, held in Westbrook, May 5 to 10, 1869. Boston: 1869. *Octavo*, pp. 36.
- As a Revival and an Organization. A Centenary Sermon at Lewiston, May 11, 1866. By Rev. C. Munger. Portland: 1866. *Octavo*, pp. 32.
- MINERALOGY and Geology. An Elementary treatise designed for the use of Pupils and Travellers. By Parker Cleaveland. Illustrated by Plates and Map. In two volumes. Boston: 1822. *Octavo*.
- MINISTERS, Aged, in Maine. By William Willis. *Maine Historical Collections*, v., lv.
- MINOT. Annals of Bakerstown, Portland and Minot. By William Ladd. *Maine Historical Collections*, ii., 111.
- MISSIONARY Tours in Maine, from 1768 to 1800. By Paul Coffin, D. D. *Maine Historical Collections*, iv., 261.
- Society of Maine. Reports.
- MISSIONS, Catholic, in Maine. By Enoch Lincoln. *Maine Historical Collections*, i., 323.
- Gabriel Dreuillet's *Narré du Voyage*. *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 1855; and of *The New York*

Historical Society.

- History of. By John G. Shea.
 in Acadia. By Taschereau.
 Relations of the Jesuits, 1632
 to 1681.

..... Pere E. Rale's Letter from Nor-
 ridgewock, on the Abnakis. *Lettres Edi-
 fiantes*, xvii. and xxxviii.

..... In Charlevoix *History of New
 France*.

..... Relations of the Jesuits. Reprint
 of the Paris Edition. In three volumes. Que-
 bec: 1858. *Royal octavo*.

MONHEGAN ISLAND. See Bradford—Deane's edi-
 tion; Williamson's *History of Maine*; Pem-
 aquid Papers in *Maine Historical Collections*,
 v., 1; and Prince's *New England Chronology*.
 Account of. By John Johnston. *Pop-
 ham Memorial Volume*, 263.

MONTRESSOR, Colonel. Journal of the Expedi-
 tion to Quebec, 1775. *Maine Historical Col-
 lections*, i., 341.

MOUNT DESERT. Scenes in the Isle of. By Rev.
 B. F. DeCosta. Photographs. New York:
 1868. *Quarto*.

..... Anonymous. [Mrs. Clara Barnes Martin.]
 Portland: 1867. *Duodecimo*, pp. 16.

NARRAGANSETT TOWNS. The History of the
 Seven. By Charles Coffin. *Maine Historical
 Collections*, ii., 131.

Two of these townships were in Maine—No. 1, Buxton;
 No. 7, Gorham.

..... See Buxton and Gorham.

NATURAL HISTORY. Proceedings of the Portland
 Society of. Portland: Part I., 1852. Part II.,
 1869. *Octavo*.

..... Journal of the Portland Society of. Vol-
 ume I., Number 1. 1864.

..... Observations on the Terrestrial Putmoni-
 fera of Maine. By Edward S. Morse. Port-
 land: 1864. *Octavo*.

..... Orthoptera of the State of Maine. By
 Sidney I. Smith. *Octavo*, pp. 10.

..... Report on Toxicology. By George L.
 Goodale. Portland: *Octavo*, pp. 12.

..... Catalogue of Birds found in the vicini-
 ty of Waterville, Maine—Report of the Sec-
 retary of the Board of Agriculture, 1865—
 By Charles E. Hamlin.

..... Remarks on facts connected with devel-
 opement of Frogs, observed at Waterville.
 By Charles E. Hamlin. *Boston Journal of
 Natural History*, x.

..... Remarks on a Habit of *Certhia America-
 na*, supposed hitherto unnoticed. By Charles
 E. Hamlin. *Boston Journal of Natural His-
 tory*, x., 80.

..... A Guide to Entomology. By Alpheus S.
 Packard, Jr. *Octavo*, pp. 700.

..... Papers republished from the Philadel-

phia *Entomological Journal* and *Boston Jour-
 nal of Natural History*. By A. S. Packard, Jr.

..... Record of American Entomology. By
 A. S. Packard, Jr.

..... Characters of the Noctuidae. By A. S.
 Packard, Jr. *Portland Journal of Natural
 History*, i.

..... Synopsis of the Fishes of North Ameri-
 ca. By D. Humphreys Storer.

Doctor Storer, as Commissioner of Massachusetts, has
 made several learned Reports on the Fishes and Rep-
 tiles of that Commonwealth.

..... Shells. Description of twenty-four spe-
 cies in New England. By J. W. Mighells.
Boston Journal of Natural History, iv.

..... Marine, Fluvial, and Terrestri-
 al, of the State of Maine, and adjoining Ocean.
 By J. W. Mighells. *Boston Journal of Nat-
 ural History*, iv., 3.

..... See Greenleaf's *Statistics*; and William-
 son's *History of Maine*.

NEAL, JOHN. Wandering Recollections of a
 somewhat busy life. An Autobiography. Bos-
 ton: 1869. *Duodecimo*.

This is a production of Mr. Neal at the age of seventy-
 six. He has been a copious and vigorous writer of
 poetry and romance, for half a century; and is one
 of the most voluminous of the native authors of
 Maine. He was born in Portland, in 1793; and, like
 Whittier, is of Quaker descent.

NEWCASTLE. See Bristol; Coolidge and Mans-
 field's *General Description of New England*.

NEW ENGLAND Farmer, or Georgical Dictionary.
 By Rev. S. Deane of Portland. Worcester:
 1790. *Octavo*.

..... Second Edition. 1797.

..... Chronological History of. By Thomas
 Prince. Third Edition. Boston: 1852. *Octavo*.

..... A Description of New England; or, the
 Observations and Discoveries of Captain John
 Smith, (Admiral of that Country) in North
 America, in the year 1614; with the success
 of six ships that went the next year, 1615;
 with the proof of the Present Benefit this
 Country affords; whither, this 1616, Eight
 voluntary Ships are gone to make further try-
 al. London: 1616. Reprinted in *Massachu-
 setts Historical Collections*, III., vi.

..... New Edition, with Notes. By Charles
 Deane. Boston: 1866. *Quarto*.

..... Advertisements for the unexperienced
 Planters of New England, or anywhere, etc.
 By Captaine John Smith, sometimes Governour
 of Virginia, and Admirall of New England.
 London: 1631. Reprinted in *Massachusetts
 Historical Collections*, III., iii.

..... History of. By John G. Palfrey.

..... A General and Local Description of. By
 A. J. Coolidge and J. B. Mansfield. Volume
 I., concerning Maine, New Hampshire and
 Vermont. Boston: 1859. *Octavo*, pp. 1023.
 This work gives a general description of the State; and

- a more minute one of all the Counties and Towns existing at the time of its publication, with a map.
- NEW GLOUCESTER. Some Account of. By Isaac Parsons. *Maine Historical Collections*, ii., 151.
- NEWSPAPER PRESS of Cumberland County. Charles Holden's Address before the Editors' and Publishers' Society. Transactions of the Society. Portland: 1869. *Octavo*.
- Mr. Holden enlarged and perfected this account in the *Portland Press*, in several articles in 1869.
- in Maine. See Willis's *History of Portland*.
- The first Newspaper printed in Maine, was the *Falmouth Gazette*, issued January 1, 1785, by Benjamin Tiltcomb and Thomas B. Walt. Now every considerable Town has its newspaper-press. The whole number issued in the State, in 1869, was fifty-seven; of which six are daily, forty-six weekly, and five monthly.
- NICHOLS, Rev. I. A Discourse delivered at the Dedication of the Stone Church of the First Parish in Portland, February 9, 1826. By I. Nichols. With an Appendix, containing a Memoir of the Parish. [By W. P. Preble.] Portland: 1826. *Octavo*, pp. 25.
- Doctor Nichols was also the author of a popular treatise on *Natural Theology*, much used in Sunday Schools. His last and great work was *Hours with the Evangelists*, in two volumes—volume I., published in 1859; and volume II., in 1861. *Octavo*, pp. 404 and 388. A profound analysis of Gospel History and events. He died in 1859, after a ministry in Portland of fifty years.
- Memoir of. By William Willis. *Maine Historical Collections*, v., li.
- Rev. A. P. Peabody's Discourse at his Funeral. 1859. *Octavo*.
- NILES, Rev. SAMUEL. A Summary History of French and Indian Wars, from 1634 to 1760. *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, III., vi.
- NOBLE, FRANCES. Narrative of the Captivity of Frances Noble, who was, among others, taken by the Indians from Swan Island, in Maine, about the year 1755. Published first in the *Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society*.
- The same. Republished by Samuel G. Drake, in *Tragedies in the Wilderness*, 1846.
- NOBLEBOROUGH. Mansfield's *General Description of New England*.
- NORRIDGEWOCK. The History of Norridgewock. Comprising the Memorials of the Aboriginal Inhabitants and Jesuit Missionaries, Hardships of the Pioneers, Biographical Notices of the Early Settlers, and Ecclesiastical Sketches. By William Allen. *Duodecimo*, pp. 252.
- The History of Norridgewock and Canaan. By J. W. Hanson. 1849. *Duodecimo*.
- (Indian) Language. Numbers in. *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, x.
- NORTH-EASTERN BOUNDARY of Maine. Documents relating to the History of, and Negotiations concerning. Published, at various times, by the Legislatures of Maine and Massachusetts, by the United States, and by Great Britain. With Maps. 1828-1842.
- A Memoir in connection with Mr. Jay's Map. By Albert Gallatin. With a Speech, on the same subject, by Daniel Webster. New York: 1843. *Octavo*, pp. 74.
- The Right of the United States to. Extracted principally from the Statement laid before the King of the Netherlands. Revised by Albert Gallatin. Eight Maps. New York: 1840. *Octavo*.
- NORTIMEN in Maine. By Rev. B. F. DeCosta. Albany: 1870. *In Press*.
- By J. K. Kohl. *Documentary History of Maine*, i., New Series.
- NORTH YARMOUTH. The History of North Yarmouth. By Edward Russell. *Maine Historical Collections*, ii., 165.
- Confession of Faith and Covenant of the First Church in North Yarmouth; with a Catalogue of its Members and brief Historical Notices. April, 1848. Portland: 1848. Anonymous. [By Rev. David Shipley, the Pastor.]
- NORTON, LEMUEL. An Autobiography. Portland: 1862. *18mo*, pp. 192.
- NORWAY, History of the Town of. By David Noyes. Norway: 1852. *Octavo*, pp. 216.
- NOUVELLE FRANCE. See Biard; Bigot; Charlevoix; etc., for notices of Maine.
- O'BRIEN Family at Machias. Their Exertions in the American Revolution. By Captain John O'Brien, of Brunswick. *Maine Historical Collections*, ii., 242.
- ORONO, a Chief at Penobscot, Notice of. By William D. Williamson. *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, III., ix.; and *Belfast Journal*, April, 1850.
- OXFORD County, Sketches of. By Rev. Thomas T. Stone. 1830. *Duodecimo*, pp. 112.
- OYSTER Shell deposit at Damariscotta. Jackson's *Geological Report of Maine*; Paul A. Chadbourne's *Account*, in *Maine Historical Collections*, vi., 345; and Report of Maine Historical Society, 1869, in *Brunswick Telegraph*, September 3, 1869.
- PACKARD, ALPHEUS S. Address before the Alumni of Bowdoin College. 1858. *Pp.* 49.
- Mr. Packard, the venerable Professor of Bowdoin College, of time-honored memory, is the author of the Biographical Notices of the Rev. Samuel Eaton and the Rev. Jonathan Fisher, in Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit*, and of other Discourses and Articles, published separately and in periodicals, written with great beauty and ability.
- PAMPHLETS, Titles of, on the controversy relating to the titles of the Plymouth and Pippscot Companies.
1. A statement of the title of the Proprietors of the township of Brunswick, with extracts of deeds and a plan.
- This is what was called the *Pippscot* title, extending from the mouth of the Kennebec-river, northward, including Brunswick, Topsham, and other towns on the Androscoggin and Kennebec-rivers, 1752.

2. Remarks on the plan, and extracts of deeds lately published by the Proprietors of the township of Brunswick (as they term themselves), agreeably to their vote of January 4, 1753. January 31, 1753. *Pp.* 8.
 3. A conspectus or clear view of the laws in any way affecting the titles and conveyances to lands in the Eastern part of the Province, which have occasioned controversies and disputes, being claimed by virtue of ancient Grants from the native Indians. 1753. *Pp.* 4.
 4. An answer to the remarks of the Plymouth Company, or (as they call themselves) the Proprietors of the Kennebec Purchase from the late Colony of New Plymouth, published by virtue of their vote of the thirty-first of January last, on the plan and extracts of deeds, published by the Proprietors of the Township of Brunswick, etc., March 28, 1753. *Pp.* 33.
 5. A Defence of the remarks of the Plymouth Company, on the plan and extracts of deeds, published by Proprietors (as they term themselves), of the township of Brunswick. September 5, 1753. *Pp.* 50.
- This controversy was carried to London, in 1755, the opinion of eminent lawyers obtained, and an appeal taken to the Courts. Florentius Varrail was appointed by the Plymouth Company to attend to its interests in London. The controversy was afterwards settled by compromise.
- This class of publications, relating to the State or portions of it, is too numerous to be set down here in detail. The principal of them are placed elsewhere, under appropriate heads—John A. Poor, Rev. Enoch Pond, Reports of Societies, Public Documents, etc.
- PARRIS, ALBION K. Notice of. *Maine Historical Collections*, v., xxxix; and Willis's *Law and Lawyers of Maine*.
- PASCATAQUA; including Elliot, Kittery, and South Berwick. By Usher Parsons. *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, iii., 250.
- PASSAMAQUODDY. Indian language. See *Vocabulary*; and Williamson's *History of Maine*, i.
- PAYSON, EDWARD. Memoir, Select Thoughts and Sermons, of the late Rev. Edward Payson, D. D., Pastor of the Second Church in Portland. Compiled by Asa Cummings, Editor of the *Christian Mirror*. In three volumes. Portland: 1849. *Octavo*.
- PEARL of Orr's Island. By Harriet Beecher Stowe. In two volumes. *Duodecimo*.
- PEET, Rev. Josiah. Thirty-eight years Pastor of the First Congregational Church of Norridgewock. Memoirs of, with a selection from his Sermons and Miscellaneous Writings. By Rev. David Shepley. With Portrait. New York: 1854. *Octavo*, pp. 344.
- PEGWACKETT Fight. See Fight of Captain Lovell, and Lovell's Fight.
- PENOBSCOT. Notice of early settlers at Pur-

chase, etc. By John McKeen. *Brunswick Telegraph*, July, 1855.

PEMAQUID. Papers relating to Pemaquid and parts adjacent, in the present State of Maine, known as Cornwall County, when under the Colony of New York. Compiled from Official Records in the Office of the Secretary of State, at Albany, N. Y. By Franklin B. Hough. Albany: 1856. See, also, *Maine Historical Collections*, v., 1.

..... Account of. By Nathaniel Groton. *Maine Historical Collections*, ii., 238.

..... Ancient. An Historical Review. Prepared at the request of the Maine Historical Society, by J. Wingate Thornton—*Maine Historical Collections*, v., 139.

..... History of. Ancient and Modern. With some account of the early settlements in Maine; and Memoirs of the families of Giles, Gould, Holmes, etc. By John A. Vinton. *Octavo*, pp., 600. See Giles's *Memorial*.

..... Description and History of. By John Johnston, LL.D. *Popham Memorial Volume*, 263.

This is a graphic and exceedingly interesting account of this most ancient of the settlements on the coast of Maine, and is well worthy of perusal by historical students.

..... Papers relating to. By Doctor Franklin Hough. *Maine Historical Collections*, v., 1., and Bradford's *History*, 836—Deane's Edition.

..... Abstract of Grants at, to Aldsworth and Elbridge. 1632. *York Records*; and *Hazard*, i., 315.

..... Jamestown of. A Poem. By Mrs. Maria W. Hackelton; with an Introduction by Rev. Edward Ballard, D. D. *Riverside Press*: 1869.

..... Report of Commissioners in 1811, appointed to adjust the Controversy in regard to the titles to land at Pemaquid and the adjacent country; embracing the testimony and result. 1811. *Duodecimo*.

A rare and very valuable document.

..... Order in Council, June 20, 1686, that the Fort and Country of Pemaquid, in regard to the distance from New York, be, for the future, annexed to the Government of New England. *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, 295.

..... See Sewall's *Ancient Dominion of Maine*; the *Popham Memorial Volume*, 143, 148, and 263; and the *Muscogus Indian Deeds* to R. Pierce and John Brown.

PENHALLOW, SAMUEL. History of the Wars of New England with the Indians, from August 10th, 1703, to the Peace of July, 1713; and from July, 1722, to December, 1725. Cincinnati: 1859.—Reprint of Boston Edition, 1726. *Quarto*.

PENOBSCOT. The Siege of Penobscot by the

- Rebels; containing a Journal of the Proceedings of His Majesty's forces, detached from the Seventy-fourth and Eighty-second Regiments, consisting of about seven hundred rank and file, under the command of Brigadier-general Francis McLean, and of three of His Majesty's Sloops-of-war, of sixteen guns each, under the command of Captain Henry Mowatt, Senior Officer, when besieged by three thousand, three hundred (rebel) land force, under the command of Brigadier-general Solomon Lovell and Seventeen rebel ships and vessels of war, under the command of G. Saltonstall, Commodore, to which is annexed a Proclamation, issued, June 15th, 1779, by General McLean and Captain Barclay, to the inhabitants. Also, Brigadier-general Lovell's Proclamation to the inhabitants, and his letter to Commodore Saltonstall, found on board the rebel ship Hunter, together with the number, forces and commanders of the rebel ships destroyed in the Penobscot Bay and River, August 14th and 15th, 1779; with a chart of the Peninsula of Major Biguyduce and of the Penobscot-river, to which is subjoined a Postscript, wherein a short account of the Penobscot is given, by J. C., Esq., a Volunteer. London: 1781. *Octavo*, pp. 44. With Maps.
The author was Doctor John Calf, agent for the inhabitants on the Penobscot.
- Bay and River. See Acadia, and Whipple.
- Indians. History of. By Hon. J. Sullivan, *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, viii.
- Siege of. See Castine, P. B. Addition.
- taken by the French, in 1635. Trading House at. Bradford's *History*, Deane's Edition.
- PEPPERELL. The Life of Sir William Pepperell, Bart. The only native of New England who was created a Baronet during our connection with the Mother Country. By Usher Parsons. Boston: 1855. *Duodecimo*, pp., 352.
- A Second edition. 1857.
- PETITION of inhabitants of the Province of Maine, to King Charles II., 1680. *Maine Historical Collections*, i., 302.
- PHIPPS, SIR WILLIAM, Life of. Mather's *Magnalia*.
- and Increase Mather, Life of. 1848. By Rev. Enoch Pond, D. D.
The venerable Doctor Pond, now in his seventy-ninth year, is one of the most voluminous and able writers in Maine. A native of Massachusetts, he was transferred to the Bangor Theological Seminary, in 1832, of which he has been President since 1856. His works are principally upon theological subjects, which were commenced as early as 1817, and have been unremitted to the present day.
- PHOENIX, John, of Kittery, Maine. Descendants of. By S. Whitney Phoenix. New York: 1857. *Quarto*, pp. 153.
- PIERCE, Josiah. Centennial Address. Gorham: 1836.
- History of Gorham. See Gorham.
- PITISTON. See Gardiner.
- PLYMOUTH and Pejepscot Companies. The Controversy relating to the conflicting titles of these two Companies, to large tracts of land on the Kennebec and Androscoggin river. Published in two pamphlets, small quarto size, 1752-53, containing evidence, documents, and agreements of Counsel. Very rare. Copies in the Libraries of the Massachusetts and Maine Historical Societies' Libraries. See specific titles under Pamphlets.
- Council Records. All that remain have been published by the American Antiquarian Society, in its volume of *Proceedings*, for April, 1867. Boston: 1869. See, also, Haven's *History of Grants under the Great Council*.
- POLAND, Annals of. By William Ladd. *Maine Historical Collections*, ii., 111.
- POOLE, WILLIAM F. Criticisms on the Celebration, in various newspaper articles. *Popham Bibliography*.
- POOR, Henry V. Manual of Rail-roads in the United States. New York: 1869.
This valuable work contains a full description of the Railroads in Maine.
- Hon. John A. A Memorial to the Legislature of Maine, to open a direct communication between the towns in Maine and the St. Lawrence-river. 1844.
This was among the earlier movements for the construction of the great Railway from Portland to Montreal. It was followed by a series of articles, on the same subject, in the newspapers in this State and Canada, by Mr. Poor and others.
Mr. Poor has, by his pen and personal exertions, exercised a leading influence in the construction of Railroads in the State. He has also contributed to the press, valuable articles on the running and management of Railroads, and general statistics relating to them.
- Plan for shortening the time of passage between New York and London. With Map. *Octavo*, pp. 24.
- Commercial importance of Portland. With Map. 1855. *Octavo*, pp. 50.
- Origin of the Grand Trunk Railway. 1856.
- Memorial concerning the Public Lands of Maine. 1857. *Octavo*, pp. 12.
- English Colonization in America. A Vindication of the claims of Sir Ferdinando Gorges. With Map and Documents. 1859. *Octavo*, pp. 144.
- Memorial in behalf of the European and North American Railway. 1861. *Octavo*, pp. 52.
- Report on the Coast Defences of Maine. 1862. *Octavo*, pp. 18.
- Letter to Hon. E. M. Stanton, on the same subject. 1862. *Octavo*, pp., 26.
- Memorial to the Legislature, for an ap-

propriation to procure copies of Documents from Foreign Archives. 1862.

..... An Address in Commemoration of the planting of the First English Colony on the Coast of Maine, in 1607. 1862. *Octavo*, pp. 58.

..... Memoir of Mrs. Mary Barr. 1863. *Octavo*, pp. 10.

..... Memoir of Hon. Reuel Williams. 1863. *Octavo*, pp. 66.

..... The Railway. Remarks at Belfast, July 4th, 1867. Boston: 1868. *Octavo*, pp. 61.

..... Report of the Commissioners on the Hydrographic Survey of the State. 1867. *Octavo*, pp. 30.

..... Proceedings of the International Commercial Convention, held in Portland, August 4th and 5th, 1868. *Octavo*, pp. 160.

..... Remarks at Rutland, Vermont, on the Trans-Continental Railway, June 24th, 1869. *Octavo*, pp. 78.

He has written numerous other articles on Railways and other Statistical subjects relating to Maine, for newspapers and periodicals.

POPHAM, George. Letter from George Popham, President of the Sagadahoc Colony, to King James I., December 13th, 1607. With introductory remarks, and further Comments on Weymouth's Voyage. By William Willis. *Maine Historical Collections*, v., 341.

..... Colony. The Second Book of the First Decade of the Historie of Travaile into Virginia Britannia; entreating of the First discoveries of the Countrey, etc., etc. Also, of the Northern Colonie seated upon the River Sagadahoc, transported at the charge of Sir John Popham, Knight, late Lord Chief Justice of England. Gathered by William Strachey, Gent. Taken from the Collections of the Hackluyt Society, London, and *The Massachusetts Historical Collections*. *Maine Historical Collections*, iii., 278.

..... Memorial Volume of the Popham Celebration, August 29th, 1862, commemorative of the Planting of the Popham Colony, on the Peninsula of Sabino, August 19th, O. S. 1607. Published under the direction of Rev. Edward Ballard, Secretary of the Executive Committee. Portland: 1863. *Octavo*, pp. 368, 144.

This volume is a valuable contribution to American history. It contains the map of L'Escarbot; Proceedings attending the depositing a Memorial Stone, with Addresses; the Address of Mr. Poor; communications of historical interest by Professor John Johnston and others, essay on the Weymouth voyage; Mr. Poor's Vindication of Gorges; copies of interesting original documents; etc.

..... Address at the Celebration of. August, 1863. By E. E. Bourne.

..... Address at the Celebration of. By George Folsom. 1864.

..... Address on the two hundred and fifty-eighth Anniversary of the planting of the Popham Colony, August 29th, 1865. By Hon.

James W. Patterson. Boston: 1865. *Octavo*, pp. 38.

..... Remarks on the Popham Celebration of the Maine Historical Society. By S. F. Haven. Boston: 1865. *Octavo*, pp. 32.

..... Colonial Schemes of Popham and Gorges. Speech of J. Wingate Thornton, Esq., at the Fort Popham Celebration, 1862. Boston: 1863. *Octavo*, pp. 20.

..... A discussion of its Historical Claims, with a Bibliography of the subject. Boston: 1866. *Octavo*, pp. 72.

This pamphlet, beautifully printed, on fine tinted paper, shows, to an extraordinary degree, the storm of opposition which was raised to this humble attempt of a few citizens of Maine, to bring into notice the earliest effort, by the Proprietors, to colonize their Territory. They may have claimed too much for this first attempt, but it seems to have been hardly a sufficient cause to have aroused, to the extent it did, the indignation of the historical scholars of a neighboring State. The Bibliography contained in this pamphlet shows the wide range the discussion took, carried on, not only in the newspapers, but in pamphlets and in the *Congregational Quarterly*, *Christian Examiner*, *Boston Review*, *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, etc. The projectors of the celebration certainly did not think they were kindling so great a fire.

..... The Church of England and Early American Discoveries and Colonization. By Rev. William S. Perry. *Popham Memorial Volume*, 317.

PORTLAND. The History of Portland, from its first Settlement; with Notices of the neighboring Towns, and of the changes of Government in Maine. In two parts. By William Willis. Part I. Portland: 1831. *Octavo*, pp. 243; in *The Maine Historical Collections*, i., Part II., from 1700 to 1833, separate. Portland: 1833. *Octavo*, pp. 355.

..... Second Edition, with Maps and Plates. Revised and enlarged. Portland: 1865. *Royal octavo*, pp. 912.

..... Journals of the Rev. Thomas Smith and the Rev. Samuel Deane, Pastors of the First Church in Portland. With Notes and Biographical Notices, and a Summary History of Portland. Maps and Portrait. By William Willis. Portland: 1849. *Octavo*, pp. 484.

In 1821, Samuel Freeman published the Journal of the Rev. Mr. Smith, in duodecimo form, with a valuable Appendix relating to town and county matters, now entirely out of print.

..... Harbor. Report of the Commissioners on Portland Harbor, accompanied by Statistics of the Commerce and Railways of the State of Maine and of the City of Portland; and by Proceedings and Correspondence of the City Government. Portland: 1855. *Octavo*, pp. 61. With Plates and Plans.

..... Commercial, Railway, and Ship-building Statistics of the City of Portland and the State of Maine. Prepared to accompany the Second Report of the Commissioners on Portland Harbor. By John A. Poor. Portland: 1855. *Octavo*, pp. 50.

- Charter of City and Ordinances. 1832. *Octavo*.
- City Documents, regular series, annually printed, containing Mayors' Addresses; Organization of Government; Reports of Treasurers, School Committees, Overseers of the Poor, and other Departments. *Octavo*.
- Riot. Report of the Committee appointed by the Board of Aldermen, to investigate the causes and consequences of the Riot of June 2, 1855. Drawn by William Willis, Chairman. Portland: 1855. *Octavo*, pp. 50.
- Proceedings of Citizens' Meeting, July 23, 1855, and on the death of John Robbins, killed in the Riot. *Octavo*, pp. 112.
- Review of the testimony before the Inquest, on the death of John Robbins. Anonymous. [By Joseph A. Ware.] *Octavo*, pp. 32.
- Directories. The first Directory of the Inhabitants of Portland, was issued in 1822. It was a thin 18mo, very poorly got up. Several have been issued since, the last and best in 1869, by S. B. Beckett, who compiled several previous ones. The last was an octavo of three hundred and forty-two pages, the city having a population of about thirty-five thousand; while that in the year of the first issue was but nine thousand.
- Board of Trade. Annual Reports of, from 1862 to 1870. Pamphlets. *Octavo*. These Reports, prepared by the Secretary, M. N. Rich, contain full, minute, and satisfactory statements of the Commerce, Manufactures, and business generally of Portland.
- Magazine. By Mrs. Ann S. Stephens. 1835 and 1836.
- Northern Monthly Magazine. By E. P. Weston. 1864.
- Colman's Monthly Miscellany. 1839.
- Catalogue of the Portland Institute and Public Library. *Octavo*, pp., 119.
- Society of Natural History. History and Condition of, from 1866 to 1869.
- Proceedings of, in sundry Pamphlets.
- and Rutland Railroad. Memorial to City of Portland, January, 1869. Anonymous, [J. A. Poor.] *Octavo*, pp. 15.
- Account of the great Fire in Portland, July 4 and 5, 1866. By John Neal. *Octavo*, pp., 92; also, *Portland Transcript*, July, 1866. By W. Willis.
- POWELL, Governor. Journal of the voyage of Governor Thomas Powell, from Boston to Penobscot-river, May, 1759. Copied from the original manuscript, in the Office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth, Boston. With Notes. By J. Williamson. *Maine Historical Collections*, v., 363.
- PREBLE. The Life of Commodore Edward Preble. By Lorenzo Sabine. Sparks's *American Biography*, xvii.
- The Life of Commodore Edward Preble. *Octavo*, pp., 30. This has no date, nor imprint, nor author's name; and was published soon after the death of its distinguished subject, which took place August 25, 1807.
- PREBLE FAMILIES. A Genealogical Sketch of the Preble Families resident in Portland, Me., A. D., 1850. Printed but not published. Portland: 1850. *Octavo*, pp., 28. Anonymous. The author was William P. Preble, who died in Portland, October 11, 1857, aged seventy-four.
- Genealogical Sketch of the first three Generations of Prebles in America; with an account of Abraham Preble, the emigrant, their common ancestor, and of his grandson, Brigadier-general Preble, and his descendants. By George Henry Preble, Captain U. S. N. Boston: Printed for family circulation. 1868-1870. *Octavo*. This minute and carefully-prepared Record of one of the ancient and prominent families in New England, is a very valuable addition to the history and genealogy of the country. The Portraits of Commodore Preble, the author, the author's father, and other members of the family, add much to the interest of the work. The country is indebted to Captain Preble for many valuable articles, published in various papers and periodicals, on the ships and ship-building of the nation; steam vessels and vessels of war; articles relating to the navy; and an authentic account of "The chase of the Rebel steamer *Oreto* by the *Oneida*," under his command, for failure to capture which he was unjustly blamed.
- HARRIET. Memoir of, with correspondence. By R. M. Lee. New York: 1856. *Octavo*, pp., 409.
- PRENTISS, SARGENT S. Life of. By his Brother, Rev. George L. Prentiss. In two volumes. New York: 1855. Both of these distinguished gentlemen were natives of Maine.
- PRESBYTERIANISM in Maine, New England. Greenleaf's *Ecclesiastical Sketches*; *Maine Historical Collections*, vi.; and *Scotch-Irish Immigration*, by William Willis.
- RAILROADS in Maine. Henry V. Poor, *Manual of Railroads in America*. New York: 1869.
- Survey of a route for a Railroad from Portland to Montreal, in 1844. By James Hall, C. E.
- Act to Incorporate the Atlantic and St. Lawrence Railroad, February 10, 1845.
- Articles of Agreement between the Atlantic and St. Lawrence, and the St. Lawrence and Atlantic Railroad, April 17, 1846.
- By-laws and Lease of the Atlantic to the St. Lawrence Railroad, 1855.
- Report of the gauge for the St. Lawrence and Atlantic Railroad, 1847. By A. C. Morton. *Octavo*, pp. 68.
- Reports of the Directors of the St. Lawrence and Atlantic Railroad, with statistics. Report of Engineer, etc., 1849. pp. 30.

..... Rules and Regulations of the Grand Trunk Railway. Montreal: 1853.

..... Proceedings of the First Meeting of the Shareholders of the Grand Trunk Railway, at Quebec, July, 1854.

..... York and Cumberland Railroad. Report and Map. 1849. By A. C. Morton, C. E.

..... Report of Directors, on the removal of F. O. J. Smith from the Presidency of the York and Cumberland Railroad. 1851. *Octavo*, pp. 64.

..... Report of Committee of Investigation of York and Cumberland Railroad; with Myers' Contract and F. O. J. Smith's Letter. *Octavo*, pp. 95.

..... Reports and Proceedings on Consolidating the Bonds, etc. 1857.

..... Boston and Maine Railroad. Report of Committee of Investigation. 1849. pp. 79.

..... Annual Reports of the Androscoggin Railroad, Androscoggin and Kennebec, Kennebec and Portland, Maine Central, Portland, Saco and Portsmouth, Penobscot and Kennebec, and Grand Trunk. *Octavo*. Pamphlets.

..... Memorial and Petition to the Legislature of Maine, in behalf of the European and North American Railway. [By J. A. Poor.] 1850. *Octavo*, pp. 27.

..... Proceedings of the Great Convention held at Portland, July 31, 1850, with numerous Statistics, Speeches, Charter of the European and North American Railway, etc. With Map. Published by order of the Convention. Portland: 1850. *Octavo*, pp. 170.

..... Prospectus of the European and North American Railway. 1851. Correspondence with British Officials. Convention at Portland, October 14, 1852. Additional Charter, 1853; and Report of Survey, by A. C. Morton, Civil Engineer, with Statistics. *Octavo*, pp. 96, 20, 32, 148.

Hon. J. A. Poor must have the credit of originating, and preparing for publication, and carrying forward the great European and North American Railway, which is now being pushed under other auspices and management, to a successful result.

..... Annual Reports of Railroad Commissioners to the Legislature.

..... Remarks at Belfast, July 4, 1867. See J. A. Poor.

..... Trans-continental, Portland and Rutland. Official Record of Convention, April, 1868. pp. 59.

..... Proceedings of International Convention, at Portland, August 4 and 5, 1868. Portland: *Octavo*, pp. 160.

..... Explorations, Surveys, and Reports, Belfast to Quebec. By James Hall. Atlantic and St Lawrence. By A. C. Morton, Colonel Long, etc. Portland and Lake Champlain. By William Dearborn.

The number of miles of railroad now in operation in this State, is shown by the following table of railroads in operation:

Portland, Saco, and Portsmouth.....	52
Androscoggin (with branch).....	69
Great Falls and Conway.....	3½
Boston and Maine.....	2½
Portland and Rochester.....	32
Portland and Kennebec, (with Bath branch)..	109
Atlantic and St. Lawrence.....	82
Portland and Oxford Central,....	27
Maine Central.....	110
Dexter and Newport.....	14
Bangor and Piscataquis.....	40
European and North American.....	58
Calais, Baring and Lewy's Island.....	22
Total.....	621

The number of miles now in progress of construction.

Portland and Ogdensburg (in Maine).....	50
Portland and Rochester.....	16
Belfast and Moosehead.....	33
Somerset.....	34
Knox and Lincoln.....	45
Total.....	178

RALE, REV. SEBASTIAN. Life of. By Francis. Sparks's *American Biography*.

..... Biographical Memoir of. Also, letters to and from him. 1784. *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, III., viii.

..... A Dictionary of the Abnaki Language, in North America. With a Memoir, by John Pickering. *Transactions of the Academy of Arts and Sciences*, New Series, i. Also v., Appendix.

..... Letter to him, from Governor Shute, 1718. *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, v., 112.

..... Two Letters from him, in *Relations of the Jesuits*.

..... Re-dedication of the Monument erected to him, at Norridgewock. *Democratic Advocate*, September 19, 1861.

RICH, O. See his *Bibliotheca Americana*; and his Catalogue of Books relating to America, for works on Maine.

ROCKLAND, History of. See Thomaston.

ROSIER, JAMES. A true relation of the most prosperous Voyage made this present year, 1605, by Captain George Weymouth, in the discovery of the land of Virginia, where he discovered sixty miles up, a most excellent river, together with a most fertile land. Written by James Rosier, a gentleman employd in the Voyage. London: Impensis George Bishop. 1605. Reprinted in the *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, v., 28.

..... A new edition of this interesting narrative was published by George Prince, of Bath, 1859; with comments, claiming that the locality visited by Weymouth, was the Georges-river, and not the Penobscot, as affirmed by Belknap. This led to a sharp controversy, carried on by John McKeen, Rev. Edward Ballard, Rev. David Cushman, and others, who contended for the Kennebec-river, as the true locality. Prince and others replied. These

articles appear in the *Maine Historical Collections*, v. and vi.; and in *The Popham Memorial Volume*.

SABINE, LORENZO. Report on the Fisheries. *Octavo*. See an article, on the same subject, by Mr. Sabine, in the *North American Review*.

..... American Loyalists. History of the.

SACO. A Topographical and Historical Sketch of Saco, County of York, District of Maine. By Rev. Jonathan Cogswell, August, 1815. *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, II., iv.

..... AND BIDDEFORD. History of Saco and Biddeford. With notices of other early settlements and of the Proprietary Governments in Maine, including the Provinces of New Somersetshire and Laconia. By George Folsom. Saco: 1830. *Duodecimo*, pp. 331.

..... City Directories and Documents.

SAGadahoc. Early Settlements. By John McKean. *Maine Historical Collections*, iii.

..... Popham's Colony. Strachey's account. See Popham and Strachey.

..... George Popham's letter to James I., December 13, 1607. *Popham Memorial Volume*.

SAGamore of Saco. By Mrs. Elizabeth Oakes Smith.

SALMON FISHING in Maine. By Doctor Hamlin. *Lippincott's Magazine*, May, 1869.

SANDY-RIVER. A Poem. By David Davis. Farmington.

SANDY-RIVER SETTLEMENTS. By William Allen. *Maine Historical Collections*, iv.

SCARBOROUGH. The History of Scarborough, from 1633 to 1783. By William S. Southgate. *Maine Historical Collections*, iii., 237.

SCHOOLS, COMMON. Reports of Superintendent. See Education.

SCOTCH-IRISH Immigration to Maine. By William Willis. *Maine Historical Collections*, vi.; also in a separate pamphlet.

SEARSPORT. Semi-Centennial Discourse on the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Organization of the Church in. By Rev. Stephen Thurston, Pastor, October 4, 1865. Portland: 1866. *Duodecimo*, pp. 24.

SEPARATION of Maine from Massachusetts. Address of Benjamin Orr, on. Brunswick: 1816. pp. 24.

..... See, under MAINE and DISTRICT OF MAINE, various proceedings for.

SENER, ISAAC. The Journal of Isaac Sener, Physician and Surgeon to the Troops detached from the American Army encamped at Cambridge, Massachusetts, on a secret expedition against Quebec, under the command of Colonel Benedict Arnold, in September, 1775. Philadelphia: Published by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. 1846. Pp. 40.

SEVERANCE, LUTHER. Memoir of. By J. G.

Blaine. Augusta: 1850. *Octavo*, pp. 33.

SEWALL, Rev. JOTHAM. Memoir of. By his son, Rev. Jotham Sewall. Boston: 1853. *Duodecimo*, pp. 408.

SHAPLEIGH. History of Shapleigh. By Amasa Loring. Portland: 1854. *Octavo*, pp. 40.

..... FAMILY. Genealogy. *Historical and Genealogical Register*, v., 350.

SHAW, Colonel CHARLES. Personal Memoirs of. (Anonymous). In two volumes. London: 1837. *Octavo*.

..... The same. Boston: 1821. Knapp's *Biographical Sketches*.

..... Major SAMUEL, First American Consul at Canton. Journals of, with Life of the Author. By Josiah Quincy. Boston: 1857. *Octavo*, pp. 373.

SHEEPSCOT. Ancient Settlement of Sheepscot. By Rev. David Cushman. Appendix by William Willis. *Maine Historical Collections*, iv.

..... RIVER. A Description of. By Alden Bradford. See Wiscasset.

SHEPARD, Rev. GEORGE, late Professor in Bangor Theological Seminary, and an able preacher and writer. His Sermons, with a Memorial. By Professor D. S. Talcott. Boston: 1869. *Duodecimo*.

SHEPPARD, JOHN H. Life of Commodore Samuel Tucker, which see.

..... Memoir of Benjamin Vaughan. *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, xix., 343., and in a separate pamphlet.

Mr. Sheppard, long a resident in Maine, and lately Librarian of the New England Historical and Genealogical Society, has been a large and valuable contributor to the historical and genealogical literature of Maine; and his pen is still actively employed in the good service.

SHIPPING. Report of the Valuation Committee to the Legislature. January, 1870.

The aggregate Shipping of Maine, in 1870, was three hundred and seventy-six thousand, eight hundred and thirty-nine tons, valued at twelve million dollars. Of this, sixty-one thousand, six hundred and forty-eight tons were owned in Cumberland-county; thirty-seven thousand, one hundred and fifty-seven, in Hancock-county; fifty-six thousand, one hundred and fifty, in Knox-county; eighty-seven thousand, nine hundred and ninety-seven, in Sagadahoc-county; thirty-eight thousand, nine hundred and seventy-five, in Waldo-county; and thirty-three thousand, six hundred and fifty in Washington-county.

In 1860, the tonnage of Maine was eight hundred and three thousand, and seventy-one tons, and there was built that year of new vessels, fifty-seven thousand, eight hundred and sixty-eight tons, exceeding by more than twenty thousand tons any other State.

SHOAL ISLES. A Description and Historical Account of the Isles of Shoals. *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, vii.

The dividing line of Maine and New Hampshire passes between the islands; leaving Haley's, Hog, Duck, Cedar, and Malaga Isles in Maine; the others in New Hampshire. These were originally called "Smith's Isles."

SIBLEY, J. L. History of the Town of Union, which see.

SKOWHEGAN. See Norridgewock.

- SMITH, GAMALIEL E. Journal of the Brunswick Convention. *See* Journal.
- Captain JOHN. Advertisements for Unexperienced Planters of New England and Elsewhere, etc. *See* New England.
- A Description of New England, etc. *Duodecimo*. *See* New England.
- Second Edition. Edited by Charles Deane. Reprinted from London Edition of 1608. *Quarto*. Boston: 1866.
- SEBA. "Jack Downing;" "Way down "East;" etc.
- Rev. THOMAS, first Pastor of the Church in Falmouth and Portland. Journal of. By S. Freeman. Portland: 1821.
- Second Edition. With Notes, and Mr. Deane's Journal and Memoirs. Edited by W. Willis. Portland: 1849. *Octavo*.
- SOUTH BERWICK. By Usher Parsons. *See* Pascataqua and New England Historical and Genealogical Register, iii., 250.
- SOUTH THOMASTON. *See* Thomaston.
- STARK. *See* Norridgewock.
- STARMAN, Rev. Mr. Account of German Settlements in Waldoboro'. *Maine Historical Collections*, v., 401.
- Biographical Sketch of. By N. Groton. *Maine Historical Collections*, v., 401.
- STATE PRISON. Report on the System of Disbursements, Labor, and Discipline of. By James G. Blaine. Augusta: 1859.
- STATISTICS of the Territory of Maine. By Joseph B. Felt. *Statistical Collections*, i., 42; and Seybert's *Statistical Annals*.
- STIRLING, Earl of. Petition of the Earl of Stirling, William Phillips, and Mary Trumbull, praying to be put into possession of somelands, called the County of Canada, granted to William, Earl of Stirling, in 1635, by the Council for the affairs of New England. 1760. (Addressed to the King.) *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, vi.
- STRACHEY, WILLIAM. Account of Popham's Colony on the Kennebec, 1607. *Maine Historical Collections*, iii.
- SUBMISSION of the Inhabitants of Black Point, Blue Point, and Falmouth, to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, 1658. *Maine Historical Collections*, i.
- of the inhabitants of Kittery and Agamenticus, and privileges granted them, 1652. *Hazard*, i., 578-577.
- SULLIVAN, JAMES. History of the District of Maine. 1795. Which see.
- Governor JAMES. Life of. By O. W. B. Peabody. Sparks's *American Biography*, II., iii.
- Life of, with selections from his writings. By Thomas C. Amory. In two volumes. Boston: 1859. *Octavo*.
- SUNDAY-SCHOOL Convention for Maine, at Lewiston, September, 1869. *Octavo*, pp., 20.
- SYMMES, Rev. ZACHARIAH. Sermon on "Lovell's Fight," 1725, and account of the Battle.
- TARIFF of 1820. Memorial of Delegates from the Agricultural and Commercial parts of Maine. Washington: 1820. *Octavo*, pp. 8.
- THOMASTON. Description of Thomaston in the County of Lincoln and District of Maine, 1794. [Anonymous]. *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, iv., 20.
- General Knox, etc. *New York Times*, July, 1854.
- ROCKLAND, AND SOUTH THOMASTON, MAINE. History of. From their first exploration, in 1605; with Family Genealogies. By Cyrus Eaton. In two volumes. Hallowell: 1865. *Duodecimo*, pp. 468, 472.
- THORNTON, J. WINGATE. Historical Review of Ancient Pemaquid. *Maine Historical Collections*, v.
- Speech at the first Popham Celebration, with Notes and Authorities. *Congregational Quarterly*. 1863.
- Colonial Schemes of Popham and Gorges. Boston: 1863. *Octavo*, pp. 20.
- The Virginia Company's Northern Plantation. *Bath Daily Sentinel*, August, 1865.
- Mr. Thornton is a native of Maine; and for many years has been a close historical student and a prolific writer on historical and genealogical subjects.
- THURSTON, Rev. DAVID. *See* History of Winthrop.
- Sketch of his Life. By Rev. Thomas Adams. Portland: Pamphlet.
- TOPSHAM. A Topographical Description of Topsham, in the County of Lincoln. By Rev. Jonathan Ellis. *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, iii.
- TRAGEDIES in the Wilderness. Narratives of Captures by the Indians. By S. G. Drake. Boston: 1841. *Duodecimo*, pp. 360.
- TREATIES with the Eastern Indians at Falmouth and other places in Maine. *Maine Historical Collections*, iv. and v.
- TRIAL of Bartlett and others, for the robbery of the Bowdoinham Bank, April, 1867. Portland.
- of David Lynn and others for the murder of Paul Chadwick, 1809. *See* John Merrick.
- TRUBNER's Bibliographical Guide to American Literature. A classified list of books published in the United States, during the last forty years. London: 1855. *Octavo*.
- TUCKER, Commodore SAMUEL. Life of. By John H. Sheppard, A. M. Boston: 1868. *Octavo*, pp. 384.
- TYNO, Hon. WILLIAM. Memoir of. By Rev.

Timothy Alden, Jr. *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, x.; and Willis's *History of Portland*.

UNITARIANISM. First preached in Maine, in 1792, at Portland, by Thomas Oxnard, whose communications with Rev. James Freeman, of Boston, and Belsham and Lindsley, in England, turned him from the Church of England. See *Smith and Deane's Journal*, and *Willis's History of Portland*.

Armenianism had early and widely prevailed, previous to this time.

A separation from other Congregational Churches took place on the Ordination of Rev. I. Nichols, in 1809, over the First Church, a Parish in Portland. Sermon by Doctor Barnard, of Salem, and published with other services. See *Smith and Deane's Journal*, and *Willis's History of Portland*.

The American Unitarian Association, established in Boston, in 1825, has issued a regular series of publications.

Year Books of the Association give account of the Unitarian Parishes in Maine, which numbered seventeen, in 1869.

A sharp controversy, between leading and eminent theologians, was kept up, on both sides, for thirty years from 1815, for which their numerous publications may be consulted. Doctors Stuart and Woods, of Andover; Doctors Ware, Channing, Rammuran Roy, Sparks, and others, were able contestants.

The Maine Ministerial Conference or Association was established in 1843; and holds annual meetings.

UNIVERSALISTS. The Parishes of this denomination are much more numerous in Maine, than those of the Unitarians. In 1869, there were six Associations in Maine.

Centennial Celebration of the denomination, held at Portland, Maine, January 20, 1870. Proceedings to be published of this Centennial throughout the United States, will furnish ample statistics of the denomination. The Rev. John Murray is regarded as the founder of the sect.

UNION. A History of the Town of Union, in the County of Lincoln, Maine, to the middle of the Nineteenth Century; with a Family Register of the Settlers before the year 1800, and of their descendants. By John Langdon Sibley, Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society. "*E minimis maxima*." Boston: 1851. *Duodecimo*, pp. 540.

VAUGHAN, BENJAMIN. Memoir of. By John H. Sheppard. *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, xix., 343; also, in a separate pamphlet.

..... Memoir of. By R. H. Gardiner. *Maine Historical Collections*, vi., 82.

VETROMILE, S. J. Professor EUGENE. Account of the Abnaki Indians. *Maine Historical Collections*, vi., 203.

..... Memoir of. By Rev. E. Ballard. *Ibid.* VINES, RICHARD. Commission to, from Sir F. Gorges, 1639. *Sullivan's History of Maine*. Appendix, 413.

..... See Folsom's *History of Saco*; Willis's *History of Portland*; etc.

VIRGINIA BRITANNIA. By Strachey. See *PORTHAM'S COLONY*, for title.

VOCABULARY of Words in the Language of the Quoddy Indians (name, Passamaquoddy; its meaning, Pollock Fish), located in Perry, Pleasant Point, State of Maine, on the waters of Sehoodak, adjoining the British Provinces. —(Pleasant Point, in Indian, is *Seboiak*), *Schoodac*, an Indian word, signifies Burnt Land. —By Rev Elijah Kellogg, Missionary to the Passamaquoddy Indians. *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, III., iii.

VOYAGE into New England. Begun in 1623 and ended in 1624. Performed by Christopher Levett, His Majesty's Woodward of Somersetshire, and one of the Council of New England. *Maine Historical Collections*, ii., 36; and *Massachusetts Historical Collections*.

VOYAGES to the East Coast of America, in the Sixteenth Century. By William Willis. *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, xxiii. April, 1869.

..... The same. *Octavo*, pp. 12.

..... A Bibliographical Essay on the Early Collections of Voyages to America. By William Willis. *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, xv., 97 and 205.

WALDOBOROUGH. Some Account of the German Settlements in. By Rev. John W. Starman. With a Biographical Notice of Mr. Starman. By Nathaniel Groton. *Maine Historical Collections*, v.

WALDO PATENT. Detail of the Patent of Beauchamp and Leverett. *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, III., x.

..... Abstract of. *Hazard*, i., 304.

..... See, also, Eaton's *Annals of Warren*, and Sibley's *History of Union*.

..... Circular, in German, for Immigrants. *Maine Historical Collections*, vi.

WANDERING Recollections of a somewhat busy Life. An Autobiography. By John Neal. Boston: 1869. *Duodecimo*.

This veteran Author, a native of Portland, has, during a period of more than fifty years, wielded a very busy and trenchant pen, in poetry, romance, and miscellany, but which do not come within the scope of this Bibliography. His mind, at the age of seventy-six years, still burns with its pristine brightness and eccentricity. Few writers of Maine have been more

- copious or vigorous. With Longfellow, James Brooks, Professor Henry B. Smith, and N. P. Willis, all natives of Portland, a rare list is presented of beautiful and popular authors, whose works will follow them.
- WARE, Judge ASHUR. Resolutions of the Cumberland Bar, and Address of United States District Attorney, George F. Talbot, on the retirement of Judge Ware from the Bench. Portland: 1866. *Octavo*, pp. 8.
- Journal of Joseph, of Expedition against Quebec, 1775, under Benedict Arnold. *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vi., 129.
- WARREN. Annals of the Town of Warren, with the early History of St. Georges, Broad Bay, and the neighboring settlement on the Waldo Patent. By Cyrus Eaton, A. M. Hallowell: 1851. *Duodecimo*, pp. 437.
- WARS, French and Indian. Summary History of. 1634-1760. By Samuel Niles. *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, III., vi.
- WASHBURN, Governor EMORY. Speech at the Popham Celebration, 1863. *Popham Volume*; also, an elaborated article on the same subject, in *The Boston Daily Advertiser*.
- WATERFORD. A History and Description of, in August, 1803. By Lincoln Ripley. *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, I., ix.
- WATERVILLE COLLEGE. Manual Labor at. By A. C. Hamlin. *Agricultural Report for 1867*.
- WAYMOUTH, GEORGE. His Voyage to the Coast of Maine, 1605. See ROSIER, and discussions concerning its locality, by George Prince, John McKeen, and others, in *Maine Historical Collections*, v. and vi.
- WELLS. A Topographical Description of Wells, in the County of York. By Hon. Nathaniel Wells. *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, iii.
- WALTER, Superintendent on the Hydrographic Survey of Maine. Report on the Water-power of Maine. 1867. Augusta: 1868. *Octavo*, pp. 327.
- Second Report. Augusta: 1869. *Octavo*, pp. 526.
- These Reports are very thorough and valuable. They present a mass of facts on the physical formation and resources of the State, which convey a profound impression of the immense unused, but available, water-power, which must promote the future wealth and prosperity of this community. In my remarks introductory to this Bibliography, I quote from the Second Report, some statements relative to the physical condition of the State.
- WEST GARDINER. See Gardiner.
- WERKDS OF MAINE. Habits, Properties, and best modes of exterminating. By F. Lamson Scribner. Augusta: *Octavo*, pp. 62.
- WYMOUTH, GEORGE. Belknap's *American Biography*. New York: 1844.
- Voyage. Remarks on. By John McKeen, George Prime, E. Ballard, etc. in *The Popham Memorial Volume*, 301, in *Maine Historical*

- Collections*, v. and vi., etc.; and in separate pamphlets. See Rosier.
- WHARTON, RICHARD, and GEORGE WAY. Statement of Title at Pejepscot and Petition for Privileges, July 16, 1685. *Original Documents*, 93.
- WHEELWRIGHT, REV. JOHN. Notice of. By Joseph L. Chester. *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, xxi.; Savage's *Winthrop's Journal*; *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*; Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts*; Dawson's *Life and Times of Anne Hutchinson*; and Ellis's *Memoir of Anne Hutchinson*, in Sparks's *American Biography*.
- [..... Fast-day Sermon, delivered at Boston, January 16, 1636. From the original manuscripts. Morrisania: 1867. *Octavo*, pp. 36.]
- WHIPPLE, JOSEPH. View of Maine, Geographical and Statistical. Bangor: 1816. *Octavo*, pp. 102. See Acadia.
- WHITMAN, EZEKIEL. Biographical notice of. By John H. Sheppard. *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, ii., 20, 381; and Willis's *Law and Lawyers of Maine*.
- Memoir of John Whitman and his Descendants. Portland: 1832. *Octavo*, pp. 44.
- WHITNEY, HENRY A. Incidents in the Life of Samuel Whitney, born in Marlborough, Massachusetts; died at Castine, Maine, 1808. Together with some account of his descendants, and other family memorials. Collected by his great-grandson, Henry Austin Whitney. Boston: Printed for private distribution. 1860. *Large Quarto*, pp. 97, xliii.
- WILLIAMS, REUEL. Memoir of. By John A. Poor. Read before the Maine Historical Society, 1863. With portrait. *Octavo*, pp. 66. See, also, Willis's *Law and Lawyers of Maine*.
- WILLIAMSON, JOSEPH. Although Mr. Williamson has produced no volume, his numerous and various historical and statistical articles, in numerous papers and periodicals, prove him to be an apt and learned historical student. Imbibing the taste and industry of his uncle, the learned Historian of Maine, he has collected a large amount of facts relating to that peculiarly interesting portion of our State, lying along the shores and islands of Penobscot Bay and River, with which he occasionally instructs our people, and which, we are encouraged to believe, will assume the more perfect and permanent form of a valuable historical work.
- WILLIS, NATHANIEL PARKER. Genealogy and Descent. A Genealogical Register of Ancient Puritans. By Abner Morse. Boston: 1859. *Octavo*, pp. 238.
- Mr. Willis was born in Portland, Maine, on the twentieth of January, 1806; and was the eldest son of Nathaniel Willis. The family is quite distinguished for the literary talent and execution of its members. N. P., the most brilliant, is favorably known, at home and abroad, as a Poet and Essayist.

..... WILLIAM. See Morse's *Register*, as above ;
The McKinstry Genealogy, etc.

WINDHAM. An Historical Address, delivered on the fourth of July, 1839, at the Centennial Anniversary of the Settlement of Windham. By Thomas Laurens Smith. Portland : 1840. *Octavo*, pp. 32.

WINTHROP. A brief History of Winthrop, from 1764 to October, 1865. By David Thurston. "Call to remembrance the former days." Portland : 1855. *Duodecimo*, pp. 247.

..... ROBERT C. Address before the Maine Historical Society. 1849.

WOODMAN. A List of some of the Descendants of Mr. Edward Woodman of Newbury, 1635. Compiled by Joshua Coffin. Printed for Cyrus Woodman, 1855.

WOODS and Timber of the Province of Maine. The King's right to them. Opinion of Richard West, Esq., 1718. *Maine Historical Collections*, ii., 265.

WISCASSET. A Description of, and of the River Sheepscot. By Rev. Alden Bradford. *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, vii.

YORK. A Topographical Description of York. By the Honorable David Sewall, Esq. *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, iii.

..... COUNTY. Extracts from the Ancient Records of. *Maine Historical Collections*, i.

..... See Willis's *Law and Lawyers of Maine*, and Williamson's *History of Maine*.

NOTICES OF PORTIONS OF MAINE MAY BE FOUND IN THE FOLLOWING WORKS:—

Belknap's *History of New Hampshire*.

Barstow's *History of New Hampshire*.

Chulmer's *Political Annals of the United Colonies*.

Charlevoix's *History and Discovery of New France*, etc.

Drake's *Indian Biographies and Tragedies in the Wilderness*.

Dwight's *Travels in New England*.

Burke's *European Settlements in America*, 1760.

Halliburton's *History of Nova Scotia*.

Hazard's *Historical Collections*.

Hubbard's *History of New England*.

..... *History of Indian Wars*.

Jesuit Missions in North America.

All the Histories of New England and of Massachusetts, and of the United States.

La Hontan's *New Voyage to America*.

L'Escarbot's *History*.

Lettres Edifiantes of the Jesuit Missionaries in North America.

Mather's *Magnalia*.

Penhallow's *Indian Wars*.

Ogilvie's *Voyages*.

Purchas's *Pilgrimage*.

Winthrop's *Journal*.

American Quarterly Journal.

North American Review.

The Historical and Genealogical Register.

Census Statistics. Published by the United States.

Prince's *Chronological History of New England*.

Wood's *New England Prospect*. 1639.

Sparks's *American Biography*.

Bancroft's *History of the United States*.

Hakluyt's *Collection of Voyages*.

Hutchinson's *Collection of Original Papers relative to the Colony of Massachusetts*.

Holmes's *Annals*.

Bradford's *New England Chronology, from 1497 to 1800*.

Historical Magazine.

For Topographical features of the State and its Natural History, see Greenleaf's *Statistical View*, Williamson's *History*, etc.

II.—CLAIM AGENTS IN THE OLDEN TIME.

BY COLONEL THOMAS F. DE VOR.

At the close of the War of the Revolution, many of the principal Loyalists departed with the British Troops; leaving behind all their property. In fact, every thing which they could not carry with them was confiscated by the Laws. These losses, were, however, partially made good to them, by presenting them to the British Government; but we find some of their claims were so outrageous* as to cause Agents

* In letters received from London, it was said, "That several eminent Loyalists are now confined in Newgate, and are likely to be capitally convicted, for perjury, which, by a Statute of England, is made felony. A glaring instance of this of the impropriety of suffering people to swear in their own cause. We are apt to be warped by interest, which, with some men, preponderates over every other consideration. These hapless people were called upon to qualify to the amount of the losses they sustained by their attachment to Government; but, unfortunately for them, they exaggerated them so much as not to pass unnoticed. It is said that many who were never worth one thousand pounds, have laid their claims at twenty thousand, sterling, and others in the same proportion. As people of this description were instrumental in torturing to death many of our unfortunate countrymen, it is very probable the Mosaic Dispensation will be verified, "That whosoever sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed."

We find, also, an unfortunate Loyalist who had committed suicide while waiting for a settlement of his claims. A London paper, in the month of July, 1786, thus presents his case:—"The gentleman who put a period to his existence on Monday evening, was an American Loyalist. After losing the whole of his property, by an adherence to an unfortunate cause, he rendered very essential services to the Royal Army, and had every reason to expect some compensation from Government, to which he had sacrificed every thing. Administrations, however, more intent upon granting pensions to Commissioners than rewarding real merit, have suffered him to linger, in a cruel suspense, for near three years, until, at length, he was assured, that his affairs should be concluded to his satisfaction. Monday morning he learnt, that the

to be appointed by that Government and sent to the several large cities, where they were recognized by the authorities, to take evidence in the various cases presented.

In the following document, several citizens of New York, who were quite prominent before the Revolution, appear.

[ADVERTISEMENT.]

BROAD STREET, NEW YORK, 11th May, 1786.

WHEREAS JOHN ANSLEY, Esquire, of the Kingdom of Great Britain, has been specially appointed under the authority of an Act of the British Parliament, entitled, "An Act for appointing Commissioners further to enquire into the losses and services of all such persons who have suffered in their rights, properties, and professions, during the late unhappy dissensions in America, in consequence of their loyalty to his Majesty and attachment to the British Government," to repair to the United States of America, for certain purposes in the said Act mentioned;

AND WHEREAS the same has been duly notified and explained to his Excellency, George Clinton, Governor of this State, by his Excellency, John Adams, Minister Plenipotentiary, resident of the Court of London;

Notice is hereby given, that the said John Ansley has accordingly entered upon the execution of the trusts and powers in him vested.

AND WHEREAS several of the description of those called in England, Loyalists, have resorted, from different parts of the country, to put in their claims at the office in Broad-street, in this City, and applications have been made, from time to time, to the said John Ansley, to receive and admit the same, whereas no such authority is in him vested for that purpose;

Notice is therefore hereby further given: That the said office is open for the sole purpose of liquidating the amount in value of the losses sustained in this State, by hearing, inquiring, and examining into such facts and circumstances,

"Jacks in Office, had left Town, and his business unsettled. A ray of hope (the only resource of the wretched) no longer remaining, he charged a pistol with three balls, which he lodged in his breast, leaving on the Table, the following card, addressed to his landlord:

"FRIEND WILSON;
"I rush into the presence of that Almighty Being, who penetrates and sustains nature, neither doubtful nor diffident. For this last, and not only act of my life, which I condemn, let those who have reduced me to a fatal alternative, answer. The loss of fortune, and embarrasments of situation were enough;—the insolence of office might have been spared! Let my remains, if an ungrateful country chooses it, be impaled. They have starved me while living, let them mangle me when dead: It will be a memento of the idiot, who devoted himself to such a people.

"Forward the enclosed to a wretched sister in New York, by the next packet:—she will remit you the arrears, which I am unable to pay."

es, and collecting such information as may be material, for the better ascertaining the several claims which have been presented, under the authority of the above mentioned or any former Act, to the end and intent that ample justice may be done in the premises, that the bounty of the British Government may be upheld in all cases, and confined to its proper objects; and compensation adequately and impartially administered to the several claimants, in just proportions, according to their pretensions, as the proofs thereof shall be found to require.

AND WHEREAS the unliquidated loss of the said claimants and the number of claims are considerable in this State, whereby it becomes necessary to regulate the order of preference in the examinations, It is proposed, that the arrangements of the same shall be made according to the local situation of the subject matter of loss, in respect to the particular District within which such loss has been, or hereafter may be, fully ascertained, in consequence of sale by the Commissioners of Forfeitures; and that the enquiry shall commence with the Southern District of this State, and therein in the first instance with the cases of

Brigadier General Oliver De Lancey, Mr. Isaac Low, Mr. Hugh Wallace, Mr. Alexander Wallace, Colonel Beverly Robinson, Colonel Roger Morris, Robert Bayard, Esqr., and Colonel James De Lancey, in the order following, that is to say—

Monday, the 15th of May instant, is allotted for the enquiry into the case of Brigadier General Oliver De Lancey.

Of Mr. Isaac Low, on Tuesday, the 16th day of May, instant.

Of Mr. Hugh Wallace, on Wednesday, the 17th day of May, instant.

Of Mr. Alexander Wallace, on Thursday, the 18th day of May, instant.

Of Colonel Beverly Robinson, on Friday, the 19th day of May, instant.

Of Colonel Roger Morris, on Saturday, the 20th day of May, instant.

Of Robert Bayard, Esqr., on Monday, the 22nd day of May, instant.

And of Colonel James De Lancey, on Tuesday, the 23rd day of May, instant.

On which days such further directions and appointments will be severally and respectively made, as the occasions and circumstances of each case may require, and all persons in any way interested in the enquiry, as above directed, either as friends, relatives, or agents, to prove the titles of the Claimants, or as Creditors having demands on the estates confiscated, either by way of Mortgages, Bonds, Debts, or otherwise, are hereby requested to attend, at

the said Office, in Broad-street, in the order of time above mentioned, with their respective proper vouchers, to the end that the same may be examined into, and the actual loss of each Claimant ascertained accordingly.

N. B. The names of other Claimants, as they occur, in the order of examination, will be published in this paper; and the days appointed for their enquiry, from time to time, as occasion may offer, whereof proper notice will be given.

III.—LETTERS FROM THE FIELD.

WRITTEN TO HIS RELATIVES, BY MAJOR PHILIP J. KEARNEY, ELEVENTH NEW JERSEY VOLUNTEERS.*

1.—To his Mother.

CAMP NEAR FORT MARCY, VA.

Tuesday evening, September 2nd, 1862.

DEAR MOTHER:

I should have written you before, but this is the first moment of time I have had. We left Trenton, Monday, at ten; on arriving at Philadelphia, in the afternoon, we received quite a nice dinner at the Saloon they have near the Camden-ferry; and then marched through the city to the Baltimore depot; we arrived at Baltimore about ten o'clock—in the evening—there we all got supper; after marching through the town, between depots, we stayed in the open depot all night, leaving at nine the next morning, for Washington. On arriving at Washington, a dinner for all hands was served up; but, instead of the nice dinner of Philadelphia, there was only a piece of bread with a piece of meat laid on it. Some of our men lost their appetites suddenly. The meal did look rather rough to recruits. In the afternoon, we marched six miles beyond Long-bridge, to Camp Seward; arrived there at six, P. M.; and pitched our tents in a hurry. I was very near tired out, as you know I had not had too much sleep the week before leaving Trenton; and I was up all the way down, in the cars, taking care of my men—no light job—for the way whiskey passed into the cars, at every stopping place, gave us trouble enough. The next day, after arriving at Camp Seward, I was made officer of the day, for that day; and, in a new camp, I had enough to do. In the afternoon, just after I had got the camp nicely cleaned up, came an order to strike the tents, pack up, and march to Alexandria. We got everything ready to go, when an order came to wait as we were, until further orders; so we lay out all night, in a slight rain. In the hurry, no thought had been taken

for supper. So, seeing the men all hungry, I went to the Quarter-master; and drew coffee and bread for the Regiment; and saw it dealt out myself. We took to coffee-boiling all night. I had a busy night of it, looking after the guards and passing among the men to keep them quiet. This was their first night in *bivouac*; and they were rather inclined to be noisy, singing, etc. At four, A. M., I lay down on the ground, near the guard-fire, for an hour; but as it was drizzling, did not enjoy my nap much. At nine, next day, I was relieved, my time being up and by right excused from all duty for twenty-four hours. I had some Company business to settle, but was really too sleepy to attend to it, so let it drop. The tents were all put up again and mine very nicely floored with boards. We all thought then we would have a few days rest. Next morning, at three o'clock, I was woke up by the Colonel and ordered to get my men ready to march at once for Chain-bridge. I dressed as quickly as I could; and got my men all out, while it was yet dark. The whole Regiment went out on the road. Here we waited until dawn and then started for Chain-bridge. Two Regiments followed us for the same place. On reaching Chain-bridge, we found the plank torn up to prevent any one passing, as they—the green hands at the bridge—had got a great scare from reports. We waited until a path of two planks was laid down, then passed over and went beyond Fort Marcy, about half a mile. Here we drew up in line, to await the enemy, (five thousand Cavalry) whom report said, had flanked Pope. General Doubleday said he expected them down the road, (the Leesburg Turnpike) every hour, for a few hours. We had the honor of being in the front; but, in the evening, a Regiment from the Peninsula, the Seventh Michigan, passed us, and went a mile beyond, up the road. There was not a tree where we encamped; and the sun came down powerfully. I built a shed with my blanket, and entertained the Lieutenant-colonel and five more, under the shade of it. We foraged around; got fried chicken, peaches, corn, potatoes, etc.; and, for a time, kept a hotel; in the evening, we were withdrawn to our present Camp, just back of the Fort, to keep us out of harm's way. It is a *mighty rough* hillside—all stumps, brush, etc. Here we bivouaced, as we had no baggage; made a small fire for each Company, to give us a little light; and lay down, as it was after dark. When we arrived, we had no time to make ourselves comfortable; and, as the men left Camp in the morning, in their blouses, with neither overcoats nor blankets, when the rain came on, we were *rather* unprepared. All hands were up early—and I secured one of the three kettles that could be found in the Regiment and had coffee made for

* We are indebted to our friend, General J. Watts de Peyster, for the use of this series of letters.

the men. All day, Saturday, the men amused themselves, building bough-huts. Just as we were going to bed, mine fell down, so I had the pleasure of another rainy night in bivouac, with only my blanket, for all three of us. Sunday morning, the tents arrived, and, as it rained, were put up regardless of order. Monday, the Colonel sent for me; asked me if I was not an Engineer; and told me to lay out the camp and see it put in order. I had quite a job of it yesterday and to day; this afternoon, just as I had it looking nicely and was going to Washington, to get something I am badly in need of—a cook, etc.—an order came from General Whipple to get our men at once into line, to await an attack. It is now all quiet. I believe it is a humbug; do not think Stonewall has any idea of seeing us, though we are ready for him. When we came here, we were alone. The hills looked bare, now they are covered with Camps. One Regiment is about half a mile in advance of us. I am too sleepy to write more—love to all.

Your affectionate son,

Direct Capt. PHIL J. KEARNY,
Co. A. 11th Regt. N. J. Vols.
Washington, D. C.

2.—To his Mother.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 3^d, 10, P. M.

I came in, to day, on business. I am so sorry for Phil. I saw his body. What a hard thing for his wife, alone now. He had his faults, but he was a noble fellow. There is one universal expression of regret for him. Love to all. I go to Camp to morrow.

PHIL.

3.—To his Brother, Edward.

CAMP NEAR FALMOUTH, VA.

December 9th, 1862.

DEAR BROTHER EDWARD:

As the Army moves to-morrow, no one knows where, I may not have an opportunity to write again for some time. I came down here on a leave of absence for three days—I am still on detached service) on the third instant—but when I wished to go back, and sent my order to Head-quarters to obtain a pass back to Washington, there was some hemming and hawing, both at Brigade and Division Headquarters, about wanting all their officers here; but it passed up, since which it has not been heard from since; heard it stopped at General Sickles. As General Barnard, under whose orders, I am, ordered me to report to him on the sixth, for duty as Engineer, and General somebody, under whose command I am not, refuses me a pass to do so, I do not

know how it will turn out. Mean time, I am very well satisfied to be with my Company, as I had intended applying to be relieved so as to join them. I want to be with the Army, while active operations are going on, but would like to set at the defence of Washington again, after the Army goes into winter-quarters. It is a pretty rough life, winter campaigning with men in little shelter tents and officers in tents. Snow has laid on the ground, two inches thick, for four days now; weather freezing all day till today. Luxurious, is it not, to sleep on the ground, in a tent, without fire, thermometer down in the twenties, and getting up in the morning to a breakfast of hard crackers and coffee. But with all that, I have never felt better than I do now. The only inconvenience I experience, is, that coming down in a warm day, I brought only a thin civilian overcoat; no mess-chest; and baggage at a lower standard than the Georgian chevalier's, for, as the story goes, his consisted of a collar and a pair of spurs: whereas, mine only consisted of a paper collar. When we consider that there is no chance of borrowing, as every officer carries just enough for himself, and moving, it may be, several weeks before I can get even rough Government clothes, it is no laughing matter. After shaking in my tent, without fire, for a week, to-day I set to work like a beaver, to build me a log hut and mud chimney. Just as I was putting the finishing touches on the chimney, came the order to get ready to march—So it goes—Consoled myself, for the loss of my shanty, by a "bully" beef soup; laid in, at least, two days rations, of it. So I now feel ready for the march. I often wonder how I stand it here, so rough, and improve on it, while I was so sick recently; for I came very near doing what the prayer-book calls "leaving this transitory scene of illusion," and giving the Regiment, the opportunity of attending an officer's funeral. But I ain't dead yet, and am able to damage as much of Uncle Sam's rations, as ever. As to where we are going, I have not the least idea, and what's more, don't care a —— Report varies, from the upper Rappahannock to the lower Peninsula, some say to Suffolk; I say nothing. We strike tents, to-morrow, at three, P. M.; march after dark; that clears us of one night's bivouac in the snow; wish I had some whiskey; none procurable hereabouts; shall by and by get some *hospital stores* for the occasion. I shall need it; for the longest walk I have taken since I was sick is four miles. If we have an action soon,—and I think we must, inside of three or four days—I hope to stand some chance of a Majority, so that I can get on horseback. I hate this confounded foot work;

and if I should get any promotion, I would just as lief, and a little rather, go in some other Regiment. Ours is, by no means, the best that has left New Jersey. Our men are not of a high standard, either socially, morally, or physically. Already, over two hundred and fifty are unfit for duty. Our officers, with few exceptions, are mechanics, and of that class, that do not suit me as companions; and our Colonel, (though I believe him an excellent man), as a Colonel, is very inefficient and unpopular with the men. But talking of promotions, I guess I am counting my chickens before they are hatched, as I may leave a vacancy for some one to be promoted into. I enclose note for Mother, but there is no need of her knowing there is any chance of an action. I am in CARR's Brigade, SICKLES' Division, STONEMAN's Corps, HOOKER's Grand Division. So you can see by the papers where I am, mean time. With love to sister Jane and the family, I remain

Your affectionate brother

PHIL J. KEARNY

4.—*To his Mother.*

CAMP, NEAR FALMOUTH, VA.

December 10th., 1862.

DEAR MOTHER:

I sent you a short note last week, before leaving Washington, but I had no time then to write more. I have been here a week now; it is a pretty cold, rough life, this winter campaigning; but I never felt better or in better spirits, in my life. Snow has lain here for five days. It freezes all day. Sleeping on the ground in a tent, without fire, and getting up in the morning to a breakfast of hard crackers and black coffee, is not, to say the least of it, an effeminate mode of life; but it agrees with me wonderfully. I have had to let out my belt six inches since I was sick; and the button holes of my coat and other garments show evident signs of giving way.

Though down here, I came on a visit: am not yet relieved, formally, from my detached duty at Washington.

Love to yourself and the girls,

Your affectionate son

PHIL.

5.—*To his Mother.*

BIVOUAC IN FRONT OF FREDERICKSBURG.

December 11th., 4½ P. M.

DEAR MOTHER:

While I am laying here, I think that a few lines to you from the front may prove acceptable. We have been laying in this position,

about one mile from the river, since early this morning. About five, this morning, the ball commenced, by a heavy artillery and musketry fire—rather exacting to us new hands, as it was only about one and a half miles off. The enemy had attacked our bridge party. At seven, our Brigade formed and took up position, with the whole of Sickles' Division. It has been a magnificent day, as to weather, but rather tiresome, as the novelty of the Artillery firing soon wore off, and now no one pays it any attention. The fire, now, is almost entirely from our own side; the enemy replying feebly. Fredericksburgh will soon be a used-up city. I was down to the front, this afternoon. The city was on fire in several places, Sharpshooters being stationed in the houses of the town, to pick off our artillery-men; and they knocking any house down from which fire came. It is a great sight, the mass of men concentrated about here. Every place seems full, in front and rear, and on our side; the Brigades and Divisions, Cavalry and Artillery, the massed columns looking like black spots in the distance; the bands have been playing for the amusement of the men—quite a treat, as they have not exercised themselves much, lately, on account of the extreme cold weather. General Phil's old Division is immediately on our right, a little to the front; report says they will cross first. I carry four days rations on my back; got two dozen "McClellan pies," or hard crackers, in my blanket, besides meat, coffee, sugar, salt, tea, etc., in my haversack. Coming down from Washington only for three days, I brought no servant, so I have to "tote" things myself, much to my lazy-self's dislike—however, it is pleasure to think that it is a rapidly decreasing load. I hold a queer position, coming down here for three days, on a leave of absence from General Barnard, with orders to report to him at Washington, at the expiration of that time. General Sickles, here, refuses me a pass and keeps my order also, so that although actually here and in command of my Company, I am reported every morning absent on detached service; and my Lieutenant signs himself as commanding Company. As I have not been relieved from engineering duty, I should render myself liable, if I reported for duty. As it is General Sickles from whom my pass must come; and he must bear the blame of my not reporting. It is a very pleasant position to me, as it renders me in a measure independent, having all the excitement, though none of the tiresome Camp work. Occasionally a rabbit, and just now a turkey, started from the brush; when follows a commotion as it passes down between the Regiments, all wanting fresh meat for supper. I just heard

that three Regiments, the Seventeenth Michigan, Nineteenth and Twentieth Massachusetts, have forced a passage into Fredericksburg, and taken fifty prisoners. Other troops are passing over and the bridge by which our Division crosses, is reported nearly ready. It is getting dark, and the burning houses of the town make an illumination in that direction. I shall take supper and then try and get some sleep on my pine-leaf bed, which I have been at some trouble to get together, and try and get a little nap, before seeing what the night will bring forth.

Your affectionate son
PHIL.

6.—*To his Mother.*

BIVOUAC AT PONTOON BRIDGE, ONE MILE BELOW FREDERICKSBURG,
8 A. M., December 13th, 1862.

DEAR MOTHER:

I wrote you a letter from our position in front of Fredericksburg, day before yesterday, saying we expected to cross soon. We did not, however, but lay down to sleep, as we were. Though warm, at sundown, it soon became freezing. I lay down, to try and sleep, but soon gave that up, as my feet were wet, and icy boots are not conducive to slumber; I walked up and down the line of our Regiment, stopping occasionally at one of the few fires, there, until four o'clock came; some of my men getting up, made a fire, when taking a scanty breakfast, I sat pretty comfortably, till seven, when we were ordered to fall in, and in ten minutes we were marching, as we supposed, to cross the river. On getting near there, however, our Division formed on one side of the road, while some of Sumner's Corps passed us, to cross first. There has been some slight firing early this morning, but now a heavy mist settled every where, and both sides had to stop firing, as it was impossible to distinguish any object at a slight distance. We lay still till two, P. M., when the fog had cleared off and the firing recommenced very briskly. Our Division fell in and started on the road to Falmouth, up the river. We had gone but a slight distance when we were counter-marched, and took a road down the river, ankle deep in clay, every where. It was hard work marching. The road, bad as it was, we soon left, going across fields, through little wood-roads, etc., until, shortly 'after dark, we had made about five miles and brought up in the middle of the woods, where we all stacked arms, and building fires, cooked supper, and prepared to make ourselves comfortable for the night. Calling to mind my last night's experience I determin-

ed to sleep this night, any how. So taking axe, although already pretty well tired, I set to work, determined to be tired enough to sleep, no matter how cold; besides taking an opium pill, I succeeded admirably in getting tired; but unfortunately, just as I had fixed my bed, feet to the fire, and was putting the finishing touch to the pillow, the order came, "fall in." Not much pleased to abandon our comfortable position, off we started. The woods through which we marched, were, (although it was a pitchy dark night) almost as bright as day, with the Camp fires. Two of our Regiments, we one of them, had to go to the bridge and guard it. Down the hill we went, through the mud—worse than any we had even met in the day, for once, out of the Camp, we could not see where we stepped. We reached the bridge, drew up in a line on our side; made a fire; and after our necessary cup of hot coffee, I lay down with my feet to the fire, at twelve; and until after five this morning, was oblivious of everything. This morning, everything was perfectly still, until, about fifteen minutes ago, when a musketry fire commenced; and now both sides are at it with a will. We are down on the river bank, and, consequently, can see nothing, as the fight is over the hill, on the opposite side of the river. The order is, "fall in."

Good bye,
PHIL.

7.—*To his Mother.*

BATTLEFIELD, LEFT-CENTRE-FRONT.
December 14th, 3 P. M.

DEAR MOTHER:

I closed my last letter in a hurry, hearing the order, "fall in," and expecting we were going to move at once. It was for some trivial cause, however, and we stayed where we were, at the bridge, all day, listening to the fight going on before us. When I stopped writing, the fight was pretty hot, about half a mile across the bridge. We drove them (Franklin only, was engaged, then,) about a mile. Then the fight went on without much advantage on either side, till dark. Once our men reached the railroad in the woods, but were driven back. Hooker's Grand Division kept moving over, during the day. Sickles' (our) Division crossing about three, P. M., leaving the two Regiments, (ours and the Sixteenth Massachusetts) still guarding the bridge. Soon after they crossed, the rebels attacked our centre. The fight, then, seemed nearer than ever before; and, for a few minutes, till the rebels were repulsed, it was a pretty lively time—I was on the hills, on both sides of the river, several hours,

during the day; and had a splendid view of the battle. The farthest point was not as near, as I could judge, by the difference between sight and sound, over one and a half miles off. The heaviest fight was on the right, where Sumner had all he could, to hold their own. His men stood nobly, though at times the fire on him, both from Artillery, Infantry and Musketry, must have been terrific. Just at dusk, it was a splendid sight. Before, when a shot was fired, we could see nothing but smoke; now we could see the fire. The rebel line advanced, and the batteries opened briskly, at the same time. The flashing of the musketry, along the straight lines, the cloud of white smoke and brilliant flash of the cannon, while it was yet just light enough to see the men, was a magnificent sight, and more like the battle pictures than anything I had seen in the previous two days. From dark till seven, there was a straggling fire from right to left. Then, all became quiet, and we lay down for the night. Fortunately, we moved a few yards, to a nice sandy place; and as there was no frost, I had a most comfortable night's rest. Sand seemed like feathers, after the hard frozen ground of the night before. Early this morning, the firing recommenced; and just as we finished breakfast, we received orders to march. We crossed the river, and marched over a well trampled field, to the Richmond road, passing, on our way, the Regiments of our Division that were fighting yesterday. It is another splendid day, and our new colors look well, causing remarks from the old hands, such as "Those colors won't look so pretty, long," etc. Passing New Jersey Regiments, there was a general interchange of greetings, inquiries, etc. We formed in rear of a Field Battery, by the road. We lay there for a couple of hours, then marched a few hundred feet, to the front line, and, up to this time, have been sending out two Companies at a time, to skirmish, relieving them every two hours. The rebels lie in the woods, about half a mile off from the main line. Our Army lies on a large elevated plain, with scarce a tree. I went out at twelve, with my Company—was out until two. We were firing till past one, when both sides stopped, to remove the wounded of the previous fight. At times, the bullets whistled briskly for a minute or two, then dying away. The first two Companies lost two killed, five wounded. We were very fortunate, "nobody hurt." I was much pleased with my men. They were very cool. Three bullets whizzed around my head, making one start like the hiss of a snake. They do not make a pleasant sound, so close. All is quiet now, four and a half P. M. The wounded are being brought in, under a flag of

truce. A large mail has just come for the Regiment, and we are all waiting, impatiently, for it to be sorted. It is some days now since I heard from home. My Company, when we left Trenton, was the next to the smallest in number, almost all "boys," so that we were laughed at, as a "Boy Company." To-day I have one of the largest Companies in the field, of the Regiment; and the Doctor says, have had less sick, and lost fewer, by death, (only one) than any other; of the thirteen that are absent now, sick, in convalescent Camp, hospitals, etc., eight are over twenty-five years of age, and the man who died was over that age—so much for Boy Companies. The mail is just ready—no more, till I get that. Love to all.

Your affectionate son

PHIL.

8.—*To his Mother.*

CAMP, NEAR FALMOUTH, VA.,

December 18th.

DEAR MOTHER:

The fight is over and we are all back in our old Camp—I am well. Love to all; too cold to write more—will write a long letter in a day or two.

Your affectionate son

PHIL.

9.—*To his Mother.*

CAMP, NEAR FALMOUTH, VA.

December 26th, 1862.

DEAR MOTHER:

I sent you a short note from Camp here, ten days ago. After we had recrossed, to this side of the river, it was cold, and I was in too much of a hurry, just then, being ordered out on picket, to write more. I sent you several letters during the battle. The last on the fourteenth; after I had returned from skirmishing. I was out again last night, between ten and twelve. It was very quiet, though, only a few bullets whizzing; next morning, our Regiment fell back a few hundred feet, being relieved in turn, and we stayed on that line all day. I had rested badly for some nights, and determined to have one night's rest, if possible. We were in an old cornfield; I took an axe and using it as a spade, levelled the furrows, to make a place for a bed; then dug it up, to make it soft; put up a screen from the wind; laid down some corn-husks; and then sat down to cook some supper, occasionally casting an eye over towards my bed, with a feeling of inward satisfaction. Disappointed hopes, however, for I had not lain down more than two hours, when the order came "Fall in." We did, and stood for some time until

the order came to march; crossing the river, we went about two miles, passing thousands of troops who had crossed before us, bivouacing in the woods. We were drawn up in the woods in turn, stacked arms, and lay down again. In about an hour, a stream of water coming under the blanket, stopped all sleep. Nothing could be done, in the way of shelter, so we had to stand in the rain 'till morning. Then the sun came out clear. We dried ourselves and in the afternoon, marched back to our old camp. Lay still there all next day, and on the day following received orders to go out on picket. The weather was pleasant when we started, but that night it became cold, intensely cold; and lasted for the whole time we were out, (three days); water froze in the brooks, so we could walk on it. Now, sleeping in the open air is not the pleasantest thing in the world, with the thermometer down in the twenties, or lower. Laying with feet to the fire, water would freeze in the canteen at my head. And then to have to get up occasionally to visit the sentinels, to see the Field Officer, or some such thing, giving me a splendid opportunity of getting chilled through; I didn't like it, and hope our turn for that work won't come again till warm weather. Sunday, we returned here, glad to get in our tents, mean as they are. We had slept in them only one night in ten. I have had mine newly strewed and a chimney built; the one I built the day before leaving for the battle having been pulled down. I have been a little unwell from the effects of that picket trip, but to day feel much better. Why do you not write? The last letter I had from home was from Lilly. December 2nd, nearly four weeks ago, I sent you two letters. Did you not get them? Love to all of the girls. Happy New Year to all of you.

Your Son,

PHIL.

Please send me when you write a few postage stamps, can't procure them here, and I am afraid my letters, which have been franked, do not all go as straight as if stamped.

PHIL.

10.—*To his Mother.*

BIVOUAC, JAN. 21st, 1863.

DEAR MOTHER:

After being under marching orders for three days, and each day postponed till next, we started, at one, P. M., on Tuesday, for no one knows where. It was a dull, cloudy day, with every appearance of a coming storm. It went very much against the grain to leave my house at such a time, but had to do it. We marched nearly four miles; then stopped to let other Divi-

sions who were to take the lead, pass up. At dark, it commenced raining; and, at eight, we received orders to return to camp. Off we started, and such a march, road full of stumps and ruts, bad enough in daylight, but now men were falling everywhere. Rain right in our faces, made the matter worse. When we reached camp the wagons were not to be found; so we put up our shelter tents before our old fireplace—our A tents were in the wagons—and, after drying ourselves, lay down with the intention of sleeping—vain hope, for it soon commenced raining harder than ever and beat in on us, every where, wetting us thoroughly, which was not so pleasant, especially when the fire went out; besides, three laying under one set of blankets, turning over was an impossibility, unless by mutual consent; and laying so long on one side, on the ground, made our bones ache. One leak was just above my head. I say one, but the whole tent was one general leak. Daylight came at last, and we got up; alas for the vanity of human expectation. I had dried my dress coat and boots, the night before, and put them in the safest place I could find, determined to have something dry and warm in the morning. When I reached for them, however, I emptied a pint of water out of one of my boots, and found my coat perfectly saturated. Before we could dry them or get my breakfast, the order came "fall in." It took some work to get the men in ranks, nearly all having had as bad a night as we had. I got a cup of hot coffee, just on the point of starting, which set me up. It is the greatest necessary of camp life. Off we trudged, through clay, over ankle deep, and often water, deeper. I felt pretty well loaded down, my clothes all wet, my blanket, piece of tent, and winter blanket weighed double what they did the day before, and with my three days rations and canteen of whisky, with my turn at the axe, made all I wanted to carry. At first, the cold, damp wind on our clothes felt very disagreeable, but our load soon started the perspiration, and then we were warm enough, except when we halted. It rained all day, and has, up to this time, Thursday morning. Soon after two, we stopped in a little piece of woods. I could not have gone two hundred yards farther, but was up with the colors. My place is just behind them, and I had not left them all day. The Regiment had dwindled down to about fifty men; and, as the colors came up, the Colonel exclaimed, "What! is this the centre of the Regiment?" I had some ten men of my Company, but the rest, except some half dozen, were up by five o'clock. We pitched our shelter tent, and I lay down and slept for a couple of hours; got up; ate some supper; and, after drying our blankets as best we could, in the rain, lay down for

the night. But it was merely a repetition of the previous night. These shelter tents are made of very light canvass, scarcely heavier than shirting, in pieces five feet square, with buttons and button holes all round. Each man carries a piece and when they stop, cut two crotch-sticks and a cross pole, button two pieces together and pin them to the ground on each side. The third piece makes the back. The front is left open, and just outside a fire is built, which keeps the tent warm and *smoky*. These tents are made, I should think, for small men, for we had to gather up our feet to keep them inside. But even that was of no avail, for in the night the wind changed around to the front and the rain came right in upon us; even our overcoats under us got wet; now the rain has stopped for a short time, but the sky is still too heavy for us to hope it is for good. The boys are taking advantage of it, to dry themselves, and I have a fine fire in front of my tent, which only sends in a puff of smoke once in a while; to let us know it is there. When we will continue our march, I do not know. Three cannon shot were heard at daylight this morning; but I have lost my bearings entirely, and neither know where they were or where I am. Thanks to all three of us Officers, having a canteen of whisky apiece, we have taken no colds, and now I am warmed up, feel all right; but I am getting a great advocate of the armies sitting still for a few weeks, till the weather moderates, and letting those gentry who hallo, "forward," try it. Papers may say what they please, but the army is dissatisfied with the way things are going on in Washington. Men whose families are begging at home, have six months pay coming to them; and, while they do not get it, they see the big contractors at Washington getting theirs; they curse the President for his Emancipation Message, and I do not believe, should he make his appearance here, a decent cheer could be raised for him. The nine months men are the most dissatisfied, belonging to a class generally used to more comforts, etc., than those who enlisted for the three years, and believing they were going to do garrison duty, while, instead, they have been marched and fought like old troops. They are the most homesick men I ever saw. God help the men in power now, if ever this Army goes home? The abolition party has seen very near its last hours. Whenever the Army come out, it will go home *pro-slavery*, almost to a man. Love to all the family. I will write to you as I get opportunities, unless my paper gets wetter than it did yesterday; it came very near spoiling.

Your affectionate Son,

PHIL.

11.—To his Mother.

CHANCELLORSVILLE BATTLEFIELD,

Monday morning, must be 4th May.

DEAR MOTHER:

I wrote a short note to Edward, from our Bivouac, on the left, below Fredericksburg. Since then we have had pretty hard work. We left camp last Tuesday, at five, P. M., marching slowly a few miles; we reached our Bivouac near the river, at half past ten, P. M.; I was tired out, had been up writing all the night before, and busy during the day, so when we reached the Bivouac, I threw myself down to sleep, and did not know till morning that my men had put blankets over me; next morning we moved near the pontoons, and our whole Corps was massed in the woods. It is a fine opportunity to see all your friends on an occasion like this, as so many are massed within a few yards. In the morning, the Sixth Army Corps crossed and began throwing up intrenchments; very little opposition was offered to them. We spent the night there, and the next Thursday morning also; at one, P. M., we started for the right, going around through the valley (ruse mentioned by McDougal) to prevent our men from being seen by the enemy. It was a hard march, for the direct distance to the United States-ford, where we were to cross, was about fifteen miles, and we went a round about way, besides which our men were very heavily loaded. At ten, P. M., we stopped for an hour to make coffee, and then went on a couple of miles and stopped for the night, about four miles from the ford. Leaving there, the next morning, at ten, we crossed the river on a pontoon-bridge at United States-ford. The rebels had had strong works there, but Hooker crossing above, had turned them and forced them to abandon them. Resting here, for half an hour, we were ordered quick up to the front where an engagement was going on. We reached within a few hundred feet of there, but the fight had nearly ceased and we lay in the woods waiting for events; we were roused several times, in the night, by slight attacks on our line, but they were only attempting to reconnoitre it by the enemy.

Saturday morning, we lay in the same place. About one, P. M. the rebels found out we were there and began shelling us. One shell, passed about a foot from one of my men and took off the leg of one of our Captain's servant. Our batteries soon stopped that, however. At five, P. M. the Eleventh Army Corps broke and ran in a most disgraceful manner. We were ordered out, on a double quick, for half a mile, to take their places and soon put

a stop to the enemy's advance. The Eleventh Army Corps passed us in great confusion. Our line once formed, the rebels made no further attack where we were, until nine, P. M. We were in the second line, about as far as from the house to the Round Table, from the Excelsior Boys, who were in front. The rebels tried to break through, but couldn't come it. Our line lay down, and let the balls whistle over head; one of our batteries, back of us, sent a few shells over our heads, into Secesh; and that started them back. At eleven, P. M., they made a determined attempt to break through our line, and then the scene was magnificent; the moon was full and showed splendidly, breaking through the few scattered clouds. The Infantry volleys were continual; and when the Batteries of both sides opened with shell, the scene was glorious. It lasted about half an hour. Then all was quiet again. At half-past one, we were moved to the left, a few hundred yards, and took up our line, our left resting on the Culpepper Plank-road. I lay down to sleep, but was called up several times, by slight attacks on our line, that amounted to nothing beyond rousing us up. At five o'clock yesterday morning, (Sunday) the fight commenced, the rebels attacked in force all along our line; and from then till half-past ten, A. M., it was as hot work as has been in any battle fought yet. While the first line was engaged, our line was lying down, but still suffered severely from the shower of ball and shell that passed over; I lay next the colors. My Orderly Sergeant just behind me, was killed, shot in the brain, and one minute more both the color staffs were broken, and one or two more shot close by. At half-past seven, Phil's old Division,* who were in front of our left, broke and came in, in a mass. A few minutes more, and our advance line was driven in; Frank Price passed and spoke to me; he was in command of his Regiment, which had just taken four rebel colors and retaken one of our own; we were now uncovered and advanced a short distance; a rebel line appeared in the woods, and, for a few minutes, the fire was awful, seven of my men were hit, which, with the number it took to carry them to the rear, reduced my Company very much. Two Lieutenants in Company B were killed instantly, and ten other officers wounded; others had narrow escapes, having their clothes torn by shell and ball. Our men wavered a moment, when the Adjutant, the Colonel, and myself sprang in front, my men calling out to follow me, came on together with the Companies on each side, both

of whose Captains were wounded. Directly, we were joined by other Companies, and, charging into the woods, gained quite a piece of ground. Our supports and Regiments on each side gave way; General Berry was killed near by us; and the Regiment gave way. The Adjutant and myself tried to keep some men behind a bank made by the road, but just then a rebel Regiment came out of the woods close by. A few of our boys stopped and fired at them, and they sent a regular hail-storm after us. The whistling past of the volley was awful. Getting on one side of the road, to avoid the storm of railroad-iron and shell the rebels now sent down it, I went up the hill and joined the Regiment, which had rallied about one hundred and fifty men, behind the Batteries. Several Regiments had rallied there, and we lay down to avoid the shells the rebels were throwing. Soon the rebels made their appearance in our rifle pits, on the crest of the hills, and began picking off our cannoniers. Several of us Officers of the different Regiments, sprang to the front for a charge. We had gone but a few steps, when all our men come on at a full run, in a crowd, without distinction of Regiments: we caught a heavy fire as we came across the field, but as we neared the rifle pits, it was fun to see them getting out. We fired several volleys from there, which must have told awfully, for they were very thick in front; some of Birney's* men gave way again on our left flank, and we had to go back there again. The loss going across the open field was heavy. We rallied at last, near our old Camp. General Meagher came up with his Irish Brigade; he was splendidly dressed, on a white horse. Taking off his hat, he rode in front of his men, who were wavering under the fire, "Men will you follow me," and off he went, his men hurrahing and running after him. Secesh found it too hot for him and got out of that in a hurry. We were now, our Regiment, separated from our Brigade; we had stayed under fire longer than they had. They, on coming out, had been re-formed, and sent down the road to the right. General Sickles placed us to support a Battery, for an hour. It was now twelve o'clock. Laying down to avoid, as much as possible, the shells that were bursting over us, nearly all fell asleep, fatigued too much, to mind such trifles. At once, we were ordered to the right, a short distance, to join our Brigade; lay there awhile; and returned here, where we now form part of the Reserve line. Got here at four, P. M., (fourth of May.) I went hunting around for some ammunition, to replenish what we had used; got it and then

* The famous Major-general Phil. Kearney's "Fighting" First Division, Third Corps, Army of the Potomac.—J. W. del'.

* The original may read Berry, name almost illegible.—J. W. del'.

lay down to sleep. In leading the charge on the rifle pits, I had thrown away my haversack and blanket, as they bothered me running; I now regretted it, for I am both cold and hungry. Got a few crackers; lay down and took a nap; woke up by a man who said there were some of our men at a Field Hospital, a short distance off, who wanted to see some one; went down and attended to what was wanted, and returned to the Company, to sleep. At two, A. M., the rebels roused us up, by a slight attack in our front, which was soon disposed of; and though I was so chilled by my previous cool nap, I lay down again, and slept till morning. Now, half-past two, Monday, our line is being strengthened, and all quiet, except skirmishing going on in front. General Whipple was mortally wounded, close by here, a short time ago. Our Corps has been unfortunate; two of our three Division Generals being killed. General Sedgwick, with the Sixth Corps, whipped the rebels handsomely, below Fredericksburg, yesterday, afternoon. We heard very heavy firing there. To-day, there is a report that Butler has brought fifty thousand men to Fredericksburg, and will cross there. Everything looks well for us, and bad for the rebels; hope, before long, to be in Richmond. I telegraphed to you last evening, chance if the wires were not too busy with official business, to let it pass. My men behaved nobly; about fourteen of them, always first to advance, last to retreat. When the Regiment rallied, Company A was the largest Company there, and every one had stayed through the fight. I was proud of them. Guess I am sure of my Majority now. I was curious to know how it felt to be under a heavy fire. Am quite satisfied now. Standing in the front line of the fight, or leading on a charge, all sense of danger left, there was so much to attend to and the excitement, though terrible, was pleasant. I could see men torn in pieces by shell close by me, and the blood and brains either, and not feel even a shudder. But to lay in the second line, and receive the bullets which passed the front, whistling by your ears, and yet not able to return the fire, nothing to occupy your attention, except to keep your men down—which they do generally of themselves—is by no means pleasant, especially to one of a nervous temperament, like myself. My Company came over the river, forty-two strong. I have now thirty here. Our front is about as far off, as from our house to the head of the lane. They are digging away, there, making rifle-pits, like good boys. I will draw a sketch of our part of the field, and send it to you; no more now, unless something should happen, before I send this.

Love to all, and yourself,

PHIL.

12.—*To his Mother.*

May 7th.

The battle is over, and we are back in Camp. Have been under fire twice, since writing the above; but each time unhurt. Suppose we will be in Camp for some weeks. Will write as soon as I can, but do not expect a letter soon, as I have a great deal of writing to do for Company business.

Love to all,

PHIL.

13.—*To his Mother.*

CAMP NEAR FALMOUTH, VA.

May 7th, 1863.

DEAR MOTHER

I sent you a note this morning, which I had written on the field; but I had no time to add more: have been very busy to day, to provide accommodation for my men. We were ordered on the field, to stack our knapsacks, etc., while we went to the front, where we were needed very much. As the rebels got possession of the ground, before we got back, our things were either taken by them or burnt by our own men; consequently, we are very short of clothing, shelter-tents, etc.; and my men were glad to get some old thrown away tents, to cover them from the rain. I think I gave you a sketch of what had happened to us up to twelve o'clock, Monday. We lay at that Bivouac, till about four, P. M., when we were ordered to the extreme advance to support sharp-shooters. From our front line, (of the army) to where we were ordered, was about an eighth of a mile, across an open field. We laid down at the edge of the woods; while close in our front were Berdan's Sharp-shooters. It was an ugly position; every time an enemy's Sharp-shooter caught sight of an officer, a bullet would whiz past, closer than was agreeable, particularly as we had no chance of replying. One fellow paid me several compliments, though I did not think my shoulder straps were particularly bright. At five and a half, P. M., everything was quiet along our line, except an occasional picket shot, when a volley came from the rebels about a quarter of a mile on our right; our picket then fell back and our Batteries opened on the woods. There, as the attack came around towards us, the other two picket-Regiments fell in. Then came a few shots in front of us; and our Sharp-shooters, the famous "Berdan's," fell back disgracefully, in less time than I can write it. The rebels had poured an Infantry volley into us, from all sides; a second more, and they followed that with shell and grape-shot; then, to make matters worse, our own Batteries (that

were firing about three feet above the ground) mistook the range, and burst their first shell among us. It was the hottest place that ever I was in, or want to be. Our men fell back in confusion, some stopped in a hollow in the centre of the field, the balance, about one half, continued on, into the intrenchment. To cross the field was terrible. The Artillery of both sides played along its surface, our own firing at the roots of the trees, in the woods, and the enemy firing low, at our Batteries. Many of our men were hit. We went out on picket about two hundred, and in less than three minutes twenty-five were hit, several having arms and legs torn off by shell. I was with that half that entered inside our line; and there, as the enemy lengthened their range, the shell was terrific, for a few moments. I was standing, during the shelling, inside, talking to Frank Price. He is a brave fellow, and has done well—during the last action, has had command of his Regiment. When the fire became more moderate, I tried to collect our men inside, but they were yet so much scattered, it was impossible to do so. I then went out to the hollow, and found the Lieutenant-colonel in command there. Talking with him what to do, he sent me inside the line, to get instructions; not being able to find the officer readily, I came out and advised our replacing the picket line at once, which we did. In about half an hour, our Colonel, having collected the balance of our Regiment, inside, brought them out also. We lay there all night; the enemy attacked several times; but it did not amount to much. We suffered most from the cold; I walked up and down the line, nearly all night, to keep warm, as I felt the cold very much; my overcoat having been lost with the blankets. My rubber blanket and haversack I threw away, while leading a charge, on Sunday, as they were in my way. In the morning, while several of us sat together, eating breakfast, the rebels enviously broke up our party, by a volley that sent us back to our Companies. We had a repetition of the scene of the day before; but our loss had taught us the lesson that the open field was no place for us, between two fires; so, confident in the power of our Batteries to repulse the enemy, we lay close and let their fire pass over us, which it did, though only about a yard above, near enough to feel the wind. Some few unlucky shells burst short and hurt some; but the loss was trifling compared with what it would have been, had we made another attempt to reach our line, in face of it. One shell burst just above me; hit a man at my side; and scattered the pieces of the shell, not the man, among my Company, fortunately hitting no one else. It is a trying thing to lie still, while two fires are passing so close

above you. From then till one, P. M., when we were relieved, there was only occasional firing; but it was very hot, in the sun. We lay, in the edge of the field. Several men were sun-struck. All were tired out and hungry; and it kept me busy, trying to keep their spirits up and attending to the sick. A *small* whiskey ration was served out, but the men, taking it on empty stomachs, with a hot sun on their heads, began raising their heads and keeping up a buzzing talk, which drew a volley from the enemy on us. That brought them to their senses; and they laid close and kept quiet, as they were ordered.

On going inside our line, I went down to a brook and took a wash. On looking around, found preparations going on, that convinced me we were going to abandon our position. About five, Captain Hoxey, the Division Ordnance Officer, came to our Regiment to see what ammunition we wanted; and, in course of conversation with me, said he wanted twenty muskets for the Second New York Regiment. I told him, if he would go with me, I would get them; so, taking some men, went out on the skirmish line and picked up eighteen good ones that had been dropped by our wounded. On returning, a terrible shower came on, and before we reached the Regiment, I was drenched to the skin. Even there, I had no shelter; and when the worst was over, and drizzling rain and wind came on, I felt it like a knife—cold and wretched, in my thin summer blouse. It got quite cold. At eight, P. M., we received orders to get in line, to move immediately. Our men received no rations, as the trains had all recrossed. So, tired and hungry, we stood in line till half past ten, when we received orders to lie down, for the night. The Colonel's pack-horse had come up; and he pitched a small tent, and offered me a bed. Wet as I was, I fell asleep, instantly, only to be roused before twelve o'clock, to get ready to move. Again we got in line, and stood till three o'clock, A. M., when we commenced moving for the pontoons, three miles off. The motion soon warmed me; so I did not feel the wet. Reached the pontoons by daylight. Marching by mass, the Army marches slow. Reaching the pontoons, I saw what I never want to see again—our Army on a retreat. Massed at the river, it was slowly defiling across two bridges and winding up the different narrow ravines, on the opposite side. I was now very busy, for the Colonel being very hoarse and I being the second in rank, I had to give the commands; acting as Field Officer. After coming a mile on this side, we stopped; made coffee; and moved on, seven miles further—halted an hour to rest, for the roads were awful bad, as dur-

ing Burnside's Mud March; and then marched on for our old Camp. It was a cold, raw, drizzly day; but the exertion of marching kept us warm; and we reached Camp at about five o'clock, P. M., having marched eighteen miles. Going to the Sutler's, got a can of preserved mutton, and commenced discussing it, immediately; was disappointed in getting dry clothes, as on opening my valise found clothes, papers, books, etc., all wet. Gave my men my tent, and slept on the floor of the Adjutant's. Did not wake up till eight o'clock, this morning—have been busy as a bee all day, so many different Reports called for and should have been writing (business-writing) to-night, but did not feel in the humor. Have my old quarters, though, as yet, they do not look as comfortable as usual. The country is looking beautiful, trees and flowers came out in last few days. To get some apple blossoms, after the taint of the battlefield, was quiet refreshing. Our Regiment has lost severely; few have, I suspect, lost more. Our loss is twenty-one killed, one hundred and forty wounded, ten missing—either wounded or killed—making one hundred and seventy-one, in all; while we, as a Regiment, took into action only a little over four hundred, making nearly one man out of two, hit—a tremendous proportion. My Company's loss is slight, comparatively—one killed, seven wounded; which, as we held a very exposed position, next the colors, and were the last Company to leave the field, (going in the fifth largest Company, and bringing the largest Company to the rallying behind the battery) I can lay to having kept them from huddling together, and in two ranks all the time. Our Regiment has gained a good deal of credit; we and the One Hundred and Twentieth New York are the only new Regiments in the Division, which is one of the oldest in the Army. Yet, we, the Eleventh (not the One Hundred and Twentieth New York, which left first) were the last to leave the field; and the only Regiment of our Brigade which rallied to charge the enemy from the Battery, which we did, with the Jersey Brigade of our Division. I wish we were in it, instead of with our Yankee Brigade, which is, however, good enough.

* * * * *

Love to all and yourself,

PHIL.

14.—*To his Mother.*

CAMP, NEAR FALMOUTH, VA.

June 11th., 1863.

DEAR MOTHER:

Yours of the fifth, received last night. Glad

you are up in the mountains at last. The air will, I am sure, do you good. When you go to Squam Beach, I think I will join you there, for a few days, if possible. Nothing new at all, here. Have just got my new tent, a large one, fixed. A wall-tent to myself is a luxury I have not had before, since leaving Fort Ellsworth. Have a man to work, to-day, making easy chairs, bath-tub, etc.: hope to get them all done by the time we move, and have to leave them. I am still on the Court Martial. It is lazy work, but gives me all my time, except from nine till two, to myself, a fine chance to read. The position of Major is the pleasantest in the Regiment. Our Court Martial house is in a cherry orchard; and, fortunately, just now, they are ripe. Even poor cherries are a luxury, in the way of fruit here.

* * * * *

DEAR MOTHER. While writing this, within Court, an Aid came down from Corps Headquarters, and ordered us to our Regiments, at once. We went in a hurry. Orders came down to the Regiment, at twelve o'clock, to get ready to move, at once. By two and a half, P. M., we were off, bag and baggage. Nothing left. Quick, was it not? We marched till eight, P. M., and lay down in a field, near Hartford Church. Roused at five, yesterday morning; we breakfasted; and were off at half past six. It was a hot day, and the roads awful dusty; but the men kept up well, although heavily loaded. I feel the luxury of being on horseback; I could not have footed it, yesterday. We marched till nine and a half, P. M., when we halted, near the river. We passed the Orange and Alexandria Rail-road, at Rappahannock Station, about two miles back. To-day, we lay still, unless something turns up. The men are glad of a rest. Our whole Corps, the Third, moved. Ours (the Third) and the Sixth seem to be relied on, for the hard work. Do not expect to hear from me for some days, as I may not have another opportunity of writing. Love to all.

Your affectionate son,
PHIL.

15.—*To his Mother.*

BIVOUAC, NEAR TANEXTOWN, MARYLAND.

June 29th., 1862.

DEAR MOTHER:

We left Gum Spring, Virginia, last Thursday noon, en route for "My Maryland," crossing the Potomac at six in the evening, turning, then, up the tow-path of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, towards Harper's Ferry. It was raining, as in fact it has done, ever since. We marched very long and fast, the General wish-

ing the Corps to reach the Monocacy-river, which it did at eleven, P. M., or rather part of it, for some Regiments were not represented at all. Ours consisted of ten men. The balance of the Corps was scattered eight miles back, along the tow-path, where the men had dropped down in the mud, worn out. We, who reached the Monocacy, marched twenty-seven miles. I was tired out, as I had walked a good deal, the latter part of the way, and, on reaching the point where we were to stop, lay down on the grass, in the rain; drew my blanket over me; and slept until half past four in the morning, when I started back, to bring up the stragglers, who all got up by eleven o'clock, and we were ready to start again. The men crossed the Monocacy on the Aqueduct; horses and teams were fording. The river was high, and the banks bad. It was an amusing scene. We took an inland road and reached Point of Rocks, at five, P. M. Our Brigadier-general having hurt himself by a fall from his horse, Colonel McAllister commanded the Brigade, leaving me the command of the Regiment. Next morning, Saturday, the twenty-seventh, I was ordered to take my Regiment and guard the Division Wagon-train. The Division left Camp early: but I had to wait till one, P. M., before our train came past, when I placed my guard on it, for six miles, to Jefferson; when the train going to Middletown, except that of our Brigade, which followed our Brigade to Crampton's Pass. We reached the Brigade there, at nine, P. M. Burkheadsville, in the pass, is quite a pretty little place; and the church-bells ringing in the morning, made it seem home-like. We thought we would get a day or two for rest; but, at seven, we got the order to march again. Crampton's Pass (Gap) you may remember, is where a battle was fought, last year. We reached Middletown; and from there went to Frederick City. We passed through there, late in the afternoon. The streets were filled with officers and soldiers of the Corps which were around there; and the windows and doors with ladies, many of whom waved flags and handkerchiefs to us, as we passed through, with colors flying and bands playing. Campaigning in Maryland is much pleasanter than in Virginia. The country is much finer, a perfect garden. I have never seen finer farms, or a more highly cultivated country. The people welcome us, every where—flags are hung out, and we go along, with bands playing, etc. It looks something like life. We passed five miles beyond Frederick, across the Monocacy; and, at ten, P. M., bivouaced in a field. This morning reveille at half past three; at five, we started and marched till five, this afternoon, going just beyond Taneytown and

four miles from Pennsylvania. Living here is good—butter, eggs, chickens, bread, milk, etc., abundant.

* * * * *
Your affectionate son,
PHIL.*

IV.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.]

THE HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF OHIO.—The Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio was incorporated thirty-eight years ago. The primary object of the Society, as announced in its original Constitution, was "research in every department of "local history; the collection, preservation, "and diffusion of whatever may relate to "the history, biography, literature, philosophy, "and antiquities of America—more especially "of the State of Ohio, of the West, and of "the United States."

To secure this object, annual Addresses were delivered by prominent members of the Society; historical and other communications were read before it; and suitable books, pamphlets, manuscripts, relics, etc., were accumulated. Volume I. Part I. of the *Transactions of the Society* was published, in 1838. Unfortunately, not a single copy of this is now in the possession of the Society. Volume I. Part II. was issued in 1839. This contains Judge Burnett's *Letters relating to the settlement of the Northwest Territory*; General Harrison's *Discourse on the Aborigines of the Ohio Valley*; and other important matter. In 1849, Hildreth's *Pioneer History* was published by the Society; and, in 1852, Hildreth's *Biographical and Historical Memoirs of the Early Pioneer Settlers of Ohio*. Judge Burnett's *Letters*, revised and enlarged, were also published under the auspices of the Society, in a separate volume, with the title, *Notes on the Settlement of the Northwest Territory*. All these volumes are extant and easily attainable. The Society holds, for exchange, duplicates of its various publications.

Between the years of 1849 and 1855, George T. Williamson made to the Society a donation of several rare and costly works, among them, a copy of Lord Kingsborough's *Mexican Antiquities*, published at London, in nine large folios, elaborately illustrated. The first seven volumes of this magnificent publication are estimated

* Mortally wounded on the second of July, four days after this was written.

to have originally cost \$300,000. Among other works understood to belong to Mr. Williamson's contribution, are a number of volumes of old English Chronicles, in Latin; eleven volumes of English State Papers, of the time of Henry VIII; the *Naval History of Britain*, by Hon. Captain George Berkley, a large folio of seven hundred and six pages, with index, printed in 1756; *Register of the Great Seal of the Kingdom of Scotland, from 1306 to 1424*; *Acts of the Lord-Auditors of Causes and Complaints of Scotland, from 1406 to 1494*; *Acts of the Lords of Council of Scotland, from 1478 to 1495*; and a dozen or more other volumes of proceedings, ordinances, records, &c., relating to the early history of Scotland and England.—*Cincinnati Gazette*.

THE CIRCUIT OF THE COMMON.

I send you several measures of the Circuit of the Common, found among the papers of the late Isaac P. Davis, Esq. W. M.

- "Waldo Higginson gave me the
"measure line of the fence, $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles
"and 2 rods.....5973 feet.
- "William P. Parrott gave me the
"measure round the Common....5938 "
- "Mr. Tilden, the Mason, gave me the
"measure, 507 lengths of iron fence,
"11 feet each, 5577. Gates and open-
"ings, 400.....5977 "
- "Book printed by Ezra Lincoln, in 1821—ac-
"tual Survey, by J. G. Hales.
- "Upper Corner to lower Corner of
"Boylston-street.....559 yards.
- "Boylston to Charles-street.....223 "
- "Charles-street.....465 "
- "Charles to Beacon-street437 "
- "Park-street.....148 "

"Measured on line of fence...1942-5826 feet.

"~~Mr.~~ Mr. Parrot's note is dated the seventh
"of June, 1848."

BURNING OF SUGAR CREEK CHURCH.—This venerable Church, within three miles of Charlotte, North Carolina, was recently burned by an incendiary. Thousands, in other States, all over the South and West, will hear of its destruction with deep sorrow. Emigrants from this Congregation and their descendants are scattered, far and wide, and carry with them the characteristics of Sugar Creek—sturdy independence, integrity, fair dealing, and love for truth.

This Congregation was organized in 1765, under Rev. Alexander Craighead, a celebrated Minister in his day. He is the true father of the Mecklenburgh Declaration of Independence, May 20th, 1775, more than a year before the

other Declaration. The Convention that met in Charlotte, on that bright May day, was largely from Sugar Creek; and its President, Abraham Alexander, was an Elder in that Church.

BAPTISTS IN PHILADELPHIA.

In 1698, nine Baptists formed the Society now known as the First Baptist Church, and worshipping at Broad and Arch-streets. The nine original members met in a small frame building known as the Barbadoes-lot Store, formerly situated at the Northwest corner of Second and Chestnut-streets. In this building, John Watts preached. Three years later, the congregation removed to Anthony Morris' brew-house, on Water-street, where it remained until 1707; and then removed to a wooden building on Second street, near Arch, which was erected by the Keithians, a sect of Friends, in 1692. In 1731, the Baptists demolished this building and erected a brick one, forty-two by thirty feet. This was taken down in 1762, and one, forty-two by sixty-one feet, erected upon its site, and, in 1808, this was enlarged. This site is now built up with stores and other buildings. During the Revolutionary War, the Church remained without a Pastor. The Church erected a Baptistry, on the banks of the Schuylkill, near Spruce-street—it was of brick, eighteen by thirty-six feet. Measures were taken, in 1852, to erect a new Church; and, in 1856, the congregation removed to their splendid Church edifice, on the North-west corner of Broad and Arch-streets.

The John Watts mentioned above was the ancestor of the Watts family in this county, among whom was William Watts, Esq., Associate Judge of our Courts, who died thirty-five years ago. He was born at Leeds, Kent, England, on the third of November, 1661. He landed and settled in Lower Dublin, Philadelphia-county, 1686. On the twenty-third of February, 1687, he was married to Sally Eaton. He joined the Baptist Church, at Pennepeck, the same year; and was baptized by Elias Keach, on the twenty-first of November. He became Pastor of this Church, after Keach left. He was elected to the office, on the thirteenth of December, 1690; but was not ordained, on account of the dislike entertained for Keach, who must be employed on the occasion, as no one else was qualified. In April, 1695, he was invited to preach in Philadelphia, at the First Baptist Church, which he did, occasionally, till his death. He died at Pennepeck, of small-pox, on the twenty-seventh of August, 1702; and was buried at Cold Spring, near Bristol, in Bucks-county. He was a man of good understanding and a

fine speaker. His talent for public speaking first brought him into notice. Morgan Edwards says of him, that he was "an English scholar." He wrote a book entitled *Davies Disabled*, in answer to what were considered the heresies of Reverend William Davies, a Keithian preacher. He also published a Catechism, in 1700. He ordained Samuel Jones. Mr. Watts had quite a contest with Mr. Davies, whom he excommunicated, in 1698, because of his false doctrine. Davies charged him with iniquity in his excommunication; and challenged him to a public discussion of the points he considered heresies. This was declined; but Mr. Watts proposed to leave the equity of his conduct to the decision of six men; which was agreed to. They met at the Keithian Meeting-house, on the twenty-third of May, 1699, when Mr. Watts and his Church were justified; and an instrument of writing given to that effect. The umpires chosen by Mr. Watts were one Independent and two Presbyterians; and those of Mr. Davies three Episcopalians.—*Doylestown Democrat*.

PHILADELPHIA MINT.—A pamphlet, by William M. Runkle, Esq., gives the following account of the United States Mint, at Philadelphia. From it, we learn that the Mint was established in 1792. The first Director was David Rittenhouse. James Pollock now holds that position. The first authorized money, copper cents, was coined in 1793. Silver dollars appeared in 1794; and Gold Eagles, in 1795. Steam power was introduced in 1816. The present building was completed in 1833; and was made fire-proof in 1854. It is open to visitors, from nine to twelve, A. M., except on Sundays and holidays. Over thirty thousand visitors, have been shown through it in a single year. The first gold was received from California, on the eighth of December, 1848. The purest gold in our country comes from Georgia. The process of assaying, as given, is interesting. The sweepings of the "melting-rooms" have amounted to fifty thousand dollars per year. The engine, of twenty horse power, in the coining room, is the finest in the United States; and is almost entirely noiseless. The gold and silver coins are nine hundred parts pure, with one hundred parts copper alloy. The Cabinet is a great centre of attraction to visitors; as it contains, among other things, specimens of the coins of all nations—even those of ancient Rome, A. D. 177 to 222, and of the Greek Republic, 300 to 700, B. C. There has never been an attempt made to break into the Mint. Up to 1870, over eight hundred million dollars worth of money was coined there.

V.—NOTES.

EARLY ESTIMATE OF WASHINGTON, BY THE ENGLISH.—In a Biographical Dictionary, published in London, about 1804, edited by John Watkins, a British Tory, there is an account of Washington half as long as that accorded to the Great Duke of Marlborough, and longer than the notices of George I. and II. and St. George put together. It follows him with honors through all his career. "The history of 'Washington,'" it says, "is the history of the 'American Revolution. To his intrepidity, 'prudence, and moderation, the Americans were 'almost entirely indebted for their independence. In his farewell to the Army, the 'magnanimity of the hero is blended with the 'wisdom of the philosopher. He retired to 'Mount Vernon, like Cincinnatus, and set 'himself to complete those favorite improvements in Agriculture, which had been suspended." It gives a summary of his subsequent political life; and justly places among his important acts, that, in the last year of his Presidency, "he effected a Commercial Treaty with 'Great Britain;" while, in our day, every blockhead, in high or low estate, seems to think a rupture with that country, no matter about what, an end to be desired.

SHALL WE RE-ENACT IT?—Until the year 1770, this law was in force in England:—"Who-soever shall entice into bonds of Matrimony any male subject of Her Majesty's, by means of rouge, white paint, Spanish cotton, steel corsets, crinoline, high-heeled shoes, or false hips, shall be prosecuted for witchcraft, and the marriage declared null and void."

THE DEATH OF WASHINGTON.—The following letter from Chief-justice Marshall tells the story of the action of Congress on the death of Washington, and may be interesting to collectors of Washingtoniana.

NEW YORK CITY.

T. B. M.

"RICHMOND, March 29, 1832.

"DEAR SIR:

"Your letter of the 25th reached me last night. The transaction concerning which you enquire passed in the following manner. As the stage passed through Philadelphia, some passenger mentioned to a friend he saw in the street, the death of General Washington. The report flew to the hall of Congress and I was asked to move an adjournment. I did so. General Lee was not at the time in the House. On receiving the intelligence, which he did on the first arrival of the stage, he retired to his room

“and prepared the Resolutions which were adopted, with the intention of offering them himself. But the House of Representatives had risen on my motion; and it was expected by all that I would, on the next day, announce the lamented event and propose Resolutions adapted to the occasion. General Lee immediately called on me and showed me his Resolutions. He said it had now become improper for him to offer them, and wished we to take them. As I had not written anything myself, and was pleased with his Resolutions, which I entirely approved, I told him I would offer them the next day, when I should state to the House of Representatives the confirmation of the melancholy intelligence received the preceding day. I did so. You will see the facts stated in a note to the Preface to the *Life of Washington*, p. v., and again in a note to Volume V., p. 765.

“I am, dear Sir, with very great respect,

“Your obedt

“J. MARSHALL.

“Whenever the subject has been mentioned in my presence, I have immediately stated that the Resolutions were drawn by General Lee; and have referred to these notes in the *Life of Washington*.

[Addressed]

“The Honble

“CHARLES W. HANSON,

“Baltimore,

“Maryland.”

THE FIRST BUILDING ON LAKE CHAMPLAIN.—Sir Henry Moore, Governor of New York, and General Carleton, while on a visit to the upper end of Lake Champlain, in the month of September, 1766, to settle some boundary difficulties, were visited by a deputation from the Caennawagha Indians, when one of the Chiefs, in his address of welcome, said: “Since we lived under the *French* Government, we enjoyed our hunting and fishing about this Lake, without interruption or molestation; and were assured by the *French* Governor to continue so to do, as long as we lived hereabouts. But now, Brothers, since this Lake and Country is in your possession, (since 1763) we find there have several settlements been making thereupon, which, altho’ it was not the case in the *French* time, yet we make no objection to it; all that surprises and alarms us is, that some of these new settlers have told some of our people, that they should not hunt within their right. Should this be the case, and they have it in their power so to do, it would at once frustrate our present hopes of His Majesty’s good will towards us,

“and deprive us of our principal subsistence and livelihood.

“As to the first building ever made upon *Lake Champlain*, it is well known to be *Crown-point*, which our middle-aged men all well remember; and the Six Nations bearing of it, immediately remonstrated against it, to the *French* Governor, who telling them it was to guard against a sudden attack from the English, prevailed upon them, with difficulty, to let him finish it, which, at last, they consented to, with conditions, that no other settlement should be made upon the Lake, hereafter, which he readily engaged in and promised to observe.”

NEW YORK CITY.

DeV.

VI.—QUERIES.

AMERICAN KNIGHTS.—In a book recently published, *The Old World compared with the New*, it is asserted that William Franklin, ex-Governor of New Jersey, and Benjamin West, the painter, were knighted in England. What foundation is there for this statement? I believe there is none. It is the first time that I ever heard of the knighting of William Franklin; the statement as to West I have met with before; but it was only made to be contradicted. West’s religious principles, as a Quaker, would have prevented his accepting such an honor.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

D. W.

THE GOLD BOX PRESENTED TO WASHINGTON BY THE EARL OF BUCHAN.—Can any of the readers of the MAGAZINE inform me *where* this box is, and in whose custody?

NEW YORK CITY.

C. W. E.

FRANKLIN, AS A MASON.—I am anxious to learn *when, where, and by whom* Benjamin Franklin was made a Mason.

NEW YORK CITY.

R. McC.

VII.—REPLIES.

WHO WROTE IT? [*II. M. II.*, vii., 56.] I cannot answer the question concerning *Swiss Family Robinson*. Our edition is a re-print from the English.

NEW YORK CITY.

M. M. HURD.

THE DUANES. [*II. M. II.*, v., 336.] The family of James Duane, of New York, and that of William J. Duane, of Philadelphia, were both of Irish origin. The father of James Duane was an Irishman. William J. Duane and his paternal grandfather were natives of Ireland.

Nothing is known as to any relationship between the two families. It is understood that they use the same coat of arms—that given in Keating's *History of Ireland*, as belonging to "the ancient family of O'Duane."

In this history, Keating says that the family of *O'Dubhaine*, Anglice, *Duan*, is descended from the Kings of Meath.

PHILADELPHIA.

D. W.

VIII.—BOOKS.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

[Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HENRY B. DAWSON, MORRISANIA, N. Y.," or to MESSRS. CHARLES SCRIBNER & Co., Booksellers, 654 Broadway, New York City, as shall be most convenient for them.]

D.—TRADE PUBLICATIONS.

1.—*Some Miscellaneous Observations on our present Debates respecting Witchcrafts, in a Dialogue between S. & B.* By P. E. and J. A. Philadelphia: Printed by William Bradford, for Hezekiah Usher. 1692. Boston: "Congregational Quarterly" Reprint.—No. I. 1869. Small quarto, pp. 24.

Our readers know something of the peculiarities of the Witchcraft Delusion of 1692; and we need not describe its horrors nor its history.

The Tract before us is from the pen of one of the Boston Clergymen of that day, Mr. Samuel Willard; and it has been re-produced, at this time, at the suggestion of the notorious William Frederic Poole, the professional manufacturer of "history", for the evident purpose of sustaining his last creation, concerning the part taken by Cotton Mather in the Witchcraft Delusion and Trials of that day.

It is very well known that Mr. Willard was not in accord with Cotton Mather on the subject of these Trials; that so great was the power of legal precedents over lawyers, then as now, his advice was disregarded, even by his own Parishioners who were on the Bench, at Salem; that, because of his differences with Cotton Mather and those who were in sympathy with that gentleman, on this subject, Mr. Willard was subjected, at their hands, to "unkindness, abuse, and reproach," and was "called out upon" and his life periled by the creatures of the Prosecution; and that this tract, embracing "a Dialogue between S[alem] and B[oston]"—between the supporters of the weight and authority of Spectral Testimony, either as conclusive or as indicative of guilt, as held on the Bench, at Salem, on the one hand, and the opponents of that doctrine, as represented by the aggregate body of the Clergy in the pulpits of Boston, on the other—was written especially to bear testimony against such a delusion and fraud. It is quite as well known

that Cotton Mather, and Mr. Parris, and Mr. Torrey, and Mr. Noyes, and Mr. Hale, and a very few others, maintained the opposite sentiments and were among the most decided supporters and prompters of the Bench, in its conduct of the cases; and that, in this respect, they were not only antagonistic to Mr. Willard but to "the Rev. Elders almost throughout the whole country." We need not say, therefore, that, in his unprincipled attempt to thrust Cotton Mather into the great body of the Clergy who openly and steadily condemned the practices and the sentiments of that priestly "trimmer," as seen in his management of these cases, at Salem, Mr. Poole has displayed no originality: on the contrary, he has only very aptly followed the examples set by those cowardly culprits who cover their retreat by themselves joining in the noisy hue-and-cry which is nominally pursuing them, and by becoming the most noisy of the well-meaning but senseless and undisciplined crowd, which is really running after it knows not whom. In this, as in his denial of the status of voters in the Bay Colony, when, some months since, he attempted to fasten a charge of deliberate falsehood on Mr. Brodhead, this Poole has exhibited a capacity for the invention of "historical facts" and a hardihood in putting his counterfeits into circulation, as genuine, which would be undoubtedly appreciated by those who are professionals in that occupation, were he to turn his undoubted abilities in deception, in that direction.

The great body of the Clergy of New England, of that day, undoubtedly opposed the doctrines of Salem, concerning the credibility of Spectral Testimony; but Cotton Mather, in that instance, *was not in accord with the Clergy of New England*; and no one knows that fact better than this Poole. He was, in that instance, at the head of a minority, both of the Clergy and the Colonists; and every attempt which has been made or which shall be made, to identify him in this matter with the great body of the Clergy, is a fraud, and will be made for simply dishonest purposes.

In all this we mean nothing disrespectful to this Tract nor to those who have reproduced it. It is undoubtedly a correct estimate of the opinions of the great body of the Clergy, on the subject on which it treats; and it is, therefore, a welcome addition to the store of material concerning the history of that period. We protest, however, against the use of it as a cover to shelter Cotton Mather; as we protest against all the Clergy being saddled with the heresies, on that subject, of this individual member of the profession.

This little affair is very neatly printed; and, the edition numbers a hundred copies only.

2.—*The Songs of Life*, selected from many sources, with numerous illustrations from original designs. By Hennessy, Darley, Griswold, Fenn, Eytling, Herrick, Ward, Hopkin, &c., &c. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1870. Small quarto. pp. xv. 198. Price \$5.

The *Folk Songs*, published by the same house, having become somewhat too large for the introduction of much improvement, it has been determined to divide it into four parts, the first of which is the volume now before us.

As the character of the original work is well known, it only remains for us to say that this first instalment of the new arrangement has been issued in the most elegant style; and that, as a whole, considering both the contents and the dress, this is one of the best gift-books of the season.

3.—*The Poetical Works of Alfred Tennyson, Poet Laureate*. Numerous illustrations. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 232. Muelin, \$1.; paper, 50 cents.

This edition of Tennyson, is styled "Harper's *Complete Edition, Illustrated*;" and is certainly a handsome one. The letter, although small in size, is clear; the illustrations are well-executed; the whole are admirably printed; and the binding of the bound copies is a pattern of neatness.

It would be difficult, we think, to find a neater work, among those which are intended for general circulation.

4.—*Early Records of the City and County of Albany, and Colony of Rensselaerswyck, (1656-1675)* Translated from the original Dutch, with Notes, by Jonathan Pearson. Albany: Joel Munsell. 1869. Octavo, pp. vii., 528. Price \$10.

There are, in the Office of the Clerk of the County of Albany, seven volumes of the earliest Records of that settlement, including Deeds, Notarial Papers, Mortgages, Wills, Contracts, Vendue Sales, Inventories, Bills of Sale, Leases, Affidavits, Indentures of Apprenticeship, Powers of Attorney, Official Correspondence, Proceedings of Indian Councils, etc., all duly drawn up and executed before the resident authorities of that early Colony. They possess very much that is of little general interest, although they are really important to the Genealogist, the Antiquarian, and the local Historian; since they are the earliest known Records of one of the earliest settlements of our State, and the earliest known register of many of our oldest families. The idea of translating them, therefore, was a good one; and it is fortunate that it originated in the brain of Joel Munsell, since he will most likely carry it into effect.

In the volume before us, are the contents of the Volumes named *Deeds, A and B*, of this series of seven volumes, embracing documents dated between 1656 and 1675; and these papers are illustrated by numerous Notes, carefully prepared,

and made perfectly accessible by an elaborate Index, which is as complete as it conveniently can be.

The translation is said to be a good one; and as there is scarcely an old Dutch family in that region whose names may not be found therein, in some character, the volume has already become almost a rare one, being purchasable only as copies may be found "on the wing."

The work is well printed, by the excellent workman who originated the idea of the publication.

5.—*A Commentary on the Holy Scriptures: Critical, Doctrinal, and Homiletical*, with special reference to Ministers and Students. By John Peter Lange, D. D. In connection with a number of eminent European Divines. Translated from the German, and edited, with additions, by Philip Schaff, D. D. Volume X. of the Old Testament, containing Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Solomon. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1870. Octavo, pp. (Proverbs) Two title-pages and verso, v., 260, (Ecclesiastes) Title-page and verso, 199, (Song of Solomon) Title-page and verso, 135. Price \$5.00.

We have so often called the attention of our readers to this elaborate Commentary, and so often described its peculiarities, that little remains for us to do, except to announce the publication of another volume, devoted to the writings of Solomon, and enriched by the varied learning of the most eminent scholars, in both Europe and America. Professors Green, of Princeton, and Taylor Lewis, Aiken, and Wells, of Schenectada, having added their great abilities to those of Professor Zochler of Greifswald, to make the work as perfect as possible.

We must say that the typography is not what it should be, in a work as important as this.

6.—*The Cow Chase*: by Major Andre. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. 1869. Octavo, pp. 32. Price 75 cents, large paper, \$1.50.

This seems to be a re-print of the London edition of the noted poem of *The Cow Chase*; and we suppose it contains, of course, all the errors of that and other pamphlet copies.

It was our pleasant duty, some years ago, to correct for the Press, with unusual care, an edition of this poem; in which case we read and re-read it, over and over again, in comparison with the original edition, in Rivington's *Royal Gazette*, until we could find no error whatever, in our revises. Our purpose was, to introduce the poem with a history of the affair which led to its composition, concerning the American portion of which we have all the original manuscripts, while those relating to the other side are also perfectly accessible to us; but the undertaking was never completed, and it probably never will be. We learned, however, how little is known about the history of the matter, by the

thousands who have read the poem; and we learned, too, by stern hard work, how faulty are all contemporary copies of the poem itself.

The trifle before us, however, is a beautiful piece of typography, on tinted paper, and with a rubricated title-page; and as it undoubtedly represents the old pamphlet copy of 1781, it will be just as welcome and just as useful to the great body of those who shall read it, as would be a more accurate copy of the original version.

The edition numbers one hundred and fifty copies, on small paper, and twenty-five, on large paper.

7.—*Pioneer Biography*. Sketches of the Lives of some of the Early Settlers of Butler County, Ohio. By James McBride of Hamilton. Vol. I. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. 1863. Octavo, pp. 4, (unpaged) xiv, 352. Price \$3.50.

This beautiful volume is the fourth of *The Ohio Valley Historical Series*, concerning which we have written, approvingly, three times, hitherto.

It is a series of sketches of the lives and services of some of the pioneers of the West, prepared from original and authentic material, for his own amusement, by one of their own number; and it preserves and circulates, also, carefully made copies of several important papers—Journals, etc.—which, but for Mr. McBride's thoughtful preservation of them, might have been lost forever.

These homely biographies, and others of the same class, in which are recorded the virtues and hardships of those who led the hosts who have since migrated to the West, are, in fact, the only existing annals of the early West; and to them must those go who seek information concerning "the day of small things," in that mighty empire, the history of which, sooner or later, must be written in all its fullness and with painstaking fidelity. The excellent publishers of this series, therefore, have done good service to those students of the history of the West, who shall come after us, by furnishing them material which is at once so interesting and so valuable.

The volume is uniform with the preceding volumes of the series; and it is exceedingly well printed.

8.—*Vermont State Business Directory* containing the address of all the Merchants, Manufacturers, Mechanics, and professional men in the State, arranged under their proper business headings. The Banks, Insurance Companies, Railroads, and Newspapers. The State Government, County and Town Officers, Post-Offices and Post-masters. Masonic, Odd-fellows, Grand Army of the Republic, Temperance, and other organizations. With much other valuable information. Price \$2.50. [Boston:] Symonds, Wentworth, & Co. [1870.] Octavo, pp. 14, (unpaged) 216, 104, (7, unpaged.)

The *Annual Registers* which have been published in several of the Eastern States, year after

year, time out of mind, have become so widely known and their usefulness so generally recognized, that we need say nothing, either in a description or a commendation of them. They are actual "necessaries of life," where they are issued and circulate; and, as reliable works for reference, students who aim at accuracy, know the value of complete back files of them, from the beginning.

There have been, we believe, from first to last, three series of these *Registers* published in Vermont—that known as WALTON'S having now reached its annual number and alone occupying the field—but they have been small and necessarily incomplete, especially in their character as Trade Directories; although they have done good service among the agriculturists and tradesmen of that inland State, year after year, for two or three generations.

A young and energetic house, in Boston, aware of the imperfections existing in that part of the Walton's *Register* which is devoted to trade, conceived the idea of getting out "a better book" than it is; and the result of that laudable ambition is before us, in the first number of the *fourth* of the series of annuals to which we have referred—a handsome octavo, from the press of Rand & Avery, in which are to be found a most thoroughly complete and excellently-arranged Register of all the State, County, and Town Officers, together with all the varied items of information, concerning the State, which the title-page, quoted at the head of this notice, so carefully describes; and to these there are added what is undoubtedly the most complete and the best arranged Business Directory of the State which has yet appeared in print.

There seems to be little to be desired in this volume, for the purposes for which it was designed; and as a specimen of neatness in typography it is worthy of all praise. The Publishers promise a second issue in 1872; and we trust that they will be so much encouraged that they can soon make an annual volume. Let all who can do so, help the young men in their enterprise.

9.—*Medora Leigh; A History and an Autobiography*. Edited by Charles Mackay. With an Introduction, and a Commentary on the charges brought against Lord Byron by Mrs. Beecher Stowe. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 63. Price 25 cents.

Everybody has heard of the controversy, concerning Lord Byron's marital relations, which Mrs. Stowe originated some months since; yet no one seems to be satisfied, in every respect, with any of its results.

The volume before us is one of the latest of the additions to the stock of material concern-

ing it, which has appeared in England, and one of the most unaccountable, if it is genuine and authentic. It purports to be the autobiography of a daughter of Byron's sister, Mrs. Leigh; and seems, if we understand it correctly, to assume that that daughter was also the daughter of Lord Byron.

We have not had time nor inclination to follow this dispute, through all its dirtiness; and we therefore leave this volume with those whose tastes and leisure shall lead their reading in that direction.

10.—*My Enemy's Daughter*. A Novel. By Justin McCarthy. Illustrated. New York: Harper & Bros. 1869. Octavo, pp. 162. Price 75 cents.

Kitty. By M. Bentham Edwards. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 143. Price 50 cents.

Bound to John Company; or, the Adventures and Misadventures of Robert Ainsleigh. With Illustrations. New York: Harper & Bros. 1869. Octavo. pp. 169. Price 75 cents.

Only herself. A Novel. By Annie Thomas. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 139. Price 50 cents.

So runs the world away. A Novel. By Mrs. A. C. Steele. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo. pp. 145. Price 50 cents.

Debenham's Four. By Amelia B. Edwards. Illustrated. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp., 173. Price 75 cents.

Baffled; or, Michael Brand's Wrong. By Julia Goddard. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 159. Price 75 cents.

A Brave Lady. By the author of John Halifax, Gentleman. With Illustrations. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo. pp., 176.

Eight popular works of fiction, printed in all the neatness of style and all the cheapness of price which seem to distinguish all the issues of the Harpers, in this particular department.

11.—*A History of the State of Delaware*, from the first settlement until the present time, containing a full account of the first Dutch and Swedish Settlements, with a Description of its Geography and Geology. By Francis Vincent, of Delaware. Philadelphia: John Campbell. 1870. Nos. 1 and 2. Octavo, pp. (No. 1) 1-32 (No. 2) 33-64.

Delaware is not without an honorable history; yet she is almost entirely without a published record; and she appears to have been hitherto unconscious of the consequence of that omission. Pennsylvania, on the one side, and Maryland, on the other, have overshadowed her, in history; and, consequently, "the eyes of the "world" have not been, generally, "on Delaware," nor on her children. This work promises, to some extent, to supply that want; and both Delaware and the historical public in other States, owe it to themselves and to the cause, to give the adventurous author the encouragement which is due to him.

"All the author aims at," in this work, he

frankly tells us, "is to, plainly, truthfully, and "succinctly, detail what has transpired or may "in any way relate to the history of Delaware, "in a manner that may be understood by all;" and as he seems to understand, very clearly, how much of a task he has undertaken, even, in so simple an undertaking, we may reasonably hope that he will produce a very useful work.

In the two parts of the volume which we have received, Mr. Vincent has confined himself to the prefatory matter—geographical, geological, and physical—which seems to be requisite to a proper understanding of what is to follow; and he appears to have discharged his self-imposed duties, so far, with painstaking fidelity and, with here and there an exception, with commendable accuracy.

The work is to be issued in parts of thirty-two pages each, at thirty cents; and as it is neatly printed, it may properly find places in the many libraries in which American History is a recognized feature.

12.—*The Bible in the Public Schools*. Arguments in the case of John D. Minor, et al. *versus* The Board of Education of the City of Cincinnati, et al. Superior Court of Cincinnati. With the Opinions and Decision of the Court. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. 1870. Octavo, pp. 429. Price \$2, or, on tinted paper, \$2.50.

Foremost among the rising questions which are destined to convulse the country, is that fruitful bone of contention as to the right of the State to interfere in the education of our children and to embark, on her own account, in that purely parental business. Our opinion on this subject is already before our readers; and we cannot be otherwise than interested in all that relates to that subject.

The passage of the Resolutions of the Board of Education of Cincinnati, forbidding any religious education and the use of religious books, including the authorized English version of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, in the Common Schools of Cincinnati, has excited a general interest in, and discussion of, the important questions involved in it. The litigation to which it gave rise in the Superior Court of Cincinnati, has concentrated that interest, and rallied, upon each side of the controversy, the divided sentiments of the opposing parties.

This litigation began in an application, on behalf of certain citizens, to restrain, by an Injunction, the enforcement of the order of the Board. This application was exhaustively and ably argued, for several days, before the full Bench of the Superior Court of Cincinnati. There was no dispute as to facts, but only as to principles. The Speeches of the Counsel in the case, have been carefully reported and revised, and are now

published, together with the Opinions and Decision of the majority of the Court, granting the Injunction, as prayed, and the dissenting Opinion of one of the Judges. They furnish a storehouse of argument and illustration, for all who are interested in the question of religious training in the schools.

As it is scarcely doubtful that the ultimate decision of the case must be given by public opinion, the book becomes extremely valuable, since it furnishes a full and able statement of both sides of the question.

The questions at issue, and which now invite public discussion, are not of local or temporary interest. They enter into that larger religious controversy, involving the whole subject of the true relations of the civil and religious state—the secular society and the Church—which, in different forms, but the same in substance, agitates and divides opinion on the two Continents in which modern civilization is most advanced and developed.

This volume, it is not, therefore, too much to expect, aside from the intrinsic merits of its contents, as a contribution to that discussion, will be of historical interest, as marking the event which subjects it to the standard and criticism of judicial rules of decision.

The typography of this work, especially that of the copies which are on tinted paper, is very fine; and we have no doubt that an extended circulation will reward the enterprise, in publishing it, of the excellent house which has presented it to the world of letters.

13.—*The Mississippi Valley: Its Physical Geography, including sketches of the topography, botany, climate, geology, and mineral resources; and of the progress of development in population and material wealth.* By J. W. Foster, LL.D. Illustrated by Maps and Sections. Chicago: S. C. Grigg & Co. 1869. Octavo, pp. xvi., 443.

The purpose of this beautiful volume was to describe, in a comprehensive form, the Physical Geography of the Mississippi valley—a region which already contains a majority of those who reside within the United States; and which, very soon, will probably be brought, directly, into the closest commercial relations with all parts of the business world.

Opening with a description of the Mississippi-river and of the countries through which it flows, Doctor Foster notices, successively, the system of Mountains and Plains which are involved in that examination; enquires concerning the origin of prairies; glances at the character and effects of forests; discusses the subject of irrigation; notices the climate and its phenomena, the geology of the basin, and its vegetable productions; and traces the progress of civilization, therein, from the beginning until

now. All this is done with the precision and accuracy of the scholar, yet with the simplicity of style which is demanded in every work which is intended for the ordinary non-professional reader.

It is evidently the work of a ripe scholar and a close observer of the phenomena of nature; yet, strange, to say, there is no affectation, no unnecessary parade of knowledge, no useless sentences, no ambiguity of style. Complete in all its parts, admirably arranged, clear and vigorous in its style, this work is as honorable to its author as it will be useful and honorable to the country; and we earnestly congratulate both the author and his publishers on the production of so admirable a work.

Considered typographically, this volume is one of the handsomest which is circulated through the ordinary channels of the Trade; and the workmen of the West may well be proud of it.

14.—*History of the Boston Massacre, March 5, 1770; consisting of the Narrative of the Town, the Trial of the Soldiers, and a historical Introduction, containing unpublished Documents of John Adams and Explanatory Notes,* by Frederick Kidder. Albany, N. Y.: Joel Munsell. 1870. Octavo, pp., 1870. Octavo, pp. 4, (unpaged) 291. Price \$3.

What better evidence need we have, that Boston has passed into the hands of strangers and aliens, than the fact that the centennary of what she used to glory in, as "the Massacre," has passed without convulsing the country as much as she convulsed it, when, a year or two ago, she dedicated her Masonic Hall; or more than she was wont to convulse it, early in the present century, with one of her ordinary town-meetings; or more than she does, in our time, on St. Patrick's day? The city of Boston is, in fact no longer an *American*, but an *Irish* community; and the air-bubble of "the Massacre" no longer amuses her or arouses her sympathies, even when our venerable antipode, Frederic Kidder, from the minaret in Bloomfield-street, blows the horn and calls all the faithful to their knees.

This volume presents only one matter which is new to us—the eight pages which are occupied with the copy of John Adams's little memorandum of the evidence offered on the trial of the British soldiers—and we are astonished that even Frederic Kidder should have sloughed so thin and worthless a covering from so chronic a mass of corruption as the story of "the Massacre." Why did he dodge, in his *Historical Introduction*, the discussion of the causes which led to the conflict between the soldiers and the citizens? Was he afraid to join issue with the Truth, that, by his silence, he so willingly acquiesced in the falsehoods which, during a hundred years, have been allowed to range, undisturbed, without Boston's contradiction? We challenge this mod-

ern historiographer of "the Massacre" to tell the *whole truth* concerning either the origin or the progress of this conflict between the street-loafers of Boston and her garrison; and if it will be any inducement, we will supply him with such evidence as Boston may have suppressed, concerning the rowdiness of her inhabitants, a hundred years ago, the *propriety* of the soldiers' fire, by which Massachusetts was relieved of some of her worst members, and the entire legality and the entire justice of the verdict by which the juries of Massachusetts subsequently upheld the majesty of the law and rebuked the wickedness of the mob: we will do more, *we will print what he shall have to say on the subject, whenever he dare tell the Truth concerning it*; and, what will please him most, we will do so without any charge, either to him or to Boston.

But this is not the only omission. The title-page of the volume tells us it contains, among other original material, certain "Explanatory Notes by Frederic Kidder;" yet of the eighteen Notes thus referred to, *only one bears his initials*, while ten bear those of John Ward Dean, whose co-operation is not even recognized by the venerable and upright Editor.

But not alone by reason of his omission of important material has Mr. Kidder failed to do his duty as an Editor. Almost the only comment he has ventured to make on Mr. Frothingham's narrative of the conflict, which he has adopted and bodily transferred to his *Historical Introduction*, is one concerning the length of time which the trial occupied—"these trials *seem to have been THE FIRST IN THE PROVINCE*," he says, "*WHICH LASTED MORE THAN ONE DAY*." Now, we make no pretension to a minute knowledge of Massachusetts history, yet in this very same volume, which Mr. Kidder professes to have "edited," (page 220) Mr. Josiah Quincy, Jr., of Counsel for the Prisoners, is reported to have said, while apologizing to the Jury for the length of the trial, "But you should reflect, that no more indulgence is shown to the Prisoners now on trial, than has ever been shown in capital causes; *the trial of one man has OFTEN taken up SEVERAL DAYS*;" etc. Was Mr. Quincy or is Mr. Kidder the falsifier?

Again, on page 29, in a Note on Crispus Attucks, he says—or somebody says for him—"his ancestors were probably of the Natick tribe, who had intermarried with negroes who were slaves, and as *their descendants were held as such, HE INHERITED THEIR CONDITION*," etc. Judge Gray, and Professor Washburn, and Frederic Kidder, and divers others, have hitherto boisterously denied that slavery was hereditary in Massachusetts and insolently abused all who dared to affirm it. Shall we believe Frederic, then, or Frederic, now? If the latter, why?

But we have over-run our limits, in thus celebrating the handiwork of one of Boston's representative men, in the line of American History; and we must close the volume.

The volume is neatly printed, by our friend Munsell.

15.—*Sailing Directions of Henry Hudson*, prepared for his use in 1608, from the Old Danish of Ivar Bardren. With an Introduction and Notes; also a Dissertation on the Discovery of the Hudson River. By the Rev. B. F. DeCosta. Albany: Joel Munsell. 1869. Octavo, pp. 102.

This is another of those historical trifles which Mr. DeCosta is so rapidly putting together, sometimes in one style and sometimes in another, and throwing upon the market.

Opening with his inevitable Eric the Red, Mr. DeCosta ranges, in his Introduction, over the entire series of navigators in American waters, from the period of that notorious Northman until the latter days of Henry Hudson, with all the airs of a master but without the essence of one.

Dealing liberally in positive averments which are generally based on a mere "perhaps," or a "probably," or an "it is reasonable to infer," or an "under the circumstances, he would not have" done so and so, or an "it does not appear probable," etc., Mr. DeCosta assumes, throughout his entire volume, the positive tone of one who possesses unquestionable knowledge and authority concerning what he writes; and he coolly and deliberately lashes those who have preceded and do not agree with him, with all the assurance and petulance of a venerable old-school pedagogue, whose every word or look is the supreme law. In all this, as we have said, he generally offers no testimony to support his naked averments—the ugly nakedness of which is too often made more evident by the acknowledged home-made foundation on which they rest—and we are coolly invited and expected to rest our faith on what *he* says, on his unsupported inferences, and on his hastily-formed and unintelligent guesses.

How reasonably all this pretension is made and how safely this demand may be acceded to, will be evident to every one who shall carefully examine his story: we have room for only one of the several instances which we have seen of the entire want of accuracy and of the entire absence of common honor to others, which prevail in too many of his statements. It is this, which we find on page 44 of his volume. Referring to the article on *Discovery of the Atlantic Coast of North America*, from the pen of the learned Buckingham Smith, Esqr., which we published in our First Series, x, 373, and inaccurately quoting therefrom, as from page 368, he *omits therefrom the queries which the learned writer of that arti-*

cle considered necessary; and, in the very teeth of the authority which he cites to sustain the averment, he boldly avers, as an undoubted fact, what the master-mind, on that subject, only cautiously set forth with a query. Thus: we printed, "From Cabo St. Johan to Cabo, or Promontory, de las Arenas, in $38^{\circ} 20'$, are thirty leagues, N. N. E.; thence other thirty leagues, North, is Cabo Sanctiago, in $39^{\circ} 30'$ ($41^{\circ} ?$); thence the coast turns Southwest twenty leagues, to Bahia Sanct Chripstobal, in 39° ($40^{\circ} 30' ?$); from that bend made by the land, the coast turns Northward, passing said Bay, thirty leagues, to Rio San Antonio, in 41° ($41^{\circ} 20' ?$) which is North and South with the bottom of said Bay." We thus printed it, because the learned writer had reason to suppose, without being confident of his entire accuracy in that supposition, that Oviedo was thus narrating what was the discovery of Hudson's-river by Estevan Gomez; yet Mr. DeCosta boldly takes this material; modernizes the style; omits the queries—in which, alone, reposes the result of Mr. Smith's researches—and, without alluding to the learned author of those important queries, seizes the information which they conveyed; publishes them as the result of his own labors; and virtually proclaims himself a master among pigmies in the history of American discovery. In all this, however, he forgot to cover his tracks, and unwittingly exposed, by his naked quotation from Oviedo, the fact of his unblushing plagiarism, since every one knows that if, in the words of Mr. DeCosta, "by the bay of St. Chripstobal is meant the lower Bay of New York . . . and that Rio St. Antonio is the Hudson-river," that gentleman has learned those facts from some other authority than Oviedo, who makes that Bay and that River *thirty leagues apart*. If Mr. DeCosta discovered, from Oviedo, alone, that the Bay of St. Chripstobal and the Rio St. Antonio referred, respectively, to the lower Bay of New York and the North-river, what does he propose to do with the "thirty leagues" which, the same Oviedo tells him, separated the one from the other? If he did not depend on Oviedo, alone, in obtaining that knowledge, on whom, pray, did he depend, beside that ancient author, and why was not that other authority cited?

The truth, undoubtedly, is, Mr. DeCosta never read a line of Oviedo, except in Mr. Smith's translation, in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE; and he never knew from any one, except from Mr. Smith's queries, inserted in that translation, and from that gentleman's paper on that subject, read by him before the New York Historical Society, in 1864, that Gomez ever approached Hudson's-river. Yet he has boldly seized Mr. Smith's results, and published, as original with himself, what he had thus silently abstracted from another.

We need say little more, concerning the character of Mr. DeCosta, as a historical writer.

The *Sailin Directions*, extracted from Purchas's *His Pilgrimes*, with Mr. DeCosta's Notes, close the volume; and in this portion of the work, too, the notorious inaccuracy of the Editor is painfully evident. On page 13, Mr. DeCosta says of it: "It is there" [*in Purchas*] "stated that it was translated out of the Norsh language into High Dutch in the year 1560, and from the High Dutch into the Low Dutch by William Barentson, *which copy*" [Barentsen's] "*was preserved by Jodocus Hondius to be translated into English, in 1608, by William Stere, for the use of Henry Hudson;*" and, on pages 61-96, he has copied the paper, thus translated by Mr. Stere, *in extenso*, and, we suppose, with accuracy. He can have no excuse, therefore, for mis-quoting it; and no other reason than unadulterated carelessness can be assigned for any such misuse of it. Let us see how Mr. DeCosta employs the authorities which he, himself, recognizes as authorities, in the construction of his narrative; and let us measure, from this, as best we can, the probable extent of his reliability on other subjects—whether *Pre-Columbian* or *Post-Columbian*, historical or theological—on which he writes.

I.—Purchas says the paper which Mr. DeCosta has re-produced, was, originally, in the Norsh language; and Mr. DeCosta does not dissent.

II.—Purchas says that paper was translated, in 1560, out of the Norsh language into High Dutch; and Mr. DeCosta does not dissent.

III.—Purchas says the High Dutch translation, to which we have referred, was, when he wrote his *Pilgrimes*, "in the hands of Jodocus Hondius;" and Mr. DeCosta does not dissent.

IV.—Purchas says that from this High Dutch translation, then in possession of Hondius, a Low Dutch translation was made by William Barentsen; and Mr. DeCosta does not dissent.

V.—Purchas says that, when he wrote, this Low Dutch version of the paper, by Barentsen, was "in the hands of Master Peter Plantius, who lent the same to me" [*Purchas*]: Mr. DeCosta boldly contradicts the statement of Purchas, by asserting, unequivocally, that Barentsen's copy "was preserved by Jodius Hondius," who, it will be remembered, was the possessor of the High Dutch version from which Barentsen had made the translation into Low Dutch, to which we refer.

VI.—Purchas says that, from this book which Master Peter Plantius had, one William Stere translated what were to be employed by Henry Hudson as his "Sailing Directions:" Mr. DeCosta says it was from the copy "which was preserved by Jodius Hondius," that William Stere made his English version, for Henry Hudson.

Now, it is of very little importance, *per se*, whether the *Sailing Directions of Henry Hudson* were in the original or translated from another language; and it is just as unimportant, if they were translated, whether they were thus translated from the High or the Low Dutch; but we insist that it is not unimportant, nor can it be so, that a writer of Mr. DeCosta's pretensions to accuracy has read his authorities so carelessly that he has not yet ascertained the true origin and history of the very paper which, alone, forms the subject of his entire volume: we insist that it is not unimportant, nor can it be, that he has so little confidence in the only authority on which his argument rests, that he may arbitrarily contradict that authority on some of the most important points of his narrative: we insist that it is not unimportant, nor can it ever be, that he is so careless in the discharge of the merely mechanical portion of his duties, that his statements, transferred from other writers, for that reason, cannot be relied on. We insist, too, that, while Mr. DeCosta was engaged on this subject, it was his duty to show that Henry Hudson had actually used those *Sailing Directions* while engaged in his explorations, and what benefit that use of them had secured to himself or to the world; and we also insist that, in the unfinished state in which Mr. DeCosta has left his subject, by omitting to notice this very important part of it, the mere re-publication of this paper has served no other end than to furnish a peg on which Mr. DeCosta has hung another of his useless speculations.

Whether Mr. DeCosta has not sufficiently studied his subject to enable him to understand it, or has not sufficient confidence in his authorities to induce him to rest his case on them, or has been too negligent in copying his statements for the press, the stern fact yet remains, that he has thereby unfitted himself for that historical knight-errantry which he aspires to, and which has already led him to level his lance at everything, from an old windmill to a delapidated bastion, from Newport, on the South, to Ticonderoga, on the North. His energies should be expended in some other occupation, where insufficient information concerning his subject, or lack of confidence in his authorities, or unwarranted indolence in the preparation of his facts for the press, would inflict less injury to himself and to the world.

The volume is a very neat one.

16.—*The Northmen in Maine*; a critical examination of views expressed in connection with the subject, by Dr. J. H. Kohl, in Volume I. of the new series of the Maine Historical Society. To which are added criticisms on other portions of the work, and a Chapter on the Discovery of Massachusetts Bay. By Rev. B. F. DeCosta. Albany: Joel Munsell, 1870. Octavo, pp. 146.

It would seem that the Reverend author of this volume has ceased to be a Minister of "Peace on Earth," since his delight is evidently, now, to stir up strife, there. Vermont was set in motion, a year or so ago, by his busy pen; Maine seems to have become his victim, now; and the sting in his tail, as seen in the closing pages of this volume, is evidently on its way, before this, to the cowering shoulders of poor old Massachusetts. So we go. Wonders will never cease.

We have seen the volume which has called forth this "critical examination," and we have read the examination itself. Some points of Mr. DeCosta's objections seem to have been well taken, if he has fairly stated the evidence concerning his statement, of which we have no means of judging; but, on the other points of his objections, even on the *ex parte* testimony which he has himself adduced, we are disposed to doubt the correctness of his conclusions.

There is, besides, throughout his entire work, too much assumption and too little supporting evidence, to please us or to give weight to his *dicta*; and his style very often betrays his own sense of his own weakness, even if we shall take as of no account, his frequent self-contradictions.

Mr. DeCosta first announces the high character, as "a distinguished scholar," of Doctor Kohl; and then he proceeds to show, as he supposes, how much superior to the Doctor, he is, himself, either in Icelandic or Danish, Latin or English, scholarship.

Doctor Kohl agrees "perfectly," with Mr. DeCosta, too, as to localities, he says, (page 6); and yet he gravely proceeds, page after page, to tell us how little they really agree and how much they disagree—the Doctor supposes, for instance, that Thorwald was buried to the *eastward*, and Mr. DeCosta supposes it was to the *westward*, of Cape Cod; the Doctor supposes Thorfinn coasted along the shore of Maine, while Mr. DeCosta supposes he did not; the Doctor supposes Thorfinn sailed "from Markland" (*Nova Scotia*) "whereas," Mr. DeCosta says, "they did not sail from Markland," (page 15) but from Heluland (*Labrador*); the Doctor suggests that Thorfinn, while searching for Thorhall, "might have gone somewhere in the inner parts of the Gulf of Maine," while Mr. DeCosta asserts, *positively*, (because he "very well knows") that the voyage was not as "far North as Boston," (page 21); etc. We need go no further to show how loosely Mr. DeCosta writes, with these illustrations of what, in his vocabulary constitutes a "perfect agreement" as to *localities*.

Mr. DeCosta's mode is seen on page 22, for instance, where he first opposes Doctor Kohl's conclusions concerning a specified locality with no other evidence than an "evidently;" and then, having laid a *guess* for his foundation, proceeds

with a "therefore" to build a superstructure—all of which may do in theology but it will not do in history. Another instance, which borders on the impertinent, occurs on page 26, where he meets a suggestion of the Doctor—"it is not quite clear, but *it appears to me probable*"—with the curt remark "For *this statement* there is no authority whatever," without the possibility of himself knowing anything "whatever" about the only "statement" which the Doctor had made, viz., that relative to *the appearance to him*, of some specified subject. Again, he dogmatically assumes, over and over again, when he knows of no existing evidence on a given subject, that there really is no such evidence in existence or known to any other person; as in the cases just alluded to; in the case of Bishop Eric, on page 27; and in many others.

But Mr. DeCosta's assurance was not confined to Doctor Kohl: Professor Rafn shares it (page 27); and that, too, on no other foundation than one of Mr. DeCosta's mere "implications," wherein the Newport Mill, which has puzzled the most learned, these many years, is disposed of with a single flourish of his pen; and we notice, too, that when the learned Professor's world-widely known *Antiquitates Americanae* and Mr. DeCosta's *Pre-Columbian Discovery* can possibly be brought together, *the latter leads, as the chief authority*, notwithstanding it had not possibly existed but for the pre-existence of the former.

The height of Mr. DeCosta's assurance is not reached, however, until he turns on Doctor Kohl, with a charge of *omission*, because he has not noticed a voyage "along the coast of Maine," for which even he can give no other authority than a "perhaps;" and concerning his own knowledge of which he rather equivocally maintains an ominous silence.

Let us supply what Mr. DeCosta has "omitted" on this subject. By accident, only, Mr. DeCosta learned, very recently, from a third party, that that accomplished scholar and gentleman, J. Carson Brevoort, Esq., of Brooklyn, had alluded, in conversation with another gentleman, to the strange oversight of scholars, in not noticing an allusion, in Hakluyt, to the discovery of the Massachusetts Bay by a navigator who had had no recent credit for it; and he immediately ransacked Hakluyt, in search of the passage; but his ignorance of the subject and of the volumes of Hakluyt caused his search to end without success. His relations with Mr. Brevoort were somewhat doubtful, he supposed—as they would have been, with almost any other person, under the same circumstances—and he hesitated, therefore, about addressing that gentleman; but, at length, he sought relief in an application, and found it, in a frank, open-handed reference, which, even then, he did not know how to use,

and subsequently by other courtesies which, we presume, have silenced, before this, the sneers in which he was wont to indulge at Mr. Brevoort's expense. In short, *Mr. Brevoort told him* of what may have been a voyage of Jean Allfonsee of Saintonge and of that navigator's possible discovery of the Massachusetts Bay, the knowledge of which possibilities he now throws into Doctor Kohl's face, as facts, without making *any* acknowledgment of his own indebtedness for them to another's research and generous courtesy, and flourishes them in his title-page, as a result of his own unaided labors.

But there is another point of Mr. DeCosta's argument which has amused us, as it will amuse others, who, like ourselves, have been witnesses of Mr. DeCosta's peculiar pretensions to scholarship in early American history.

The great body of our readers are aware, we suppose, that among the most celebrated, as he was one of the coarsest, of the French writers of the Sixteenth Century, was the distinguished FRANCOIS RABELAIS, whom Lord Bacon was accustomed to style "the great jester of France." They know, too, that among the characters which that writer's fertile fancy created, were the Prince Pantagruel, his pilot, James Brayer, and a person whom the Prince met at sea—a "Frenchman of Xaintonge;" and Lanternland, toward which the Prince was said to be sailing, on his way to the holy bottle, which lay beyond that country, near Cathay, in Upper India, will not fail to be recognized, as well as remembered, by all who have read that celebrated satire. (*Works*, Book iv., Chap. i-v.)

Our readers need not be told that among the very last of the writers of the Sixteenth Century whom *we* should have appealed to as an authority in American history, would have been Rabelais; and we have hitherto supposed that the creations of the acute imagination of that subtle satirist are not very well adapted to figure, as veritable heroes, in anything which pretends to the least degree of respectability as *History*. Indeed, Dean Swift might as well be appealed to as an authority in history; and Robinson Crusoe as well be assigned a place among the great colonizers of heathen lands.

The readers of this volume—the last of Mr. DeCosta's historical works, and, therefore, probably, his best—will be surprised to perceive, in more than one of its pages, that its author has extended the bounds of recognized historical research and, as far as that gentleman can do so, elevated to prominent places in history, one, if not two, of the coarsest of Rabelais' creations.

On pages 109 and 110 of this volume, Mr. DeCosta tells his readers, that, "of the events in the life of Jean Allfonsee we know but little, nor is this so remarkable, considering the

"the fact that he lived in an age when *one of his patrons*, the Prince Pantagruel, *was largely lost to sight, and is now, even, scarcely remembered*, EXCEPT BY ANTIQUARIANS;" and he has exhibited, his love of country, as a Massachusetts man, when, on page 113, he remarks, with an evident relish, in view of so notable an addition to the Fatherhood of that notable Commonwealth, "it is not altogether an unhappy circumstance that the first recorded visit to the shores of liberty-loving Massachusetts should have been made by a mariner of this lofty stamp, and a pilot of the Prince Pantagruel."

If Mr. DeCosta's taste leads him to feast on the fatness of Rabelais, it does not become us to interpose any objection, since he is a "Lantern-land"-man, a Clergyman, and our "equal before the Law;" yet, even in that case, we must demand fair play for his authorities, as such, and insist, since he seems to prefer Rabelais as one of them, either that the teachings of that dirty writer, *as such an authority*, shall be respected, or that that use of them shall be discontinued.

If none but "antiquarians" do more than "scarcely remember" the Prince Pantagruel, why did not Mr. DeCosta resort to those "antiquarians" who thus "remembered" that potentate, and tell his readers just what *they* said of him? As Mr. DeCosta undoubtedly knows, he, himself, could have told more in his book, of this Prince and his ancestors, than all the *antiquarians* in the world, combined, had he turned to the *Works of Rabelais*; and he might have learned, also, in these same *Works*, something more than he has yet told us, concerning this "Frenchman of Xaintonge," whom he has attempted to immortalize as Jean Allfonsee of Saintonge, the "pilot of the Prince Pantagruel"—a position which was really occupied, if Rabelais is worth anything as an authority in *history*, not by Jean Allfonsee, but by "James Brayer."

Notwithstanding our knowledge of some portion of the truth which is said to have been concealed under that husk of beastliness, we protest against the use of Rabelais' inventions, as veritable history. We protest against the adoption of the Prince of Pantagruel, and the "Frenchman of Xaintonge," and the pilot, James Brayer, and Lanternland, and the oracle of the holy bottle, into the family of verities, even by Mr. DeCosta; and, while we would not attempt to deprive that gentleman of any personal pleasure which he may enjoy in the perusal of the questionable pages of Rabelais, we earnestly protest against the transfer of either the characters or the style which that obscene writer employed, into what, whether reasonably or unreasonably, assumes to be veritable history.

The labors of Mr. DeCosta would have undoubtedly resulted in well-merited honor to him-

self, had he been contented with the honors which legitimately belong to him; but he is no longer a child, nor excusable for acting like a peevish pet of the family, whenever anybody, beside himself, opens the records of the Northmen's voyages, and crosses his conclusions with other conclusions not less respectable than his own. If errors have been made in the discussion of these early voyages, and those errors can be proved by *authentic* documentary evidence, there is no necessity for inferences; and Mr. DeCosta's substitution of the latter for the former, as testimony, is simply impertinent: if no such authentic documentary evidence exists to establish or disprove, the inferences of all parties must be tested by the reader's own judgment; and Mr. DeCosta's guesses are no better than those of others, while both are insufficient, without supporting evidence, as *History*.

As to Doctor Kohl and his volume, both of which are indirectly under notice in this article, we need say very little. The Doctor undoubtedly subjected himself to what was deemed a necessity in the political portion of the undertaking, and sent his work to press without those nice finishing touches, the necessity for which, in order to secure the greatest perfection, every writer as well as every artist knows so well; yet, even Mr. DeCosta is constrained to admit that he is a learned man, and by no means uninformed on the subject on which he wrote. Besides, whether Mr. DeCosta shall admit it or not, Doctor Kohl has really done a great service to American History, in the production of even this hastily-formed volume; and, as a first *resumé* of supposed explorations on our coast, it is really a remarkable work, as Mr. DeCosta would have found out, if he had labored nearly as hard to look for its strong, positive excellencies as he did to find what he supposed to be its weaknesses—a search, too, on Mr. DeCosta's part, which has really resulted in no injury to the character of the work, since that gentleman either does not possess sufficient knowledge of the subject or did not devote sufficient time in the search to find the weak points which are in it, which one who was better posted or more thorough in his labors could have readily perceived.

But we must go no further. The volume is of little practical use; and, if we except the Chapter concerning what may have been Allfonsee's discovery, it is little more than a literary curiosity, made up of guesses, and inferences, and grave uncertainties, some of which are unquestionably good for something, while more of them are quite as surely good for nothing.

The volume is handsomely printed, by Munsell of Albany.

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[No. 4.

I.—THE CAMPAIGNS AGAINST CROWN
POINT, IN 1755 AND 1756.

CORRESPONDENCE OF DOCTOR THOMAS WIL-
LIAMS, OF DEERFIELD, MASS., A SURGEON
IN THE ARMY.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS BELONGING
TO HIS GRANDSON, THE LATE STEPHEN W.
WILLIAMS, ESQ.*

I.—THE CAMPAIGN OF 1755.

1.—To his Wife.

ALBANY, June 6, 1755.

MY DEAR:

I arrived at this place yesterday about noon, & thro' the goodness of God have had a safe & comfortable journey; heartily hope that these may find you & your dear children under the smiles of divine Providence. When we shall march from this place I know not, have not yet had an opportunity to acquaint myself with what forwardness the Battoes ar, as also other articles as Wagons, &c., &c. I hear the Province stores, Tents, &c., are not yet arrived. Gov. Shirley is expected soon. Gen. Johnson has about 1100 of the blacks, little & great, male & female about him; he has the war dance, when the Indians painted up the General, & an ox was roasted whole, & the General with his cutlass went up & slashed off a piece, & each of the Indians took up their axes & followed. All the warriors that were then at Schenectady, which were about 500; had I been in three days sooner might have had the pleasure of seeing the transaction, but shall content myself that it will be a much greater pleasure if I can see them prosecute the affair against the

French with as much eagerness as I imagine they drank their wine & eat their roasted ox. The two lower Castles, Capt. Keliogg informs me, will be true & hearty. They incline in general to go to Crown Point, & say their Governor will have nothing but a dead Carcass to pick up at Niagara. There is some expectation that the General Joh—s—n is like to draw off the Cognawaws from the French interest, which if it should prove true will be of no small service. Our men, they say are in good spirits & eager for action. & I hope they will have it quick. I hear the Major General designs to march his men by next wednesday towards the Carrying place to mend the roads & make good bridges for the Wagons, & build store houses, &c. The people in general they tell me in this place are as hearty well wishers to the expedition as any in New England except four or five of their provincial traders, who by name I know not. I have take lodging at one Mrs. Wendell's, a widow Gentlewoman who has several sons & daughters, & it seems to be quite an agreeable family; they are very wealthy, as I judge by the appearance. Plate, &c., extremely neat, & live well; was directed by Col. Lydius to this place. I do not know but that Dr. Marsh. were he not pre-engaged might make a fortune by taking one of the Old lady's daughters, but I had like to forgot that it was Sunday; it being very stormy, therefore dont go to church but I believe they will shortly call to dinner, therefore must conclude with my earnest prayers that a gracious God would keep & preserve you all, & in due time give us an opportunity to rejoice in his unmerited goodness toward- us.

Your Affectionate Husband
& Humble Serv
THO^t WILLIAMS.

2.—To his Wife.

ALBANY, July 12, 1755.

MY DEAR RIB:

I long to see you, but dont be angry if I tell you that I want to see Crown Point more, but

* The late Stephen W. Williams, of Deerfield, Massachusetts,—a lineal descendant of the celebrated Pastor of that Town, who was carried into captivity, by the Indians, in 1704—furnished copies of these papers to Colonel William L. Stone, when, in 1842, the latter was engaged on his historical works; but he does not seem to have used them.

We are indebted to his son, William L. Stone, Esq., of New York, for permission to use the copies, which, in Mr Williams's handwriting, were thus furnished to Colonel Stone; and our readers will need no word from us to inform them how important they are, as material for history, relative to the old French and Indian War, in Colonial New York.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

when that will be I know not. The Expedition goes on very much, I should imagine as our Committee of War manage the business of the public, that is as a snail runs 13 knots in 14 hours. Our forces have not yet all arrived & but part of our stores. No medicines for the sick men, nor kettles for the well, to boil their provisions, belonging to the Province, are yet come. In short our Province which ought to have been the head, is like to become the tail, & thereby will become a scorn, a reproach, & a bye-word, &c., &c. The Major General told me yesterday that they waited only for our Province, that they have been ready some time. Our men begin to drop down one after another with Fevers & Fluxes, & some Dysenteries. I conclude for want of kettles proper to freshen their meat. They have but one small kettle to 15 men, & were it not for the kindness of the inhabitants they would suffer prodigiously; but they are exceeding kind & obliging, & I believe in general hearty well wishers to the expedition. In short I have quite a different opinion of them than I had before I got here. The General has certain intelligence of 2000 ready to defend Crown Point, who are encamped at Montreal, & can push off at an hour's warning. Our Battos not yet complete; hope they will be finished this week; no train of artillery yet arrived, that is mortars, shells, cannon shot, &c. I very much fear the consequence of our long stay here. Things look with a dark aspect. I am often urging the necessity of our speedy march, but what can we do? Move we can't till such times as our stores arrive, neither will the General suffer it, he says, till two thirds are ready, or a suitable force to oppose their army, should they attack us, as doubtless they will if their numbers are superior, which they can know by their Indians who will view us every day, & if they should cut our first detachment they may defeat the expedition.

JULY 16th. This afternoon Col. Titecomb is come within 5 miles of the city, whose Surgeon is come on shore & tells me that the medicines for our regiment are on board, which you may needs think is very agreeable news, considering I have had the mortification to be obliged hitherto to the Continental Surgeons for medicines, & to say the truth could not think myself much obliged neither, considering the quantity & quality of their medicines; but will give the gentlemen credit, that as to their service & good will it has been generous. Orders have been given out by the General this morning for the marching of the first division consisting of 12 or 1500 men in order to repair the bridges & ways for the wagons to Lydius Carrying Place, so that things put on a better face, & I doubt

not by to morrow to see a more cheerly countenance in the men's phizzes, which were continually dejected, fearing as they expressed it another Canada expedition. Our regiment is very much scattered three companies being two miles & a half or three miles down the river, & the others scattered up the river four or five miles, so that I have quite exercise enough at present to prevent an addition to the accumulation of my Corps; & as for a horse I have not been upon one since I came here, but use the flat of my foot every day four or five miles, & sometimes more, which, by the way, I hope will not be a disservice to my footing of it to Crown Point, provided my wages will find me shoes. Major General Shirley is yet here, designs as the report is to march up to Schenectady to-morrow to join his troops that are there. As our medicines & necessaries are now come, & coming near by, I suppose we shall be upon the march directly, having awaited them with the utmost impatience; but I must conclude with my hearty & sincere prayers that God would keep & preserve you all, & give us an opportunity to rejoice together in his loving kindness & tender mercies towards us in our absence from each other.

Your very affect Husband
THO^s WILLIAMS.

S.—To his Wife.

LYDIUS'S CARRYING PLACE,
Aug. 14, 1755.

MY DEAR:

I have been very ill with the Fever & Dysentery; but through the goodness of God I have recovered so much a measure of health as to be able to do my duty in the regiment respecting the sick. Have heard from you but once by letters by Dr. Field, since I came from home. Have sent, if I mistake not, 5 letters. The remainder in part (viz) Gen. Johnson, Col. Titecomb, Col. Guttridge, & their regiments, with my Brother's & the rest of his regiment joined us this day, & not before. The Yorkers & R. Islanders are yet behind, & it seems if we drive on (not Alexander like) we may possibly see Crown Point by this time twelve months. I this day hear the melancholly news of Col. Williams, of Weathersfield, death. Pray God sanctify the awful bereavement. In general our men healthy for such an army; but two or three deaths since we arrived, & none from our parts. The men our way pretty well. Officers & men in good spirits, but the Post forbids my adding save that I am,

Your affectionate Husband,
THO^s WILLIAMS.

4.—*To his Wife.*CAMP AT THE CARRYING PLACE,
Aug. 17, 1755.

MY DEAR WIFE:

I write by every opportunity to you, & many times when I have none, to be ready against time of need, therefore it would be an unpardonable crime, should I miss this favorable one by Ensⁿ Barnard, who arrived here yesterday. I am, thro' Divine Providence, recruiting strength daily, heartily hope that these may find you & my dear children who are often upon my mind, under the protection & favorable smiles of a gracious God. It was like good news from a far country, & rejoiced my heart to hear of yours & the family's health by Ensⁿ Sheldon, & it would have added to the pleasure could I have had but one line from your dear hand.

As for news I can write but little, as the General arrived but thursday last. It is a fortnight this day since I came to this place & was in hopes that ere this time we should have advanced to the other side of the Carrying Place, but the old proverb is, "great wheels move slow." I wish it may be sure; am pretty certain of a long expedition, & I cant say I dont fear a fruitless one. We know not yet which way we are like to proceed, as the country has not yet been sufficiently reconnoitered, at least so as to give us satisfactory intelligence, notwithstanding we had about eight days ago 300 men at work cutting the road to Fort Ann, supposing we should go by Wood Creek, & in two days they cleared a road thirty feet wide, about 8 miles, or two thirds of the way to the Wood Creek, but now that is stopped, & 40 picked white men, with 3 of the General's Indians are gone to view that whole country, in order to find out the best way for us to proceed. Capt. Taylor, of Hartford, a vigilant, active, good officer, goes ahead. Capt. Burke is also this day going with 10 picked men, & 3 of the General's Indians to Lake St. Sacrament to view that road. With submission to the General officers, I must think it a very grand mistake that the business was not done two months ago, but so it is, & impatience will only add to difficulty. I endeavor to keep myself calm & quiet under our slow progress, & to wait God's time who orders all events, trusting he will yet appear for our help, & his own time favor this our cause which I believe to be just & good. I was not insensible the fatigues of a campaign were great, when I undertook & came from home & to which the additional affliction of leaving the Dear wife of my bosom, pleasant children, & agreeable relatives & friends, I could not have reconciled myself unto, had I

not thought I had a clear call, to serve my God, my King, & country in this shape, & I have no reason yet to alter my mind respecting the same, therefore I trust the same Divine Providence who has hitherto kept & preserved me, will still keep preserve & return me again to you in safety, to whose kind & benevolent care I commit you & my dear children & subscribe myself
Your affect^e Husband,

THO^s WILLIAMS.5.—*To his Wife.*FROM THE CAMP AT THE CARRYING PLACE,
Aug. 23, 1755.

MY DEAR:

I having an opportunity to send to Fort Massachusetts, improve it to let you hear from me, as also the rest of my friends there, if I have any, which I might rationally suspect I have not, by not receiving any tokens thereof for above a month past, excepting a line from the Rev. Mr. Ashley, which favor I have a few days since returned him my thanks. I am now at the same place where I was 20 days ago. The Expedition goes on very slowly, in some expectation of marching 2 days hence to Lake St. Sacrament, [*Lake George*] as they have this day begun to open a road that way, not being able to find one any other. I suppose the several governments are sent to, to reinforce us with more men, which I hope will be cheerfully complied with, if they desire we shall be successful against Crown Point. My compliments to Major Williams, let him know I expect he will, agreeable to his promise, be here with some of his first recruits. Saving a too great laxness of my bowels, which is common in the army, I am in considerable health. Want very much to hear from you & the dear children, who are often in my mind. Our army in general pretty healthy, not having more than 20 of the Province forces in the Hospital, & but one or two dangerous. have lost 3 of our troops who died at the Flats, ere they reached this place. Capt. Kellogg died at Schenectaday last monday, after an illness of 15 days, Fever & Dysentery.

You affectionate Husband

THO^s WILLIAMS.6.—*To his Wife.*

LAKE GEORGE, Sept. 11, 1755.

MY DEAR SPOUSE:

Last monday, the 8th instant, was the most awful day that my eyes ever beheld, & may I not say that ever was seen in New England, considering the transactions of it. Having intelligence that an army of French & Indians

that were discovered by our Indian scouts, part of our army were detached to intercept their retreat, as it was supposed they were designed for Fort Lyman, (*now Fort Edgard*) at the south end of the Carrying-place; about 1000 whites under the command of my dear brother Ephraim who led the van, & Lt. Col. Whiting who brought up the rear & about 150 Mohawks under the Command of King Hendrick, their principal speaker, were attacked by the French Army consisting of 1200 regulars, & about 900 Canadians & Savages, about 3 miles from our encampment. & the main of our detachment it is said, put to a precipitate flight, but the certainty is not yet known, besure those brave men who stood fighting for our dear country perished in the field of battle. The attack began about half an hour after ten in the morning, & continued till about four in the afternoon before the enemy began their retreat. The enemy were about an hour & a half driving our people before them, before they reached the camp, where to give them due credit they fought like brave fellows on both sides for near four hours, disputing every inch of ground, in the whole of which time there seemed to be nothing but thunder & lightning & perpetual pillars of smoke. Our Cannon (which under God it appears to me) saved us were heard down as low as near Saratoga, notwithstanding the wind was in the south, & something considerable, & which by the way was a great disadvantage to our troops, as the smoke was drove in our faces. The wounded were brought in very fast, & it was with the utmost difficulty that their wounds could be dressed fast enough, even in the most superficial manner, having in about three hours near forty men to be dressed, & Dr. Pyncheon, his mate & Billy (one of his students) & myself were all to do it, my mate being at Fort Lyman attending upon divers sick men there. The bullets flew like hail-stones about our ears all the time of dressing, as we had not a place prepared of safety, to dress the wounded in, but through God's goodness we received no hurt any more than the bark of the trees & chips flying in our faces by accidental shots, which were something frequent. Our Tent was shot through in diver places, which we thought best to leave & retire a few rods behind a shelter of a log house, which so loose laid as to let the balls through very often. I have not time to give a list of the dead which are many, by reason I have not time to attend the wounded as they ought to be. My necessary food & sleep are almost strangers to me since the fatal day; fatal indeed to my dear brother Ephraim, who was killed in the beginning of the action, by a ball through his head. Great numbers of brave men, & some of the flower of our army died

with him on the spot, a list of which I refer you to Capt. Burke's letter to Lt. Hoit, having not time to get a copy of one myself. Twenty odd wounded in our regiment, amongst whom some, I fear will prove mortal, & poor brother Josiah makes one of the number, having a ball lodged in his intestines, which entered towards the upper part of his thigh & passed through his groin. Poor Capt. Hawley is yet alive, though I did not think he would live two hours after bringing him in being shot in at the left pap (& the ball cut out near his shoulder blade) cutting his pleura, & piercing through the left lobe of his lungs. As the violence of his symptoms are this day somewhat abated, I have some small hopes he may recover. Our Mohawks suffered considerable in the action, having thirty three killed, with the brave King Hendrick, which has exasperated them much, so that it is with a great deal of difficulty that we can keep them from sacrificing the French General & Aid-de-camp, & the rest of the French prisoners, about 21 in number, which we have taken. The French General is much wounded, whose name & title is as follows: (as appears by his papers) *M. Le Baron des Dieskau, Marshall de Camp et Armies Envoye in Canada pour Commander Tout les Troupes*. It seems he was a Lt. Col^d under Count Saxe last war in Flanders; & was sent over with the same power & command from that country that the late Gen. Braddock was from England; but must conclude, being interrupted every moment by my patients wanting something or other.

Our recruits begin to come up, which if the remainder soon join, hope we shall yet see Crown Point in a few weeks, & by God Almighty's assistance make it our own. The remainder of the French army were attacked by 250 of the New Hampshire troops after they left us; & put to a precipitate flight, as they were not apprised of those troops, they left their baggage & most of their provisions, packs, & some guns, & many dead bodies on the spot where the attack began in the morning, when our troops came upon them, as they were sitting down to rest after their fatigue with us. The French General says he lost 600 of his men, & the Aid-de-Camp says more, & that they have lost 1000. It is certain they were smartly paid, for they left their garments & weapons of war for miles together after the brush with the Hampshire troops like the Assyrians in their flight. If we had had 5 or 600 fresh troops to have followed them it is thought very few would have gone back to Crown Point to tell what had become of their brethren. It is now 11 o'clock at night & I have had scarce any sleep since the action, must therefore wish you a good night, looking to a merciful & gracious God to

keep & preserve you with all my dear relatives & friends & in his own due time return me home to you in safety laden with the experience of his salvation, & a grateful sense of his divine mercies to us all. With love to my dear children & proper regards to all, as due, I subscribe myself

Your affectionate Husband till Death.

THO^s WILLIAMS.

MRS. ESTHER WILLIAMS.

7.—*To his Wife.*

CAMP AT LAKE GEORGE,
Sept. 26, 1755.

MY DEAR:

I this morning received a letter from Dr. Field, informing of the health of the family, for which I bless God, & pray that these may find you still under the smiles of Divine Providence.

I have not had my health quite so well for 8 or 10 days since, being almost wore out in attending upon the sick & wounded which are many. I design when our new recruits arrive, if I dont grow any better, to get liberty to come home & recruit, as I believe riding would much serve my health under my present lax state of my bowels. Poor Capt. Hawley was buried yesterday after lying 16 days, & one lobe of his lungs was putrefied & consumed by the ball which passed through. Brother Josiah I am in hopes will recover, though yet in great danger of an ulcer of his bladder which the ball passed through. Mical Harrington died of the wound he received through the fleshy part of the thigh, the ball undoubtedly poisoned, as also one Jonathan Burt of Brimfield, by a poisoned ball through the arm, & one Bisbee by a slight shot in the leg which threw him into convulsions. The art of man could not stop the mortification which seized the wounded part, & presently a few hours shut up the scene. Oh! cursed malice that the fatal lead should not be thought sufficient without being rolled up with a dissolution of copper & yellow arsenic as I am thoughtful was the case by many of their poisoned balls which were brought in out of their bullet pouches taken among the plunder. I trust a righteous God will one day avenge their barbarous rage, cruelty & malice against us. I am forced to steal time to write thus much, & having numbers round to answer questions to, all the time, must, therefore conclude, hoping, God willing, to see you shortly.

Your affⁿ Husband

THO^s WILLIAMS.

MRS. ESTHER WILLIAMS.

I fear the expediton is over for this year.
Sub^a Rosa.

8.—*To his Wife.*

CAMP AT LAKE GEORGE.
Oct. 8th. 1755.

MY DEAR WIFE:

I wrote a line by Dr. Mattoon to Dr. Field, desiring him to send two horses by the first opportunity to Fort Massachusetts, in order to Capt. Wyman's sending them to Albany. Was in hopes of being there this week, but find myself sadly disappointed in that scheme—have been very urgent to get home before cold weather gets to be tedious, as I supposed the Expedition to Crown Point for this year was at an end. But as our recruits begin to come in daily, & the road is full of men & provisions: as they say, & the General, as yet not having positive orders from the several Governments what to do, whether to make a stand or to proceed, he is very loth to have me come home, but lets me know he expects in a few days to receive orders, & then he shall know how to act. I must say he is a complete gentleman, & willing to oblige & please all men, familiar & free of access to the lowest Centinel, a gentleman of uncommon smart sense & even temper: never yet saw him in a ruffle, or use any bad language—in short I never was so disappointed in a person in the idea I had of him before I came from home, in my life: to sum up he is almost universally beloved & esteemed by officers & soldiers as a *second Marlborough for coolness of head & warmth of heart*. We are now building a strong fortress, expecting to go no farther considering the advanced season & difficulty of provisions being brought us, which is extremely great, but know not what our constituents will order should we stop here: hope God willing to be at home in three weeks or a month.

Your Sincerely affectⁿ Husband,

THO^s WILLIAMS.

9.—*To his Wife.*

LAKE GEORGE, Oct. 19, 1755.

MY DEAR WIFE:

Having one moment cheerfully improve it to let you hear from me. Thro^t Divine goodness I am in some comfortable measure of health except a bad cold & cough, which is prevalent thro^tout the camp. Some of the late recruits are very sickly, & more die of them than of the old troops. We have lost by sickness but 3 of this regiment since our arrival at this place, & have two or three more dangerous of nervous fever. It is said that the fortress will be made defensible in a fortnight, when it is supposed the old troops will be dismissed, at least as many of them as have no desire of enlisting to keep it. For my part my

eyes are towards New England, seeing we are not like to proceed this year.

I am in very great haste your tender &
Very affect^d Husband
THO^s WILLIAMS.
MRS. ESTHER WILLIAMS.

10.—*To his Wife.*

LAKE GEORGE, Nov. 2, 1755.

MY DEAR:

I gladly embrace every opportunity to let you hear from me. Through Divine goodness I enjoy a comfortable degree of health. Should be glad to hear from you & the rest of the family. It is a long time since I have heard any thing from you. Wrote to you by Serj. Dickinson, of Hatfield, but fear he has not got home, but has fallen into the enemy's hands, from a report which came from Albany last night. By him I sent for two horses to be sent by the first opportunity. Should my letter have failed desire you would send them as soon as you can. Aaron Scott or Gad Corse will come if desired: should be glad if one would if no other opportunity offers. I am in hopes the Fort will be so far gone as to be left in one week from this time. About 200 men are going this day to the Narrows to give the enemy's advanced party a salutation, who by Capt. Rogers' account from them are about 100 in number. He was sent with about 30 men three days since, & this morning sent a man back for the 200 with which he thinks he can do the job. This Capt. Rogers a few days since killed a Frenchman & took his scalp within 60 rods of Crown Point walls. But the bearer waits, must conclude with my hearty prayers for your health & prosperity.

Your Affect^d Husband
THO^s WILLIAMS.

II.—THE CAMPAIGN OF 1756.

11.—*To his Wife.*

ALBANY, 19th June, 1756.

MY DEAR:

I extremely want to hear from you, more especially as your health was at so low an ebb when I left home, trust you will not fail of writing by the first opportunity. One you may have by the Post every week by sending a letter to Capt. Millers, or Lieut. Clapp's at Westfield, where the Post will call for letters. As I have been confined ever since I came have no news. The main of the forces are encamped at the half moon, & so on to the Lake. By what I can learn our whole number dont amount to 5000 men, & I cant learn but that they are mostly come along that are raised. If my fits (fever &

ague) dont return I shall be able to join the troops in a few days when I may be able to give a better account. Yesterday 200 N. Carolinians joined us for the Crown Point expedition under the command of Majr Dobbs, the Governor's son. The regulars that belonged to Braddock are also to join us, I suppose under command of Gen. Webb, who is hourly expected from York. But my hands & eyes begin to fail & therefore subscribe what I really am

Your very Aff^d Husband
THO^s WILLIAMS.

12.—*To his Wife.*

CAMP AT STILL WATER.
July 16, 1756.

MY DEAR:

Yesterday about 12 we decamped at the half moon, save a company from each regiment to keep the ground still. The regulars from Albany take possession & arrived at this place about 1 P. M., that is the front of our army. The heavy artillery is yet upon the road, & I believe will not be here to night, the roads are so extremely bad, & the 18 pounders, of which we have 4 to take along, monstrously large & heavy. The great rains we have had for 3 weeks past, almost every day more or less, have made the roads almost impassable, but the men's spirits hold up yet pretty well, & are pretty generally healthy, considering the extremity of the heat & plentiful rains. July 17. Marched from Still Water about 11 A. M. Arrived at Saratoga with the bigger part of our troops & baggage about sunset, a hard days march, & fatigued our men very much, as they were obliged to mend the roads for the wagons. 18th. This morning the rest of our troops came up, but as it is a day of rest by Divine institution we dont oblige them to march, but give them a breathing spell. This afternoon Capt. Rogers came down with 4 scalps, & 8 prisoners, which he took on Lake Champlain, between 20 & 30 miles beyond Crown Point. They were coming to Crown Point with stores, about 800 bushels of flour, a large quantity of Brandy, Wine, some money. The plunder exclusive of the cash sold for £52 York money. Our men sunk the flour, & knocked out the heads of the casks, & let out the liquor, save what they wanted for their own use, then drew up the whale boats & hid them, & marched thro' the woods upon the west side of the Lake to Fort William Henry, a brave action, & will undoubtedly fill them with consternation, if they can find out what has become of their party it will oblige them to leave their habitations, & draw into their strong-holds. Not one escaped to carry tidings. July 19th. This day

we are sending along our stores as fast as possible with about 200 wagons & teams are to march tomorrow morning by 5 with the artillery—hope to reach Fort Edward tomorrow night where we must make a week or 10 days stay, the vessels not being ready to transport our artillery & stores,

Your affectionate Husband

THO^s WILLIAMS.

13.—*To Colonel Israel Williams.*

DEAR SIR:

I have been to the Lake with a party to guard the teams, wagons, artillery, viz, 120 wagons, 50 ox teams, three 18 pounders, 2 howitz four pounders, guard 250 men. A Council of War have been sitting a week or ten days to answer an important question of Gen. Abercrombie, viz. What effect a junction of the king's troops with the provincial (in the present expedition) would have upon his Majesties service? It is unanimously agreed that if we must lose rank by the junction it would have the effect to destroy the greater part of the troops. It appears to me that the settling ranks among ourselves may (if gone into according to some gentlemen's minds) be campaign enough for one year. We have 2 Vessels between 20 & 40 tons finished, some time since, & 4 more upon the stocks, two of almost 40 tons nearly ready to launch, the other two fly-boats. The whole may be ready in 10 days if the rigging arrives from N. York. Most of the artillery, stores, &c., are sent to the Lake.

Resp^y Yours,

THO^s WILLIAMS.

14.—*To his Wife.*

CAMP AT FORT EDWARD,

July 31, 1756.

MY DEAR SPOUSE:

I wrote you yesterday but my letters got drowned, & so I send the express again to try a second chance. Dont know but the Express & Paquet may drown together this time but hope not—wish it safe to your hands—am troubled with a bad cold, & inflammation in one of my legs which has in some measure confined me for 2 days past, but this afternoon, am much better—hope by the goodness of God to get about again in 2 or 3 days. We are at work all hands getting provisions &c. up to the Lake while they that are there work night & day almost in preparing the vessels in order to transportation. We shall have six vessels from 20 to 40 tons burthen, 4 large gundaloes—Whale boats & battoes a large number—artillery from 18 pounds to swivels, & I believe that we have strength along also 2 thirty two pounders, mortars, &c.

I believe we shall be ready in about ten or 15 days for a general remove not to stop till we have accomplished our business, if God give us success. What the event will be he only knows. Our numbers are much shorter than was proposed, & our army which we have are sickly, perhaps 1000 or 1500 invalids out of 6000, or at least 6500, but we hear that there are 800 coming from our Province to make up our deficiency, which am glad of, as we shall want them, I have no doubt, & as it will stop the mouths of the officers of the other governments, who complain we have more officers than men. As to the Regulars believe upon the whole they will not join us, but dont certainly know, am thoughtful if they should it would knock the expedition in the head, at least for this year. Two days since we heard L^d London is arrived at Albany with a declaration of war. What effect his coming will have upon our affairs know not. He took a sick Martinico man of war in his passage laden with sugar & indigo, & also brings the good news that Admiral Byn had fell in with the Brest fleet, taken 3 men of war & taken 2. Hope to have a line by the bearer who I have given liberty to be at home but 2 nights at most, as he is sent with a party to collect men left at home & at Fort Massachusetts—hope he will be faithful & speedy

Your affectⁿ Husband

THO^s WILLIAMS.

15.—*To his Wife.*

CAMP AT FORT EDWARD.

Aug. 25, 1756.

MY DEAR:

Yours of the 6th Inst. came safe to hand the 21st by Serj^t Severance, which gave me no small pleasure, as I was extremely concerned for the Scout, as they had exceeded the time of their return by 10 days. What added to my concern was a current plausible story spread in Camp two days before the Scout arrived. that six men were found killed & scalped on the Hoosack road. As there seems at present no prospect of our proceeding this year my heart & eyes look homewards—dont see what service we can be of here, unless to demolish the provisions which has taken up all summer to get to the Lake, & not finished yet. But it is not for me to say; must leave prudentials with superiors. Theirs is to command—mine to obey. You have doubtless heard ere this that his Majesties important garrisons at Oswego are taken, & Col. Mercer, the commander killed, which has altered our plan of operations, & orders from Lord L—d—n that we proceed no farther at present, but fortify strongly at this place, a plan of which is laid out by the King's engineers here, & which will take us no

small time to accomplish under the present disposition of our men, which is, they had rather die than dig. This moment a party arrived from Albany, & contradict the news of Oswego being taken—say the first account was brought by some that deserted, which I hope is true, as the reverse would have thrown this country especially the Southern governments into the utmost confusion, & indeed opened a wide door for their desertion. The sickness in our army does not increase nor abate as I can perceive. We bury about two a day, one day with another, for about three weeks past—by what I can learn much so at the Lake. Whilst I am writing another messenger arrives & says Oswego is certainly taken. What to believe no man knows. The last account they say comes from Gen. Johnson in a letter from him at his fort to Albany—hope the truth will shortly appear. Col. Dwight has been home about 3 weeks, went from Albany to Stockbridge last Saturday seignight—his son here quite sick with the Camp fever taken about 15 days since. This is the second trip the Brigadier has been home since I have been in Camp. What a fine privilege my Dear, it is, to have one's Rib live so near a camp—but this moment am called to attend my duty, & must conclude with my hearty prayers for the restoration of your health, & compliments to all friends.

Love to Dear Children &c.

Y^r Aff^r Husband,

THO^s WILLIAMS.

16.—To Colonel Israel Williams.

CAMP AT FORT EDWARD,

Aug. 28, 1756.

DEAR SIR:

A grievous sickness among the troops—bury 5 or 6 a day—not more than two thirds of our army fit for duty. Long encampments are the bane of New England men, & prove almost as bad as *ratsbane*. At the Lake sickness & mortality about the same as ours—97 of our small regiment are invalided. The sickness I think owing to a want of fresh air, warm lodgings, proper nursing, & a suitable nutritious diet. We are forbid proceeding at present by my L^d London & directed to strengthen & fortify this place, in the best place. The plan of works laid out here will hold our men in full employ till near winter.

Y^r Humble Serv^t.

THO^s WILLIAMS.

17.—To his Wife.

CAMP AT FORT EDWARD,

Sept. 2, 1756.

MY DEAR:

I just write you one line to let you know I am

alive & some better, than when I wrote you last, but apprehend I shall not regain my strength in this unwholesome country. I desire next week to get liberty for a day tour to Albany, & as there is no prospect of our proceeding this year. I believe I shall get along to Stockbridge, after resting awhile at Albany, but in order thereto must obtain leave, whether I can obtain, know not. Gen. W—n—s—w has forbid any invalid to go off upon any consideration whatever, even if the consequence of staying were certain death, & death it will prove to many scores, that were they allowed to go to a good air, would live & be useful members of community. Our army yet holds very sickly, & we bury 5 or 6 a day, & it is nearly so at the Lake, though deaths there for some days past hardly so frequent. We have not 300 effectives in the whole army, & many of them miserable creatures, & were so when they came from home. Idiots & cripples are as numerous in our small army, as I believe ever were in an army since the world began. Oswego has changed masters, & I think we may justly fear that the whole of our country will soon follow, unless a merciful God prevent, & awake a sinful people to repentance & reformation. Our crying sins are undoubtedly the procuring cause of the heavy judgments we groan under, & greater ones we may expect unless we turn to the Lord with our whole heart, & not feignedly. When I shall be at home God only knows. To his care & blessing I commit you, my Dear Soul, & the dear children, to whom give my love & compliments to all friends as tho' named.

Your Affect^d Husband

THO^s WILLIAMS.

II. — PRINTERS, PUBLISHERS, AND BOOKSELLERS, IN BOSTON, BEFORE THE YEAR 1860.

NOTES OF REMARKS BEFORE THE NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC-GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY, BOSTON.*

By SAMUEL G. DRAKE, ESQ., FORMERLY ITS PRESIDENT.

Whoever has given this subject much thought, might undoubtedly greatly increase the list which I shall give at this time. Indeed, I only intend to introduce a few of the many upon my memoranda. Although notes were made, through a course of many years, the subject is only commenced. An old ac-

* These Notes were sent to us by their Author, at our urgent request, in order to assist us in our necessary labor, while we were confined to our bed, by severe injuries sustained in a fall on an icy sidewalk, in New York.

They were originally made without any reference to anything except the publications of the persons named—that is, without any aid but from the works which the latter had, themselves, produced, as Authors, Printers, or Book-

quaintance, long a Bookseller and Publisher in Boston, has a large volume of MS. reminiscences upon this subject, having been himself personally acquainted with a great number of his craft, extending over a period of no ordinary length. And, when we add to this the period of the generation which closed when the gentleman (now among the seventies) was young, quite a constellation of luminaries, it will be readily perceived, must be comprehended. But these preliminary remarks are a little digressive; and I will leave them, and proceed, alphabetically, with my notices:—

Among those of the name of ADAMS were S. Adams, who, in 1762, printed George Cocking's *War: an Heroic Poem*, in octavo; Thomas Adams, Printer to the General Court of Massachusetts; Adams & Larkin, who, in 1794, printed Fleming on the *Rise & Fall of Popacy*, the Laws, etc.—the firm was afterwards Adams & Nourse.

JOHN ALLEN was an early Printer. The first work I have seen printed by him, is dated 1691. He printed many works between this date and 1715.

ANDREW BARCLAY is met with, in 1773, "at the Sign of the Gilt Bible." He republished Tate and Brady. In 1769, he gives notice "that he is removed from the shop, N. side of the Three Kings, to the other side of the way, nearly opposite the Heart & Crown, about half way between the Old Brick Meeting House & Dr. Sewalls, where he binds all sorts of books, gilt or plain, in the neatest & best manner;" N. B. At the same place "may be had a variety of Books in Divinity, History, Pamphlets, Plays, Singing books, &c."

E. BATTELLE published Fisher's *Young Man's Best Companion*, 1785, a duodecimo. In 1786, his shop was in Marlborough-street. He is first noticed "Near the State House," in 1784.

The BELKNAPS were long in the Book trade: Nathaniel's shop, in 1723, was "at the North End, at the Corner of Scarlet's Wharf, next door to the Miter Coffee House." The *New England Diary, or Almanack*, for that year, was published by him, also a Sermon on the Death

of Doctor I. Mather; and, in 1724, Doctor Cotton Mather's *Life of his Father*. Joseph Belknap was at No. 8 Dock Square, in 1794. Several works bear his imprint. He was the Belknap of *Belknap & Hall*, and afterwards *Belknap & Young*. Their imprint is in the third volume of Belknap's *New Hampshire*, 1792. The first volume had no name of Printer. The same year, they printed Gardiner on the Theatre, octavo, and the *Life of Baron Trench*, duodecimo, for B. Guild and others. Their office was in State-street.

CALEB BINGHAM was a School-master and Bookseller. He compiled several school-books which had a wide circulation, and are still highly prized by those who know them. In 1799, his "shop" was at No. 44 Cornhill, a locality which he occupied fifteen years or more. In 1802, he translated Chateaubriand's well known work called *Atala*, of which a second Edition was printed for him, in 1814, by Samuel T. Armstrong.

WILLIAM P. BLAKE, Bookseller and Publisher, 1793—5. As late as 1805, he kept a library at No. 3 School-street.

J. BLANCHARD, at the Bible and Crown, in Dock-square, 1748—1752.

NICHOLAS BOONE was "over against the Brick Meeting-house," 1701—1714. When the first Newspaper was started in Boston, in 1704, Boone was the Publisher. About 1714, or earlier, he was at the sign of the Bible, in Cornhill. As late as 1729, he was at the last-named place. A list of the works published by him would be of great interest. Among them were the second Edition of Morton's *New England Memorial*; Doctor I. Mather's *Disquisition concerning Ecclesiastical Councils*, 1716; and his *Ichabod, or the Glory of New England Departing*.

BOWEN & NORMAN, Printers, 1785, Marshall's-lane—probably Daniel Bowen and John Norman.

BOWES, NICHOLAS—in 1762, Wharton & Bowes. Wharton was dead, in 1708. Bowes carried on the business of Bookseller under his own name, "opposite the Old Brick Meeting House," in 1769. He, I think, went to England, not long after.

JOHN BOYLE was a very extensive Publisher. Works with his imprint are met with, from 1773—92. His place of business was "Next door to the Three Doves," in Marlborough-street.

JOSEPH BROWNING was a Bookseller, here, from 1683 to his death, in 1691. His shop was "on the corner of Prison Lane, next the Town House." John Dunton says he was a Dutch Bookseller; and hence we see his name, as printed by himself, *Browning* and *Browning*.

sellers. The form, too, in which these Notes have been sent to us, is only that of the briefest kind, drawn from our friend's original memoranda, at two hours notice, for his guidance, in an off-hand address delivered before The New England Historic-Genealogical Society, in place of one expected from some other person who had disappointed the Committee. Our friend's ready pen then relieved the Society's Committee, in an emergency: now, it serves to relieve us, when the least relief is a most perfect God-send.

It will be seen that our friend's Notes extend only to the letter E; and in a private note to us, he says, concerning them, "whether I shall get time to draw out the other portion of my Notes, is quite uncertain: if I do it for anybody it will be for you." Let us hope that that good "time" "is coming."—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

THOMAS BROMFIELD republished, here, in 1762, the *History of the Great fire in London*. In 1769, he advertised Bowman's *Seven Sermons*. He kept in King-street.

JOSEPH BUMSTEAD, Printer and Bookseller. In 1791, he printed in Union-street. He probably did not print much later than 1795. He was a dealer in second-hand books for some thirty years—lastly on the spot now occupied by Mason & Lawrence's store, in Milk-street. A large number of books were printed by him, generally in a very inferior style.

J. BESNET, a Printer, is met with, as early as 1742. He was associated with *J. Green*; and was one of the firm of *Green, Bushel & Allen*. They printed, in that year, Shepard's *Sound Believer*. It was *Bushel & Green*, as late as 1749.

ALFRED BUTLER, Bookseller, "at the lower end of King Street, near the Crown Coffee House," 1727-8. I have seen but two works printed for him.

NICHOLAS BUTTOLPH, a Bookseller and Publisher, 1719 to 1728. In the latter year, he was one of the Publishers of Hodder's *Arithmetick*; and his store was in Cornhill.

S. CAYOR appears in 1794; but how much of a Publisher he was I cannot state, as I find his name only to Doctor John Moore's *Journal of a Residence in France*, in two volumes, duodecimo.

DUNCAN CAMPBELL had a store "over against the Conduit at the Dock Head," in 1693, in which year he published the Reverend Charles Morton's *Spirit of Man*. Ben Harris printed for him.

ISAAC CAZNEAU sold books near the Mill Bridge, in 1793; and, in 1795, he was in Marshall's-lane.

JOHN CHECKLEY, Bookseller, "at the sign of the Blue Gate, over against the West-end of the Town House," 1723. He published some of his own productions—one of which is, *A Short and Easy Method with the Deists*. He being an Episcopalian, and having classed the Deists and Dissenters together, he was prosecuted for "publishing and selling of a false and scandalous libel;" and was sentenced by the Court to "pay a Fine of Fifty Pounds, and to give surety for his good behavior six months, and pay the cost of prosecution." Fifteen years afterwards, he published, in London, a second Edition of his *Trial*, and a *Speech* which he made at the *Trial*. These are sometimes found bound up with the *Short and Easy Method with the Deists*. An Edition of both was printed at Windsor, Vermont, in 1812. It is not determined whether or not John Checkley was a connection of the earlier residents of the same surname, in Boston.

WILLIAM T. CLAP sold books at the Corner

of Proctor's-lane, in 1795. Four years later, he was in Fish-street, and there published *Marine Rules and Regulations*, an octavo of sixty-four pages.

I have met with the name of J. CONDY, as Publisher, but once; and that in 1785. He, in that year, issued, with others, Fisher's *Young Man's Best Companion*, a duodecimo.

NATHANIEL COVERLY has been off the stage nearly forty years. He published many works; but was at first a Printer. His publications were generally small pieces; as small story-books, ballads, etc. As late as 1823, his shop was in Milk-street; and, in the *Directory* of that year, his place is styled a "Pamphlet Shop." It had then been so styled, several years. He probably died in 1823 or '4, as his name is not in the *Directory* of 1825. His imprint is found as early as 1774. In 1781-2, *Coverly & Hodge* published *An Impartial History of the War in America, Illustrated with beautiful Copper Plates*, in two volumes, octavo. But those plates were shocking "specimens of humanity." I remember Mr. Coverly well, when he kept a little shop near the present site of Little, Brown & Co., in Washington-street. This was in 1816. The walls of his shop were nearly covered with ballads, in broad-side.

COVERLY & HOYT, Printers, "at the corner of Back Street," 1789. I have met with but a single tract with their imprint, namely, *Minutes of the Warren Association*, octavo.

T. COX was probably an Englishman, and did not reside here very long. His store was at the "Sign of the Lamb, at the South side of the Town House," in 1731. He issued quite an extensive Catalogue in that year, the titles of works in which number eight hundred and fifty-six. One, G. Vaux, managed the business, who, in the Catalogue says "he intends to return to London in three months from the issue of the Catalogue."

COX & BERRY's name appear in Stickney's *Musical Companion*, an oblong octavo, in 1774.

T. CRUMP printed Mr. Cooper's *Confessions of Faith*, etc., in 1716, a duodecimo, appended to Colman's *Sermon at the Ordination of Mr. William Cooper*.

JOSHUA CUSHING, 79 State Street, printed *The Youth's Library*, in 1808, for William Biglow. It was a duodecimo of one hundred and eighty pages.

MICHAEL DENNIS was a Bookseller, near "Scarlet's Wharf," in 1741. In 1753, he printed Doctor S. Mather's Funeral Sermon on the death of Mr. William Welsted, and that on Ellis Gray, both in octavo. He died in 1763.

FRANCIS DEWING engraved and printed Bonner & Price's *Map of Boston*, which was published in 1722.

DRAPER. Few names, early or late, connected with Printing, have been more extensively known than that of Draper. To give even a partial list of works containing their imprint would far exceed the object of this sketch. The earliest works now before me with a "Draper" imprint, is 1740. In that year, *J. Draper & J. Edwards* printed Jennings' *Two Discourses*, etc., a duodecimo. The same year, *J. Draper* printed, for J. Edwards, Cooper's *Doctrine of Predestination*, etc. Also (the same year) for J. Edwards and H. Foster, in Cornhill, Cooper's *Election Sermon*, Doctor Colman's *Sermon on the occasion of the death of the Honorable Samuel Holden*, and that for Daniel Henchman, and Joseph Sewall's *Election Sermon*. In 1752, *John Draper* was "Printer to his Excellency the Governor and Council." Hence, as Public Printer, his imprint appears on Government issues: among them, before me are *A Conference with the Eastern Indians, at St. George's*, 1742, a quarto, and another Conference at the same place (with Indians) published in 1752, quarto. From 1742 to 1752, his publications are too numerous to be particularized. Mr. Draper's death is thus noticed in the *Boston Evening Post* of the sixth of December, 1762:—

"On Monday evening last, departed this life after a slow & hectic disorder, Mr. JOHN DRAPER, Printer, who, for a long time, has been the publisher of a Newspaper in this town, & by his industry, fidelity & prudence in his business, rendered himself very agreeable to the Public. We hear the Newspaper & other printing business will be carried on as heretofore, by Mr. Richard Draper, son of the deceased."

RICHARD DRAPER was established in the Printing business before the death of his father. I have before me, Mayhew's *Sermon on the Earthquake*, 1755, in octavo. His place of business was in Newbury-street. In 1761, he printed the Funeral Sermon, by Dr. Mayhew, on Stephen Sewell, Esq., an octavo.

In 1763, the firm of RICHARD & SAMUEL DRAPER is met with. In that year, appeared, with their imprint, Dr. Mayhew's *Eight Sermons*, in a handsome octavo.

EDWARD DRAPER in 1777, printed in Newbury-street, probably in the place before occupied by Richard Draper, whom the Revolution had disturbed. In the year last named, he printed the first volume of Backus's *History of New England*, etc. In 1785, he printed David Osgood's Sermon *Introductory to Peter Thacker's entering upon duty in Brattle Street Church*. This Mr. Osgood was afterwards the well known Doctor Osgood, of Medford, Massachusetts.

JOHN DUNTON was for a short time, a Bookseller in Boston. He had a wild career as

Printer, Bookseller and Author, and is too well known to require any extended notice here. He was a careless Printer, judging from some twenty or thirty of his works, of all of which he was Author or Printer, in my library. His reprint of Cotton Mather's *Wonders of the Invisible World*, 1693, is as shabby a specimen of typography as anything issued by "Nat Crouch," whom he says so many hard things about. He seems to have always been in a "Dublin Scuffle" with somebody, and to have come off second best; with the exception of that with the "Prince Society," where his *shade* was more potent than his real person would have been, in all probability.

BENJAMIN EDES, the "Patriot Printer," was one of those driven out of Boston in the Revolution. He set up his office in Watertown, in 1775, where he printed *A Declaration of the United Colonies*, an octavo. After "the Evacuation," he returned to Boston, and was the Publisher of the *Boston Gazette*, the issue of which, on Monday morning, the first of September, contained the news of the Battle of Bennington, which came by way of Albany, in a letter dated August 1st. No paper, it is claimed, did more to promote the cause of Independence, than that of Mr. Edes. He lived to near the end of the year 1803, dying at the advanced age of eighty years. He was a native of Charlestown; and commenced business in 1755. The name is still an honored one in that town. *John Gill* was his partner. They published a large number of the spicy political pamphlets, from 1762 to the close of the Revolutionary War. Among them, Otis's *Vindication of the House of Representatives*, 1762, octavo; *Letters to the Ministry, from Governor Bernard*; etc., 1769; *The conduct of the Administration examined*, 1767, octavo; Chauncy's *Sermon on the Earthquake of the 18th. of November*, 1755, octavo; Mayhew's, on the same event; *Remarks on a late Piece*, etc., 1757; Stevens's Sermon on the death of Sir William Pepperrell, quarto, 1759; Hancock's *Oration on the Fifth of March*, 1774, quarto.

Like many others, Mr. Edes's patriotism doomed him to close his days in poverty. His faith that the Government would redeem its obligations, led him to invest his hard earnings in its paper-money. I should have mentioned before, that the printing-office of *Edes & Gill* was "next the Prison, in Queen Street," in 1755; that, in 1766, they printed Samuel Moody's *Judas the Traitor hung up in chains, to give warning to Professors*, etc. This Author was the well known fighting Parson, familiarly called "Father Moody." He was a Chaplain in the Louisburg Expedition of 1745; and of whom many curious anecdotes are told.

PETER EDES collected and published the fa-

mous *Fifth of March Orations*, in 1785, in a neat small duodecimo volume, at his office in State-street.

III.—MOOSE ISLAND AND ITS DEPENDENCIES, FOUR YEARS UNDER MARTIAL LAW.

By LORENZO SABINE.

[INTRODUCTORY NOTE.]

Moose-island: my home for twenty-eight years; where, in the words of another, "You see, often enough, the fisherman's humble boat, with an ugly black sky above and an angry sea beneath, and watch the grisly old man at the helm, carrying his craft with strange skill through the turmoil of waters, and the boy—supple-limbed, yet weather-worn already—with steady eyes that look through the blast, understanding commands from the jerk of his father's white eye-brow: now belaying, and now letting go, now *serenading* down into mere ballast, or baling out Death with a pipkin."

Moose-island: to which I went to seek my fortune, in 1821, with the patrimony of poverty, with the high hopes of whistling boyhood, and with a very considerable stock of ignorance. Moose-island: almost East of sun-rise: where fog is made, by nature's freak, to bewilder the mariner along the coasts of New England; and where the easterly winds are compounded, by one of "nature's journeymen," of pulverized ice, red-pepper, and needle-points, in equal parts, for the special use and behoof, forever, of Boston and the Cape of Gosnold's naming, and of the Pilgrims earliest shelter.

Moose-island: how many times have I gathered, high above the sea and in its stormy woods, the poor, stunted wild-flower, leaning over to pluck it from the crevices of the very outer and even projecting rock, to be sure of a trophy from the north-eastern extremity of the United States: how many times have I gazed upon the magnificent scenery* of the Bay, with feelings akin to those of Domine Sampson, as he pronounced the word—"prodigious."

Moose-island: on the opposite side of the harbor, are islands once belonging to the ancient Acadia—to Acadia, that half fabulous country of Wars and Treaties between France and England, for nearly a century: and, with a "North-west angle," in our own diplomacy, which has never yet been found. To Acadia: where,

said the banished "Tories" of the Revolution, the tide rises and falls sixty feet: and where there are nine months of winter and three months of cold weather, in a year. And the ancient Acadians,—here and there, one of the race is still to be seen—memorable in Colonial History by their sufferings, and memorable in our day, in poetry, by Longfellow's *Ecangeline*.

Go to Moose-island, dear reader, the coming Summer. You will be well cared for in the new Hotel: and you will find yourself among a people of as high culture, among a people as well fed, as well dressed, and as well housed, as in any other maritime town of a population of five thousand, in the whole country. And mark, sojourners there, unless the conscience be utterly scared, you can "sleep o' nights," when visitors some of the present fashionable resorts, are gasping for breath. Mark, too, as concerns the conscience, each of the seven Churches, though each differ in faith, teach the *only* true way to bliss, hereafter.

A single word more, in a less playful mood. I designed, years ago, to write a History of Eastport;† but feel, at last, that I must leave the task to a younger and less weary brain. And yet, I cannot bear to think of longer keeping in manuscript, the only account of the *Four Years under Martial Law*, extant, probably, or which was ever prepared with reference to a place in the annals of the Town. I say, *only*, because not one of the persons who, year after year, communicated to me their own knowledge of, or personal participation in, the events of that interesting period, now survive; and, as far as I know, were never asked by any person other than myself, to be allowed to commit their recollections, in detail, to paper, and then to meet and correct the differences which might be found in memory, on comparing the statements of each of them. True, as concerns records, another can glean materials from the official papers preserved in the Custom-house and elsewhere, as I have done: but who can supply the narratives—which are indispensable—of Solomon Rice, Samuel Wheeler, Samuel Tuttle, Doctor Mowe, Jonathan D. Weston, and George Hobbs; or, of Jabez Mowry, Jonathan Bartlett, the Shackford's‡ and of others who have laid down mortality, leaving of their own, no manuscripts touching British rule?

To conclude this introductory note—already too long—I will merely add, that a paper for the Magazine may possibly follow, giving an

* Especially, from the parade ground, Fort Sullivan; from Prince Regent's Redoubt; at the turn of the "Old Road," as it passes the British burying-ground; and in the highland, near the "Old Prince-house," just South of Shackford's Cove; and, still again, from the site of the Meeting-house—first built—in Lubec.

† The corporate name of "Moose-island." The fishermen of the adjacent islands, and many of the descendants of the "Tories" of the Revolution, in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, still retain the ancient name.

‡ William Shackford and Darius Pearce, to whom I am indebted for *some* facts, are still living.

§ John and Jacob.

account of *Moose-island, during the Embargo and Non-intercourse Laws of Congress*; with incidents no where else possible in the United States, save on the southern border of Georgia, which, at that time, was also the southern frontier of the Union.

[THE CAPTURE AND POSSESSION.]

During the Winter of 1814, the inhabitants of Eastport suffered little annoyance from the British cruisers. The Sloop-of-war *Fantome*, Captain Lawrence, made her appearance, however, in April; drove two vessels on shore; captured a number of boats; and committed several other hostile acts near the town, in the course of that month and in May; but these were the principal events of any importance until midsummer.

In the afternoon of the eleventh day of July, a large fleet of ships was seen coming up the "White Horse Way," or the eastern passage, and approaching the town. But, as communication with the cities in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia; had continued to be frequent and as, only five days previously, a gentleman from St. John had brought intelligence that a Frigate had arrived at Halifax, with news of an armistice and, probably, of peace,* the alarm was not, at first, very general. The common impression was, that these ships were merchantmen, under convoy of a frigate, bound to St. Andrew, for timber. The wind was South-east, the tide was fair, and they came up the passage rapidly. When off Indian-island, it was ascertained that the largest ship was of seventy-four guns, and that her consorts were, also, vessels of war. Familiar with the sight of British cruisers, many still believed that no hostile deeds against Eastport were meditated; but that the fleet would pass the town, and proceed up the Bay to St. Andrew.

Their progress was so swift, that there was no time to remove, none to deliberate; and while numbers were anxiously watching the movements and indulging in speculations as to the objects of the visitors, the leading ship, wearing a white flag, hove to, off the town, and sent a boat on shore, at Hayden's-wharf. A person, in uniform and with a flag, landed, and started, at a very rapid pace, for Fort Sullivan. Solomon Rice, who had been a close observer of everything, from the earliest moment, followed this messenger, without delay, and entered the garrison with him, and heard him announce himself as "Lieutenant Oats, of the British Army, and

"of the staff of Sir John Cope Sherbrooke." He said that he bore a written summons for the surrender of the Fort and of the Island; and, handing to Major Putnam, the commanding officer, his watch and the summons, required an answer in five minutes. Mr. Rice remarked that he had come on a serious errand, and that the time allowed to consider the proposition was much too short.

Major Putnam asked both gentlemen to enter his quarters and to be seated. Lieutenant Oats complied with the first part of the invitation, but continued standing. The request that he would sit during the interview, was repeated, several times; but the Lieutenant as often replied, "Good day, good day, sir, my orders are imperative. I cannot stop." Several of the principal inhabitants had now repaired to the Fort; and, among them, were Samuel Wheeler and Aaron Hayden, who, on learning the state of affairs, united with Mr. Rice, in an endeavor to produce some arrangement which should prevent a sacrifice of life. Major Putnam was sick; but he declared his determination to disregard the summons, and to fire upon the ships.

The citizens, present, strenuously opposed such a course and earnestly enquired why they were to be needlessly sacrificed. They stated, and with truth, that all resistance on his part would be in vain; that a force would be landed and overpower him, almost before he could harm a single vessel of the fleet with his small battery; that, should he refuse to surrender, the Fort would still be taken; and that, to save the town from destruction, under the circumstances in which he was placed, was his imperative duty. He called a council of his officers: they were divided in opinion: he became angry, and threw away his sword.

Meantime, the different ships had taken up positions off the business part of the town; and were in readiness to begin an attack. The ship of the line, with her ports open, guns run out, matches lighted, and men at quarters, was directly under the Fort, and quite near Burgin's-wharf; while the vessels of interior force were further South, and, principally, between Hayden's-wharf and Shackford's-cove; though one of them had anchored near the Bucknam stores, and commenced landing troops, before Lieutenant Oats had returned to the flag of truce.

Major Putnam finally consented to accept the terms offered to him; and accordingly struck his colors. It had been arranged in the fleet, that, if the American Commander complied with the demand, Lieutenant Oats should embark in his boat with his head covered; but if otherwise, with his cap in his hand. He entered the boat bare-headed; but, observing the flag at the Fort descending, when about half way

* A gentleman left Eastport, on the seventh, for Boston; arrived there on the fourteenth; and communicated this news; and, that messengers had been sent with dispatches to Sir George Prevost, to suspend hostilities. The tidings was generally believed; and having been published in the Boston papers, was communicated to all parts of the country; but it was soon ascertained that the whole story was a fabrication.

to the ship, he swung his cap, and placed it upon his head.

In less than an hour from the time of the summons, fifteen barges, containing five hundred troops, had landed; and, before night, the streets were filled with armed men, cannon, and the various munitions of war. In the course of the following day, the debarkation of men and military stores was completed. The proceedings, on the day of capture, were extremely regular and precise; and every act showed that the captors had provided for every emergency. Besides the force which came up the eastern passage, a sixteen-gun brig was dispatched from the other ships, when the fleet was outside of the island of Campo Bello, to enter the harbor through the "Narrows," to sail round the island, and command Tuttle's Ferry, which was the only place of ready communication with the main-land. This brig and her boats intercepted every person who attempted to escape, without, it is supposed, a single exception.

As soon as the town was in quiet possession of the victors, their strength and character were ascertained. The naval force was found to consist of the *Bonaville*, 74; the *Martin*, of eighteen guns, Captain H. F. Senhouse; the *Borer*, fourteen guns, Captain R. Coote; the *Breame*, eight guns; the *Terror*, a bomb-ship of eight guns; a sixty-four gun-ship, one of ten guns, and several other transport vessels of smaller size, under the command of Sir Thomas M. Hardy, Bart.; with a Regiment of Infantry and a Battalion of Artillery, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Andrew Pilkington. The sixty-four gun-ship, after landing her troops, anchored under Campo Bello; and the American soldiers were sent on board of her, on the evening of the capture. Some of the ships were direct from the Bermudas, and sailed from these islands on the first of July; and, joining others at Shelburne, which were despatched from Halifax, accomplished, on the eleventh, the special purpose for which the expedition was fitted out, without the firing of a gun or the loss of a man. The troops had been on service in the Chesapeake, and had obtained an unenviable celebrity for their depredations, at Hampton and other places in the vicinity of that Bay.

In narrating the occurrences of the four years which intervened between the capture and the restoration of the island, I shall confine my attention to such as seem to rest on credible testimony; and give a view of the state of society during that period. *It should be stated, in the outset, that the permanent annexation of Moose-island to the British Empire was the distinct and avowed object in taking possession of it.* The expedition sent against it and its dependencies was fitted out in obedience to specific orders from

the British Ministry; and the official account, in announcing success, spoke of "*the restoration of the Islands in Passamaquoddy Bay,*" not of their *capture*. The tone of the British newspapers was similar; while Sir John Sherbrooke's Proclamation declared that, in "*annexing these Islands to New Brunswick, to which Province they belonged,*" there was no design to carry on offensive operations against the people on the main, unless their conduct should provoke severities; and that, if they continued quiet, neither their persons nor their property would be in the least molested.

This pretension, while it was calculated to lessen the apprehensions, and actually did ameliorate the condition, of the inhabitants of the island, was viewed, throughout the country, as a new obstacle to the conclusion of a Treaty of Peace, for the reason, that no one supposed our Government would consent to relinquish any portion of the territory in possession of the United States, before the War, for any considerations or equivalents that could be offered. Nor were the fears that our Commissioners would be compelled to break off negotiations and return home in any wise lessened, when it was ascertained that the British Government intended to revive the claims set up, at the close of the Revolution—namely, that the Penobscot formed the eastern boundary of Maine—and were about to form the territory between that river and the St. Croix into a Colony, both on the ground of original right to it and of the recent conquest and present possession of its military posts and principal towns. That there was some foundation for the doubts and suspicions which these plans of annexation or "restoration" occasioned, will be seen in another place.

The people of Eastport had many reasons to lament the attempt, thus made, to bind their necks in the yoke of colonial vassalage; but yet, their situation, after their subjugation, as already remarked, was far better than it would have been had they fallen under British rule, in the ordinary course of war. As conquered citizens of the United States, they would have been exposed to many injuries which, as *subjects* restored to their rightful Sovereign, they escaped. The fact, then, that Moose-island and the other islands which were inhabited by Americans were claimed and held as forming a part of New Brunswick, is to be borne in mind, as serving to explain the course which was pursued towards those who occupied them.

By the terms of capitulation, the public effects were to be given up to the captors; the officers *

* The two Captains were Fillebrown and Varnum. Major Putnam reached home, Salem, Mass., early in August; the soldiers were sent to Halifax, N. S., and arrived there on the twenty-ninth of July.

of the garrison were to be allowed to depart on parole; the soldiers were to be retained as prisoners; and the property of non-residents and absentees was to be disposed of as the Prince Regent might determine; but, the inhabitants were to be protected in their private rights, employments, and interests.* To exact an oath of allegiance was deemed consistent with the stipulations which related to the residents of the islands; and, within three days of the arrival of the fleet, they were called upon to take and to subscribe to it.

It may not be just to say that Sir Thomas Hardy intended to violate the conditions which he imposed, and which, from necessity, were submitted to; but this demand was unexpected. While the Proclamation which he issued, a copy of which is now before me, as I write, declared that the municipal laws established by the American Government, for the peace and tranquility of the captured islands, would be allowed to remain in force; it also declared that, unless the persons who inhabited them appeared at the School-house, in Eastport, and there bound themselves to certain obligations to His Britannic Majesty, they would be compelled to depart in seven days. The alternatives presented were alike distressing; and many hesitated which of them to choose. To men with families, the abandonment of home, property, and employment, mid the general prostration of business, was an act which involved the most serious consequences: while, on the other hand, to remain, on the terms offered, was painful and humiliating. Nearly all submitted—a few, perhaps, without extreme reluctance; but most to save themselves from apprehended destitution, if not from absolute ruin. Those who refused to take the oath were summoned, by a subsequent Proclamation, to appear and be conducted to the main-land, on pain of being sent to Halifax as prisoners of war.

Leaving now, for a time, the *new* and unwilling subjects of England; let us turn our attention to those who held them to obedience, under the stern exactions of military law.

The night of the capture, a patrol, consisting of officers and soldiers, nearly forty in number, was established to protect the inhabitants from insult and plunder. They divided into parties, and walked the streets, until morning, when strong

guards were posted, in various parts of the town, for the same purpose. Similar means, to ensure quiet and good order, were adopted for several days afterwards; and, while the soldiers remained without proper and fixed barracks.

A number of the officers, as will be more particularly mentioned; brought their wives and children; and, strange to say, the very first enquiry made of the citizens was for a school-room. A place* was procured, within eighteen hours of the surrender, and a school opened for instruction in the common branches of education.

The Military Governor,—for such the commander was—apprehensive that an attempt would be made to dislodge him, labored, without intermission, to strengthen Fort Sullivan and to erect new defences and batteries. While employed in fortifying the island, the soldiers were kept on fatigue duty every day, including Sunday; nor were they allowed any relaxation from their toil, until cannon were mounted on the most commanding and important heights.

The soldiers lived, at first, in tents; and the level land, in rear of the Fort and in the vicinity of the Bell-house and Burying-ground, was covered with temporary shelters erected for their accommodation. As soon, however, as the more important affairs were arranged, barracks were fitted up in various parts of the town. Some of the officers had their quarters at the Fort; others in the "Shead-house;" some in the "Jones-house," Washington-street; others in the "Prince-house," at the Cove which bears his name; while still others lodged with "Wood," who kept in the "Quoddy-house," and in the house of Mr. Weston. But Wood's receipts from the officers and other customers, turned his head; and he soon took down his tavern-sign, saying that "he had made money enough." While he kept his house open, three or four men were required to attend at the bar; and his gains were supposed to have been eighty to one hundred dollars per day.

The officers soon formed a *Mess*. The mess-house was the "Bell-house," subsequently owned by John Hinkley. Occasionally, some of the citizens were their guests; but, generally, their visitors were British subjects, whom business or curiosity brought to the island. The mess-table was well supplied whenever, by money or adventures into the country, the best articles of food could be procured. The table furniture was abundant and rich. Silver forks and spoons, and other silver plate, china tea and dinner sets, cut glass dishes, tumblers, wines and finger-glasses, all bearing the marks or initials of the

* An offer of one hundred guineas, and even of a larger sum, was made to the late Solomon Rice, to give information of the property of non-residents, in order that it could be identified and sequestered. This gentleman, a person of the highest respectability, (and on whose authority I have relied with the most implicit faith,) retained sufficient self-possession to manifest no indignation at the overture; and, giving a pleasant turn to the conversation which ensued, upon the subject, so managed the matter, as to be an instrument to save the coveted estates from the grasp of the captors.

* In the second story of the building at the foot of Boynton-street, long occupied afterwards by the late John Norton.

Regiment to which they belonged, were in constant use.

To mention, very briefly, the principal officers, may not be improper, or, in completing a picture of the time, wholly unnecessary. These men were our enemies; none of them, I suppose, now survive; and I would speak of them, not only justly, but generously.

Sir Thomas Masterman Hardy was well known, on the American coast, during the War; and, unlike the infamous Cockburn, was respected as an honorable foe. He was a bosom friend of Lord Nelson—was with him in his last moments; and some notice of their parting interviews, though not strictly belonging to our subject, may not be destitute of interest. Just before the great Captain set his memorable signal: "England expects every man to do his duty," he retired to his cabin, wrote a prayer, and a remarkable paper, chiefly relating to Lady Hamilton, to which Sir Thomas was a subscribing witness. After the commencement of the battle, while Nelson and Sir Thomas were in conversation, a shot struck between them, tore off Hardy's buckle and bruised his foot. "This is too warm work, Hardy," said Nelson, "to last long." They separated for the moment. When his Lordship was wounded, Sir Thomas was near, and saw three men lifting him from the deck. "They have done for me at last, Hardy," he remarked, as he saw his friend. "I hope not," replied Sir Thomas. "Yes," he rejoined, "my back bone is shot through." He was carried below. Missing Sir Thomas, he became impatient to see him. Hardy was repeatedly sent for; but could not quit his post on deck. Nelson's anxiety became intense. "Will no one bring Hardy to me," he often exclaimed. "He must be killed—he is surely dead." An hour and ten minutes elapsed, before they met. They shook hands in silence. Sir Thomas struggled to suppress his anguish; for he saw that Nelson was indeed dying. The death-stricken Chief was the first to speak. "How goes the day with us," he asked. "Very well," was the brief reply. "I am a dead man," then said Nelson. "I am going fast. It will be all over with me, soon. Come nearer to me." Other words were uttered, but they need not be related here. Sir Thomas, with a bursting heart, returned to his duty in the awful contest, which continued raging between the two vast hostile fleets. In less than an hour, he again entered the cabin and announced that the victory was complete. Nelson promptly ordered him to anchor. Hardy gently hinted that Collingwood would now take the command. "No—not while I live," said the expiring Admiral,— "not while I live. Do you anchor." Both were silent. Nelson at length said, "Kiss me, Hardy." Sir Thomas knelt and kissed his cheek, and continued

standing over him, in an attitude of deep sorrow. "Now, I am satisfied," ejaculated Nelson. "Thank God, I have done my duty." Sir Thomas knelt again, and again kissed him. "Who is that," asked Nelson. "It is Hardy," was the answer. "God bless you, Hardy," he faintly uttered: when Sir Thomas left him—forever. Thus do friends part in war. Such, a thousand times repeated, have been the leave-takings, mid the roar, the crash, the carnage, of the dreadful strifes, between the children of one Father, which politicians produce and legalize.

Sir Thomas landed the first day of the capture, and received several of the citizens who called upon him, with great politeness. He fixed his quarters at the Bucknam-house, South of Shackford's-cove—burned in 1833—where he continued to entertain visitors, from town and the Colonies, during his stay; though his balls and special parties were on board of his flag-ship, the *Ramilies*.

Among the pleasant things related of this noble and gallant seaman, is the story of his attempt to ride on "Old Steel's pacing mare," to the delight of "all observers." He made poor work of it, indeed; for saddle, stirrups, and bridle were *gear* to which he was not accustomed; while the beast would not obey *quarter-deck* mandates.

A deputation of the principal inhabitants endeavored to prevail upon him to change the form of the oath which was prescribed for all those who remained on the island. A gentleman, who was present, relates that he listened to their appeal and treated them with great courtesy and respect, but assured them that, as the oath, as it stood, formed a part of his instructions, he was compelled to administer it, without change. Yet, he said that he could make a verbal explanation which would, probably, relieve their apprehensions as to its extent and force, namely, that it was to be regarded as an oath of neutrality while they remained under British jurisdiction, rather than of perpetual allegiance. During the interview, continues my informant, he spoke, also, of the War. He said it was an unnatural contest; and that, while he would not declare an opinion as to which Nation was in the right, he would still remark that England did not begin it. And he said further, that to carry out the orders of his Government, in such a contest, gave him great pain.

Sir Thomas was nearly six feet in height, of full face, and inclined to corpulency. His complexion was florid, hair light and thin. His appearance was very fine, and his manners dignified, mild, and even kind. He departed, with his ships, towards the close of July; when an Address* was presented to him and to Colonel

* The original reply to this Address with the signatures,

Pilkington, by a Committee of the citizens. Early in August, Sir Thomas was off Stonington, and employed the bomb-ship *Terror*, in his celebrated bombardment of that place. He died an Admiral in the British Navy, and Governor of Greenwich Hospital.

Captain Senhouse was a nephew of Admiral Fleming; and a man of fine talents. He was bred a lawyer; but is represented to have been one of the best seamen in the fleet. He was engaged in the coercive measures of England against China, in 1841, at which time he was Sir Humphrey R. D. Le Fleming Senhouse, Knight, and senior Officer in the Chinese Seas. He died on board the *Blenheim*, in Hong Kong Bay, June, 1841, of excessive exertion and fatigue.

Colonel Pilkington, who was Deputy-adjutant-general of the British Army, remained but a short time. He went first to Castine, and thence to Machias, and was in command of the British force that took possession of the military post at the Port, near the entrance of Machias-river. He was succeeded here by Lieutenant-colonel Harris, who was left in charge of a garrison of about eight hundred men. In the course of the Autumn, a reinforcement arrived; and, until the Peace, the number of troops was nearly one thousand.

A single word here of the prominent British Officers who were stationed at Eastport, after the departure of Sir Thomas Hardy and his fleet.

Colonel Harris resided at the Fort; and was unmarried. He was neither respectable nor respected; and I pass him with the single remark, that some of his own soldiers seized him at night, in town, and, in revenge for a deep wrong to one of their number, whipped him so severely as that he was unable to leave his room for several days afterwards.

Colonel Gubbins,* the second Military Governor, was impatient of contradiction; and not remarkably placable. His wife and children were with him; and his quarters were at the "Bucknam-house." He was very exact in his pecuniary affairs; maintained a large establishment; and kept eleven fires. He had a taste for mechanics; and at his leisure, indulged it in making articles of ornament and use for his family. On leaving the post, (1816,) it is believed that, he went directly to England. He died a General.

Colonel Renney, who succeeded Colonel Gubbins, was a favorite; and is remembered with

feelings allied to affection. With his family, he occupied the house owned by the late Solomon Rice. He named a child, born here, "Moose-island Renney. Mr. Rice, whose feeling heart was, his life long, open to soften asperities and to relieve the sorrowing and needy, possessed his confidence to an eminent degree, and used the influence which he acquired, to obtain favors and immunities for such of his fellow townsmen as were objects of consideration and kindness. Colonel Renney retired from the post in 1817; and went to France the same year.

Major Anstruther, the fourth Military Governor, was a Scotchman. He was six feet and three or four inches high; and his limbs and person were of a corresponding size. He was a finished boxer and an adroit swordsman; and a lady, who was then a bride and with whom he opened a ball, adds, that he was an elegant and graceful dancer, notwithstanding his huge proportions. His quarters were in the "Starboard-house," near the bottom of Washington-street. He had served in Egypt; and was in the battle in which Abercrombie fell. While in command at Eastport, he would never acknowledge the right of the Governor of New Brunswick to interfere in the affairs of the island. Colonel Renney, much to his regret, subsequently, had allowed the civil authorities of that Colony, to serve a process here; and the Sheriff of the County of Charlotte desired to repeat his visit, for the purpose of arresting a merchant and carrying him away prisoner. Major Anstruther sent the Sheriff a message to the effect that, if he came on such an enterprise, he should have lodgings in the "Black-hole." On another occasion, Wright, the Collector at St. John, N. B., came to Eastport, to seize goods which had not been entered and paid the duty to the Crown. The merchants shut their stores, and applied to the Major for protection. On the other hand, Wright made application for troops to assist him in breaking locks and taking the goods. The Major stood by the merchants, and told the Collector to refer the matter, if he wished, to Earl Dalhousie; and, in this course, he had the concurrence of Colonel Renney, who, though he had surrendered the command, was still in town.

The Major was a rough man, but, unlike Colonel Gubbins, of a generous nature. The gentleman, who adjusted his affairs, on the eve of his departure—and the same who enjoyed the particular regard of Colonel Renney—reported to him that some persons, either by accident or design, had presented their bills though once paid, and claimed a second settlement. "Never mind," said the Major. "Pay them again—pay every body that asks you—you have money enough—satisfy every one."

Captain R. Gibbon, the first and last in com-

of Sir Thomas and Colonel Pilkington, and several other papers, written and signed by Colonel Gubbins and other British Officers, are in my possession. Some of them are of historical interest: the perusal of others would cause an American citizen to exclaim, "deliver me from living under martial law."

* All his signatures in my hands, are "J. Gubbins, Colonel Comt."

mand, will be spoken of in another connexion.

Mr. Aiken, the Chaplain, lived in the house lately occupied by Mrs. Dawson, South of Shackford's cove. His family consisted of a wife and two interesting daughters. He was a patron of the theatre—presently to be mentioned—and at the balls, would have the last dance. He was a fine looking-man, and a merry Parson. His servant killed a servant of Colonel Gubbins, and hung himself, the day before he was to have been shot for the murder.

Other Officers who had families, were Captains Steele, Maddan, and Minchen, and Lieutenants Cruger and Villars. The silver plate of Villars was valued at twenty-five hundred dollars. He was the only subaltern who gave dinner parties. He was extremely fond of drawing; and among his sketches, were several views of the Bay and Harbor. A view of a cottage in Wales, in which he lived, while on duty there, was long preserved by a lady in town. Villars had been in service in India, where, he said, he kept thirteen servants. The first Surgeon, was Doctor Davis: he was succeeded by Doctor Johnson, a Scotchman: the last, was Doctor Bett.

Town-major Williams occupies a prominent place in the narrations of several persons of whom I have solicited information; and the accounts of him are contradictory. He was often involved in difficulties with the inhabitants; and a written representation of his conduct was finally made, by a Committee of citizens. He was but nineteen or twenty years of age; was rash and impetuous; and it was a mistake to entrust to him the performance of duties which allowed him to indulge his passions, to the injury of those who were subject to his authority. The gentleman with whom he lived for some time retains the opinion that he was not a bad man; and remarks that he was a wild and thoughtless fellow; full of wine, jokes, fun, and frolic. He received a Commission in the revenue from the Collector of St. John, and made seizures, which Colonel Renney disapproved, and demanded him to return. "What," said the Colonel, "a British Officer acting as a mere tide-waiter? Sir, resign one Commission or the other. Sir, I give you half an hour to restore the property you have seized." Williams went from Eastport to Malta; but soon retired from the Army.

Of Lieutenant Villars, who was on guard duty at an out-post near the "Carrying Place," at the upper part of the island, there is a pleasant anecdote. He mistook the roaring of a bull, in the stillness of night, for the noise of American troops approaching to attack the British forces,

and retreated to the Commandant's quarters, to give the alarm and to prepare him for the apprehended contest. The circumstance afforded much amusement; and the Lieutenant became the subject of jokes and witticisms on the part of his fellow officers.

Many of the British Officers were excellent men, and in their manners and habits were irreproachable: some, however, were rough and profane. A few drank liquor to excess; but the number of those who were addicted to daily intoxication was limited. The habits of all were soon ascertained: and, as the dissipated drank nothing in the forenoon, there was a time in which business could be transacted with these as well as with the sober and regular. With hardly an exception, all of them paid the debts which they contracted with the citizens, at the time appointed: while several would barely ask the amount and count out the sum stated to be due, without looking at their bills.

After the "old Meeting-house" was removed from the turn of the "Old-road" to the head of Boynton-street, public worship, in the Episcopal form, was seldom omitted on the Sabbath; and the attendance was general, on the part of the officers, their wives, and children.

The officers devised various amusements: theatrical performances, horse-racing, and dancing, were among them.

The fall after the capture, the "Old South School-house" was fitted up for a theatre. A stage was built at the East end, which was approached from the exterior, and, through a window, on the North side. Boxes, on an inclined plane, were erected high on the side and West end walls, and were accessible from the entry by steep stairs. Underneath the boxes was the pit.

In front of the stage was a drop-scene; and in use, upon it, were a number of shifting scenes, all of which were painted by the Officers or soldiers. There was an orchestra, occupied by the large band of the One hundred and second Regiment. The performers dressed in character; and those now remembered are the two Lieutenants Lester, Town-major Williams, Lieutenant Duff, Lieutenant Carr, Lieutenant Brandeth, of the Engineer-corps, Mr. Whitney of the Commissary department, and Lieutenant Cruger. The female parts were assumed by Brandeth and Whitney; while the inferior characters were performed by soldiers.

On the entrance of the Military Governor to this, the *first Moose-island Theatre*, the audience rose; the band struck up "God save the King;" and followed with "Yankee Doodle." There were both a play and an after-piece, each night of performance. The principal pieces recollected, are *Douglas* and *Venice Preserved*.

* Possibly of the lineage of the "Loyalists" of this name, of New York.

Many of the citizens attended. The price of a ticket to the boxes was one dollar; to the pit, half that sum. The receipts were considerable, and, after defraying the expenses, were devoted to charity. "Granny Hackett" was a favorite with the officers; and shared liberally from the fund.

The Spring after the Peace, one wing of the One hundred and second Regiment was ordered away; when the Drama declined for the want of music and performers. But the racing of horses depended on no such contingency, and was continued, from year to year. The regular race-course was on the "Old road," between the Norwood-house, subsequently owned by Rev. Mr. Harris, and the "old Bell-house," opposite to the Burying-ground. Besides this, there was a ring of about half a mile in circuit, in town. The southern track of this circle was on the brink of the hill, South of the First, and the northern track, just South of the Central, Congregational Meeting-house. Within a diameter thus vaguely described, there were but two or three buildings; and the whole space was an open pasture. In the races, the horses of the Officers were almost invariably opposed to those of the inhabitants. The *British bloods* were the best fed and the best groomed; but the *Yankee scrubs* beat them, with hardly an exception. The money at stake, at each race, was from five hundred to six hundred dollars. Race-day was a holiday, and was devoted to the noise, excitement, drinking, and betting usual on such occasions.

Of the Balls, a single word: the first was in the "Jones-house," Washington-street; there were several in the "Estey-house," Boynton-street; and the last, was at Pine's, or the "Quoddy-house."

Before the close of 1814, a breast-work of sods and earth was built from the Fort to the "Old road," which crosses Fort-hill; and the two redoubts on the Clark land were finished. The works on Holmes's-hill, called Prince Regent's Redoubt, were not completed until the next year. Mr. Holmes, who owned the land on which this Redoubt was built, claimed recompence for the timber cut on it and for other injuries to his property. The question of damages was submitted to three of his townsmen, who awarded several hundred dollars. The Officer of Engineers, under whose direction the reference was agreed upon, told one of the referees that he need not be particular about the sum; and to be sure to give Mr. Holmes sufficient to satisfy him. Neither of these Redoubts was constantly occupied with troops. Besides the soldiers stationed at the Fort, a considerable body occupied the large store on Hathaway's-wharf; guards of thirty or forty men each were continually on duty at the most exposed points, including a large guard at Broad-cove; while single sentinels

were posted at Prince's-cove, and on every principal wharf and headland. Soldiers were often severely whipped. The citizens were not allowed to be present; but they heard the groans and screams of the culprits, and sometimes at a considerable distance. Desertions, at times, were frequent; about twenty soldiers escaped within a month of the capture. Common camp-women were numerous. Both officers and soldiers enjoyed excellent health. Lieutenant St. John, who was sick at the time of his arrival, was the only Officer who died, during the four years which the captors held the island; while the mortality among the privates was small. Two soldiers, at the burning of the guard-house, perished in the flames; and a third, who was under sentence of death for crime, committed suicide.

British ships of war often came into port, for supplies, for shelter, to receive news, or for dispatches. The *Arab*, *Fantome*, *Rifleman*, *Breame*, and one other, lay at anchor, off the town, at the same time. The dogs kept by the Officers were a great nuisance; and the inhabitants ventured, at last, to levy a tax, in Town-meeting, of a dollar on each of the canine race, to aid in supporting the poor, but subject, of course, as all votes were, to the approval of the Military Governor.

Martial law was strictly enforced: but the rights and property of individuals were scrupulously regarded. The morning after the capture, a number of persons, from Deer-island and Campo Bello, on the New Brunswick side of the harbor, who had unsettled difficulties with some of the inhabitants, came over for the purpose of "getting," as they said, "satisfaction out of their hides;" imagining that, as they were British subjects and as Eastport had changed flags, its new masters would allow the use of club-law. They landed, and seeking out the persons with whom they were at variance, commenced threatening and abusing them; but the officer in command, on hearing of the affray, which he soon did, came among the assailed, in person, and assured them of his protection; and turning to the assailants, he told them that if they, or others like them, attempted to settle old grudges thus, they should be put in the "Black-hole," at the Fort, till bread and water cooled their blood.

Yet, delinquents among the citizens were punished, occasionally, with cruel severity. Several were tied up at the *triangles*, on Hayden's Wharf, and whipped; and one, who was a feeble spare man, died of the lacerations inflicted by the *cat o' nine tails*.

Until the close of hostilities, no person was allowed to leave the Island, without a written pass from the Town-major. It was necessary to show this document to every sentinel stationed between town and Tuttle's-ferry; while an armed

vessel performed guard duty in the harbor, and brought to boats that put off from the shore.

All Ordinances, for the government of the inhabitants, were proclaimed by the Drum Major, from the head of his drum, as he stopped for the purpose, at the corners of the streets; and he always ended the reading, with a "God save the King."

Justice was prompt. All complaints were heard and decided by the Military-governor. His judgment was final. Men who were sentenced, were turned over to Serjeant Crook, who enforced the decree, or placed them in the "Black-hole," where they fed and lodged themselves as best they could. A case brought before Colonel Renney excited much remark at the time, and is yet related. It appears that the agent of Mr. Thomas West, a merchant of Boston, came here on business for his principal, and, among other things, to collect a note of considerable amount, of Mr. —. The latter took the agent to his house, for the professed object of paying the demand, actually counted the money, and received his note. Instantly, after securing the evidence of the debt against him, he swept the money back into the desk drawer from which he had taken it, and ordered the astonished agent out of doors. The agent knew not what to do. He wandered about town, for several days, in a sad state of mind, fearing to return to Boston, because the transaction was so remarkable that Mr. West would not, probably, credit his story. At length, he related the circumstance to an acquaintance, who advised him to apply to Colonel Renney for redress. He did so. Mr. — was accordingly summoned to Head-quarters, where he met his accuser, who, in his presence, gave an account of the fraud. Mr. — did not deny the truth of the statement: and his countenance evidently showed that he had no defence. The Colonel, looked Mr. — sternly in the face and said: "Sir, I cannot now pronounce upon the justice of the debt; but you have stolen your note. Of *that* I am satisfied; return it, return it, Sir; place this man precisely where he was before you saw him. Serjeant Crook, take charge of Mr. —!" This affair was regarded as the most infamous one that occurred while the British were in possession of the Island; and the delinquent, utterly ashamed of his conduct, gladly obeyed the Colonel's decree, and subsequently paid the note to lessen the odium which he had incurred.

Another matter of a more amusing cast was referred to Major Anstruther, who succeeded Renney. I relate the story as it was often told me by the late Doctor Mowe, one of the parties. Dr. B. and Dr. M. were rival Physicians. The first, though regularly bred to the profession, had not received a medical degree; while the lat-

ter was a disciple of the celebrated Doctor Thompson. Doctor B. complained to the Colonel, that his competitor was a quack in the practice of medicine, without a diploma; that he was then in attendance upon a woman in child-bed, whom he would certainly destroy; and besought the Major's interposition. The presence of Doctor M., at Head-quarters, was required forthwith.

As soon as all parties were present, the Major, in his lofty military way, exclaimed,— "Well—well you heaven-inspired Doctor, where were you educated? where did you get your degree?—show your diploma, Sir!" "I was educated," replied Doctor M. "by Doctor Thompson." "And where did *he* obtain his medical knowledge?" asked the Major. "From the large and extensive book of nature," Sir," was the prompt reply. A student of law came in, and offered his services as Doctor M.'s Counsel, but the Major ordered him to withdraw. Doctor M., who knew that the Complainant was as badly off as himself, now quietly turned to him, and said, "Doctor B., *you* are the oldest Physician: suppose you show *your* diploma *first*." Doctor B., thus caught in his own trap, retired with the best grace he could.

At another time, and while Major Anstruther was in command, an effort was made to banish Doctor Mowe from the Island, on the ground that he was a dangerous man and would be sure to cause the death of all who employed him; and he was threatened with a walk through the streets, tied to the tail of a cart, unless he departed. He had a patient,* at the time, who was very sick, and who desired his continued attendance. Doctor Mowe learned that Lieutenant Duncan, who was friendly to him, would be the Officer sent to inquire into the affair; and he prepared to foil his enemy a second time. As soon, then, as he got wind of the movement against him, he sent for the barber, who shaved the patient, dressed his hair, assisted in putting on a well-starched shirt with a prodigious ruffle, and helped to otherwise arrange his person in a manner to show him off to the greatest advantage. The Lieutenant, as was expected, was the Major's messenger to Doctor Mowe, to order him to desist from practice. The Lieutenant loved good wine; and the Doctor had procured some excellent "old south-side," which the officer, after being seated a moment in the sick man's room, was desired to taste. Pressed to drink again, he was finally asked to consider the wine as entirely at his disposal. Thus solicited, he drank of it freely, and praised it at every glass. Conversation ensued, in which the patient bore his share. The sick man looked so well—prepared as he was for the occasion—he talked so well; and defend-

* The late Samuel Tuttle.

ed Doctor Mowe's treatment of his case so zealously; and the wine, withal, was so good, that the Lieutenant went away quite satisfied with what he had seen; and so reported to his superior. Major Anstruther, considering that he had done all that was required of him, declined further interference; though he sent word to the patient that if he allowed Doctor Mowe to kill him after this, he must thank his own obstinacy. Here the affair ended, and Doctor Mowe was not again molested.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

IV.—THE FOURTH OF JULY, 1800.

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE COURT-HOUSE, IN UNION, FAYETTE-COUNTY, PENN., ON THAT DAY, BY DOCTOR SOLOMON DROWNE, OF PROVIDENCE, R. I.*

On turning over the historic page, we find that in the first general assembly of the Greeks after the important Battle of Plataea, Aristides proposed a Decree: That Deputies from all the States of Greece should meet annually at that place, [*Plataea*] to sacrifice to Jupiter, the Deliverer; and that, every fifth year, they should celebrate the Games of Liberty. This passing into a Law, the Plataeans undertook to celebrate the anniversary of those that were slain and buried in that place. The ceremony was as follows: the procession began at break of day, preceded by a trumpet which sounded the signal of battle. Then followed several chariots full of garlands and branches of myrtle. Then came some young men that were free-born, carrying vessels full of wine and milk, for the libations, and cruets of oil and perfumed essences—no slave being allowed to have any share in this ceremony, sacred to the memory of men that died for liberty. The procession closed with the Archon of Plataea, clothed with a purple robe and girt with a sword; and, carrying in his hand a water-pot taken out of the public hall, he walked through the midst of the city, to the tombs. Then he took water in the pot, out of a fountain; and, with his own hands, washed the little pillars of the monument and rubbed them with essences. Last of all, he filled a bowl with wine, and, pouring it out, said, "I present this bowl to the men who died for the liberty of Greece."

When that inestimable blessing, LIBERTY, is brought into view, shall Americans discover less sensibility than ancient Greeks, or shall they prove less grateful to Heaven for an event, far more important in its consequences than the vic-

tory obtained at Plataea? No, surely: each anniversary of the glorious Fourth of July, '76, will be celebrated by the genuine Sons of America, with every demonstration of heart-felt joy and gratitude, as the auspicious era that gave birth to the liberty and independence of our beloved country, and that opened the way for the establishment of the freest, safest, happiest, Government that has ever been experienced on Earth—a Government of Laws, whose mild sway will justify the emphatic language of the Poet:

"Man knows no master save creating Heaven,
"And those whom choice or common good ordain."

In order to form a just estimate of the superior felicity of our situation, perhaps it would be necessary that the various nations of the globe should pass in review before us with their accumulated oppressions and misery. With few exceptions, the inhabitants of the old parts of the world labor under the most humiliating degradation. But, while our bosoms are touched with pity for their deplorable situation, let us turn from the painful spectacle, and, with greater caution than ever, guard the sacred charter of our freedom. Even circumstanced as we are, a vast ocean separating us from the jarring powers of Europe, yet difficult has the task been to avoid the vortex of their destructive politics; for, as no Nation, however solicitous to preserve peace, by observing the strictest neutrality in her conduct towards foreign Nations in a state of warfare, can expect entirely to escape the shock of their horrid collisions; so one of those Nations, taking advantage of our defenceless state with respect to the protection of foreign commerce, committed the most unprovoked depredations thereon, till a Treaty arrested their progress. But, while we strove to shun *Scylla*, we had almost struck upon *Charybdis*; for another belligerent power, no less ingenious in inventing pretences, pursuing a like nefarious policy, subjected the commerce of America to the most humiliating spoliation. Remonstrances were made; but, instead of redress, propositions were offered, insulting to an independent people and utterly inadmissible. Having, to use the expression of our late arch-patriot, "exhausted, "to the last drop, the cup of reconciliation," America was reduced to the inevitable alternative of an appeal to arms; and her citizens, wishing for peace yet prepared for either event, beheld, with wonted intrepidity, the bloody banner of War which that martial Nation waved over the world, and which seemed ready to shed its baleful influences on our tranquil shores. Reason, at length, resuming her sway in the Gallic councils, overtures of reconciliation were made. Commissioners were appointed on both sides; and, in consequence of their negotiations, we are happy to announce, on this auspicious day,

* We are indebted to the grandson of the author, Henry T. Drowne, Esqr., of New York City, for the copy of this Address which we have used in printing it.—ED. HIST. MAG.

the termination of the differences lately subsisting between the two Republics.

But to whose steady and faithful guidance, through the impending tempest, are we indebted? Even to that Socrates to whom so many seemed ready to offer the deadly hemlock draught; though, to whom whilst living, they ought rather to be disposed to decree statues. But,

"To be and not to seem, is this man's maxim;
"His mind reposes on his proper wisdom,
"And wants no other praise."

I speak not this from a spirit of party; for, professing to be of the party of humanity only, I disclaim any political alliance with over zealous partizans, on either side. But I am confident a discerning and impartial posterity, will know how to appreciate and venerate the virtues of ADAMS. O! may the happy period soon arrive, when every American, rallying round the sacred Ark of the Consitution—that palladium of our freedom and safety—shall cultivate and cherish that condescending harmony, so essential when the dearest intertests of our country are endangered; when the hot alkali of one party and the sharp acid of the other shall commix; and, to use a chymic phrase, form a *Tertium quid* that shall no longer disturb America: when, in fine, those opprobrious epithets of *aristocrat* and *democrat* shall be done away,—words without meaning in a Representative Government; and only conjured up to sever the ties that should unite us in one generous bond of brotherhood and amity.

Thrice and four times happy Americans! did they but know their happiness. Here, Agriculture and all the arts of Peace, with Sciences and useful Literature, shall continue to flourish. Here, civilization will attain its highest perfection. Here, fair Liberty and Astrea will deign to take up their final abode. It is now I pride myself on being an American. I felicitate you, my worthy auditors, on being Americans. Americans, in all future time, may justly lay claim to the highest, happiest national rank on the terraqueous globe!

But, while we rejoice together on this view of our national felicity, the bosom of sensibility will not refuse to yield the homage due to virtue, by rendering the merited tribute of gratitude to the memory of those illustrious men who contributed so much towards establishing that independence and happiness which we now celebrate. On mentioning this duty, an unusual gloom seems setting on your countenances. Ah! too soon for us, the Father of his country—the benefactor of humanity, in general—was welcomed to the high circle of immortality, by the venerable shades of Warren, Montgomery, Laurens, Greene, Franklin, and the other il-

lustrious departed patriots, who co-operated with him.

Let us inscribe on the pedestal of his statue,
"Columbia's light! great WASHINGTON behold!
"For worth, for deeds of arms, by fame enroll'd.
"Eight years his banners graced the martial field,
"And his great virtues proved his country's shield."

V.—A NAVAL HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND.—CONTINUED FROM PAGE 118.

By HON. JOHN RUSSELL BARTLETT.

GOVERNOR DUDLEY PREFERS CHARGES AGAINST RHODE ISLAND TO THE BOARD OF TRADE. LORD CORNBURY DIRECTED BY THE BOARD TO INVESTIGATE THEM. HIS REPORT.

V.

Governor Dudley appears to have entertained no friendly feelings towards Rhode Island, for we find him, in November, 1705, in pursuance of the commands of the Board of Trade, preferring most serious charges against the Colony, in a communication addressed by him to that body. The charges are but a repetition of those before made to the King, which the Earl of Bellomont had made the subject of his visit to Newport, some years before.

Besides the specifications which charge the Colony with a non-observance of the Acts of Trade and Navigation, the too free granting of Commissions to Privateers, and the protection given to free-booters, Governor Dudley complains that she did not "furnish her quota of troops towards the fortifying of Albany and assisting of New York;" and for not giving "due assistance to the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay, against the French and Indians." These go to show of what importance our little Colony was, a hundred and fifty years ago, when the greater Colonies of New York and Massachusetts required her to furnish aid to repel the French and the Indians on their borders, hundreds of miles distant; and, at the same time, too, when the Home Government was calling upon her to send out her private men-of-war, against the enemies of England. In this state of things, it is not surprising that the people, in choosing between the demands of their Sovereign, Queen Anne, to annoy her enemies at sea, by sending out private armed ships against them, and the demands of her sister Colonies for aid in repelling the French and Indians, far from her frontiers, should have given the preference to the former service. In that, the people of the Colony who fitted out ships at their own expense, derived a direct pecuniary advantage when they succeeded in capturing the vessels of the enemy, and obtained their condemnation by the Court of Vice Admiralty. But, in the latter case,

they had no direct interest. The French posts on the frontiers of Canada and Acadia, were at a great distance; they were separated from the English Colonies by dense forests, which were occupied by hostile Indians, and neither glory nor advantage was to be derived from contact with such enemies. The people thought, too, that Massachusetts, with her more numerous population, should be able to protect her own frontier from hostile Indians. These seem sufficient reasons why they did not furnish the aid required of them, by the Colonies of Massachusetts and New York. The same causes explain why so many of the young men of these same Colonies left their homes, which was another subject of complaint by Governor Dudley, where they were obliged to serve against the Indians, as well as to contribute by taxes for the support of maintaining these Wars.

In quoting from the letter of Governor Dudley, wherein he prefers charges against Rhode Island, it is necessary to give only those portions which refer to the particular subjects under discussion. These charges are embodied in no less than eighteen specifications.

“RIGHT HONORABLE :

“In observance of your Lordship's command, I caused the Governor and Company of Rhode Island to be served with the charge drawn up against the Government, consisting of several heads, and have endeavored to collect and obtain proofs to make out each Article; which I humbly offer to your Lordships, in the following method, with the proofs contained in the papers accompanying this, referred to by their numbers, as they severally relate, to make out the particular charge, viz :

“1. That the Government of Rhode Island does not observe the Acts of Trade and Navigation; but countenances the violation thereof, by permitting and encouraging of illegal trade and piracy.

“2. That Rhode Island is a receptacle of pirates, who are encouraged and harbored by that Government.

“3. That the Government of Rhode Island harbors and protects seamen, soldiers and servants that desert from other of her Majesty's Plantations, and will not deliver them up when they are claimed, etc.

* * * * *

“9. That the Government have refused to submit to her Majesty's and his Royal Highness's Commissioners of the Admiralty and for commanding their Militia; and have defented the powers given to the Governors of her Majesty's Colonies, in this behalf.

“18. That two privateers, Lawrence and Blew, commissioned by Colonel Dudley,

“took a Spanish ship upon the coast of Cuba, which they brought into Rhode Island, where the men were debauched by that Government and prevented from sailing to their commissioned port, where they would have been made accountable for her Majesty's dues and the rights of the Lord High Admiral. And, although he wrote to the Captains, directing them to bring their said prize to Boston, where they had received their Commission, and where the owners and sharers dwelt; but, on the contrary, the receiver of her Royal Highness's dues was hindered from receiving the same.

“All which is humbly submitted by your Lordships' most humble servant,

“J. DUDLEY.

“BOSTON, November 5, 1705.”

Dudley sought out all who had any cause of discontent against Rhode Island; procured affidavits from them; and lost no opportunity to render the Colony as obnoxious as possible, in the eyes of the King and his Ministry. Among the complaints was the outrage upon the French settlers, some years before, the particulars of which were set forth by Pierre Ayrault, in a remonstrance to Governor Dudley. To add to the bulk of the evidence, he procured depositions in New York, concerning piracies which had occurred years before, and in which other Colonies were as much implicated as Rhode Island.

The various papers embodying the evidence in support of these charges, are embraced in forty-two documents, and are found among the manuscripts in the possession of Mr. John Carter Brown, of Providence, copied for him from the originals in Her Majesty's State Paper Office, London. They immediately follow the charges, but are too voluminous for publication. Many of them consist of extracts from the proceedings of the General Assembly; some are certain Laws of the Colony; while others are the recital of events covering a period of many years. They were all arranged under the thirteen Articles of impeachment.

The Board of Trade, on receiving the charges against Rhode Island, transmitted the same, on the eighteenth of April, to Lord Cornbury, then Governor of New York, with instructions to him to investigate them. On the twenty-sixth of November, his Lordship thus replies:—the passages referring to matters not connected with naval affairs, are omitted.

“MY LORDS :

“Your Lordship's letter of the eighteenth of April, 1705, is come safe to my hands, with the Articles against the Charter Governments of Connecticut and Rhode Island, with her Majesty's Order in Council, of the twelfth of February last, by which I am commanded to send

"copies of the said charges to the respective
"Governors of Connecticut and Rhode Island,
"for their answers. This I have obeyed, by
"sending copies by an express, who delivered
"them to the respective Governors' own hands.
"But I have yet no answer.

"And I am further directed to transmit to her
"Majesty depositions taken in the most publick
"manner, upon oath, to the truth of the severall
"matters laid in the charge against the said
"Charter Governments. I will pursue her Maj-
"esty's commands in this, as far as I am able.

"The first Article is not observing the Laws of
"Trade, and encouraging illegall trade and pi-
"racy. This Article relates to both Governments.
"That the people of Connecticut carry on an il-
"legal trade with the East of Long Island, is
"known to every body here, and appears by the
"condemnation of a Sloop belonging to Connect-
"icut, named the *Rachel*, which was condemned
"for illegall trade. That they encourage pi-
"racy, appears by the depositions of Orchard
"and Hicks, to which I beg leave to refer you.

"The next Article is, that they harbor pirates.
"Some time before I received these Articles, I
"was informed that two of Avery's crew were
"settled in Connecticut. I asked the person
"who told me of it, if he could make oath of
"it. He said no. But that he would inform
"himself better, and would give me a further
"account. He did go into Connecticut, on pur-
"pose; but is not yet returned. So I cannot
"send any affidavit upon that Article.

"The next is for harboring and protecting sol-
"diers, seamen and servants, who desert from
"other Plantations, and refused to deliver them
"when reclaimed. This will appear by the af-
"fidavit of Captain Matthews, to which I refer.

* * * * *

"The ninth Article is for refusing to submit
"to her Majesty's and his Royall Highness's
"Commissions of Vice Admiralty, and for com-
"manding their Militia. I don't doubt but those
"who have had the honor to serve the Crown in
"this Government before me, have given full ac-
"counts of that matter in their time. As for
"my time, I must acquaint your Lordships, that
"two years ago, Colonel Winthrop, who was
"then, and now is, Governor of Connecticut,
"came to make me a visit. I then took the op-
"portunity to tell him that I would go into Con-
"necticut, and publish my Commission for the
"command of their Militia, and my Commission
"to be Vice Admirall. He told me when-
"ever I would come into Connecticut, I should
"be welcome; but they would not part with
"their Militia.

"Your Lordships' most faithful humble ser-
"vant.

"CORNBURY."

By Lord Cornbury's letter, it will be seen that Rhode Island was not alone in being charged with carrying on illegal Trade and encouraging Piracy, but that Connecticut was equally implicated. Indeed, his Lordship has more to say against Connecticut than Rhode Island. He desired to effect the repeal of the Charter of Connecticut, and add that Province to New York. With this view, he resorted to the same means to accomplish his end, as Dudley did to destroy the Charter of Rhode Island; but they both failed in their objects. As it regards Privateers, we can only account for the number of them, in the English Colonies, from the hostility that existed in them all against the Spanish, French and Dutch, who had planted Colonies in America, and from the fact that they were glad to avail themselves of the slightest pretext to annoy them on the sea, as well as on land, and particularly to take their ships and cargoes.

VI.

THE REPLY OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY TO THE CHARGES PREFERRED AGAINST RHODE ISLAND. OPINIONS OF THE KING'S ATTORNEY AND SOLICITOR GENERALS. PREPARATIONS TO REPEL THE FRENCH FLEET. A VESSEL TAKEN OFF BLOCK-ISLAND BY A FRENCH PRIVATEER. TWO SLOOPS FITTED OUT IN NEWPORT, AND SENT IN PURSUIT OF THE PRIVATEER. GALLANT ACTION AND CAPTURE OF THE FRENCHMAN. THE PRIZE ALSO RETAKEN. ACTION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY THEREON.

In August following, the General Assembly, at a Special Session for the purpose, adopted an answer to the several charges made against the Colony, which had been submitted to that body, in a communication from the Lord's Commissioners, dated at Whitehall, March 26th, 1705. Their reply to the specifications, before quoted, bears date the twenty-eighth of August, 1705. We give such portions of it as refer to the specifications, before quoted.

"These Respondents, saying to themselves the
"benefit of exceptions to the uncertainties and
"imperfections of the said charges, which, (with
"humble submission, being so many and appar-
"ent, do not require any answer,) nevertheless,
"in obedience to her Majesty's Order in Council,
"to which these Respondents shall ever pay all
"due obedience, answer as follows :

"1. and 2. As to the first and second charge,
"they deny that the Government of said Collony
"does not observe the Acts of Trade and Navi-
"gation, or countenances the violation thereof
"by permitting and encouraging of illegall Trade
"and Piracy; or that the Collony is a recepta-
"cle of Pirates, who are encouraged and har-

“bored by the Government. And for further answer to the said Articles, do say the same contains matters highly criminal; and that they do not only detest such practices, but are not capable of being guilty of the same; but to the utmost have endeavored to suppress all such crimes with the abettors; and likewise to uphold and maintain not only the Acts of Trade, &c., but all other her Majesty's Laws relating to the Government of said Collony.

“3. As to the third Article, so much of it as relates to harboring and protecting soldiers and these that desert, and giving shelter to malefactors, by the Government, without delivering them up when demanded, &c., these Respondents deny the same; and for answer say, that if, at any time, persons under these circumstances fled into said Collony, upon notice thereof given, due methods have been taken as the Law in such cases directs.

“As to the other parts of said Article, these Respondents further say: this her Majesty's Collony is free for any of her Majesty's subjects to come and inhabit there, nor is it in the Respondents' power to hinder or prevent them therefrom. And further say, that where one person or family hath removed out of other Provinces or Collonies into this, there hath five times the number gone out of this Collony (which were inhabitants in the same) and settled in other Provinces, &c. The which we deem to be the privilege of every English subject; and we do deny that any considerable number of young men hath fled out of other Provinces into this Collony, or have been any ways harbored or sheltered in the same; or that no rates or taxes are raised in said Collony for the support of her Majesty's interest and Government, but on the contrary say that they have been at more than six thousand pounds charge, within seven years, in fortifying and other charge occasioned in maintaining and defending her Majesty's interest against the common enemy, and support of the Government.

“9. As to the ninth Article, that the Government have refused to submit to her Majesty and Royall Highness's Commission for commanding their Militia of said Collony, &c.

“These Respondents say, that they are advised by Counsell learned in the Law, that the Militia of said Collony or power of commanding thereof, is fully granted to them by their Charter; and that they have been in possession of the same above forty years; and as to the Vice Admiralty, these Respondents further say, they have fully complied with her Majesty's commands in that behalf, saving to themselves their right granted by Charter, for granting Commissions to private men of war for the de-

“fence of her Majesty's interest and the annoying the common enemy, pursuant to her Majesty's Declaration of War against France and Spain and her Majesty's command to us upon the same, by [the] Right Honorable Earl of Nottingham, one of her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

“13. As to the last Article, relating to Lawrence and Blew, &c., their being debauched by the Government and prevented from going to their commissioned port, and hindering the Collector and Receiver from receiving of His Royall Highness's dues.

“These Respondents for answer say, the same is uncertain and generall, and the charge is false and untrue, and cannot be maintained or justified. And further say, that said Lawrence and Blew, &c., according to their instructions, brought said prize into this Government, and put the same into the Governor's possession, for the security of the Lord High Admiral's dues, as the Law in such cases provides. Notwithstanding, they had their liberty to go to their commissioned port, if they had seen cause, without any debauchery by the Government, as insinuated; and all due methods and care was taken to prevent embezzlement and the security of the Lord High Admiral's dues, to the satisfaction of the Collector and Receiver, and content of the owners and sharers.

“These Respondents pray leave to amend, alter or add to this their answer to the aforesaid charges, as there may be occasion.

“Signed by order of the Governor and Company of her Majesty's Collony of Rhode Island, above said, this twenty-eighth day of August, 1705.

“WESTON CLARKE, Secretary.”

This reply of the Colony was a complete and convincing refutation of the charges which Dudley, Cornbury, and other enemies had made against her. The Agents of the Colony, in London, too, had faithfully performed their part, having appeared before the Board of Trade, with the voluminous evidence on both sides. With regard to the charge of a refusal on the part of Rhode Island to furnish her quota of Troops for the war and to contribute her part towards the common cause, the evidence showed that she had, within seven years, expended more than six thousand pounds, in military defences and operations; that she had furnished her quota of men to Massachusetts, besides “keeping and maintaining scouts upon the frontiers of that Province, whose service had been thankfully acknowledged by it.”

The Board of Trade, in January, 1705-6, in obedience to the Order in Council, directing them to enumerate to Her Majesty, Queen Anne, the

several misfeasances and illegal proceedings of the Charter and Proprietary Governments in America, made a representation that they had not conformed to the Acts of Trade and Navigation; that the Governors of Connecticut and Rhode Island had not taken the oaths required; that they were the refuge of Pirates and illegal Traders; that they refused to submit to the Royal Commissioners of Vice Admiralty, etc., etc.; indeed, the proceeding was but an enumeration of all the charges preferred by Dudley and others. This, with the letters of Dudley and Cornbury, was submitted to the Attorney and Solicitor Generals, who gave their opinion that, in certain extraordinary emergencies, Her Majesty "may constitute a Governor of such Province or Colony, as well for the Civil as Military part of the Government, and for the protection and preservation thereof; with the addition only, that as to the Civil Government, such Government is not to alter the rules or methods of proceeding, in civil causes established by their Charters."

The year 1706 opened with renewed activity, on the part of the Colony, to repel the French, who, with a powerful fleet, were known to be in the West Indies, where it had sacked and plundered the islands of St. Christopher's and Nevis, and was momentarily expected on the coast. Everything was put upon a war footing; large numbers of volunteers were enrolled in the Militia; scouts were placed along the whole line of the coast; and a body of troops was placed upon Block-island. "These precautions were necessary," wrote the Governor and Council to the Board of Trade, "as the French General and Admiral has given out threatenings against these parts, so that we are upon the watch, and raised up several breastworks and batteries about the town of Newport, in order to prevent the enemy landing near the town." In addition to these, the Colony had several vessels on the coast to guard against Privateers, as well as to give early notice of the approach of any hostile fleet.

In June of this year, a French Privateer took, near Block-island, a Sloop laden with provisions. The particulars of the capture were immediately sent, by express, to the Governor, at Newport. Proclamation was at once made for Volunteers; and, within two hours, two Sloops, fitted and manned with one hundred and twenty men, under the command of Captain John Wanton, were dispatched in pursuit of the enemy. In three hours, Captain Wanton came up with the French Privateer, at once gave her battle, and captured her; retook the prize she had taken; and brought both in safety to Newport. The Privateer was manned with forty men; and was hastening with her

prize to Port Royal, where they were in great want of provisions.

The success of this gallant affair gave great satisfaction to the whole country, and added fresh laurels to the naval flag of the Colony. The General Assembly, which met at Newport, in July, voted two hundred pounds towards defraying the expenses of the expedition and for supporting the prisoners taken. They also acknowledged the great service rendered by the Governor in his prompt action; and voted him a "present gratuity" of five pounds. In addition, they empowered him "in case of invasion, to press any vessels for the Colony's service, with other necessities as may be by his Honor judged needful." The vessels so taken up, were to be appraised by two men, one chosen by the Governor, the other by the owners. Byfield, Judge of Admiralty, in giving an account of this exploit of Captain Wanton to the Ministry, said he condemned the prize without exacting the legal fee, "in order to encourage so brisk an action."

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

VI.—RECORDS OF FRIENDS' MONTHLY MEETING, AT PERTH AMBOY, NEW JERSEY, FROM 8TH MONTH 3RD, 1686, to 9TH MONTH 14TH, 1688.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT, NOW FIRST PRINTED.*

[Page 1.] The 3^d of the 8th Month 1686

Freinds at Amboy agreed to have a Monthly Meeting their, and that upon the Second 4th day of each Month, and the first to begin the Second 4th day of the 9th Month 1686

At the Monthly Meeting, held in Amboy the 10th day of the 9th Month 1686 agreed that all the freinds belonging to this Monthly Meeting bring Minuts of yr Births & Burials (since they first came into this place) that they may be Recorded.

At the Monthly Meeting held in Amboy the 8th of the 10th Month 1686 Freinds agreed to pay three pounds Mony of this Province for the year

* We are indebted, for the privilege of printing this record, to our friend, C. C. Dawson, Esq., of Plainfield, N. J., in whose temporary possession the manuscript is; and he informs us that this portion occupies four pages of the original. "The first two pages," he says, "except the last note on the second page, are in the hand-writing of John Reid; the third and fourth pages, except the last paragraph on the fourth, are in the hand-writing of Benjamin Griffith. The excepted passages appear to be in a different hand." He also informs us that, in copying, he has "followed the original as nearly as possible."

As one of the earliest records of Friends in America, this transcript will be peculiarly interesting to many of our readers.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Rent of the Meeting Room : & the year to begin this day.

Likeways finds it necessary that there be six fúrmes for seats in the Meeting-Room The Making of which John Laing take into consideration

At the Monthly Meeting held in Amboy the 12th of the 11th Month 1686-7 Miles Forster & Rebecca Laury proposed to the Meeting there Intention of Marriage. The Meeting apoynts John Mill & William Bethell to Inquire into the Matter, to see, if all things be clear with these persons in order to there Mariage, & to make Report thereof against next Monthly Meeting.

At the Monthly Meeting held in Amboy the 9th of the 12th Month 1686-7 Miles Forster & Rebecca Laury came the second tyme to the Meeting expecting freinds answer The Meeting being satisfied had nothing to object against there Marriage & yrfore allowed them to apoynt a Meeting of freinds—wherein to solemnize the same.

At the Monthly Meeting held in Amboy the 9th of the first Month 1686-7 Inquiry being made there is nothing fownd to be proposed to the Meeting except to put freinds in mynd to bring in yr contribution for the six fúrmes which John Laing caused make.

At the Monthly Meeting held in Amboy the 13th of the 2^d Month 1687 John Pearce being present the Meeting told him, that, he had don wrong in sending a paper to the people of the world (desireing to be suplyed with a cow (he being poor) and not comming to the Monthly Meeting of freinds to lay his necessities before them. And thus left him to considder & whither he would Redress his fault if he feels it in himself.

At the Monthly Meeting held nt Amboy the 11th of the 3^d Month 1687 Enquiry being made if any have to offer to the Meeting—Its thought fit that John Barclay Receave the contribution for the furmes & pay for the same. And that John Reid or his wife take care that widow Mill do not want & give Report to the Meeting.

freinds apoynts Andrew Hanton & John Wrane to speak to widow Mitchel that shee do not talke of Peter Sonmans as it seemes shee doth. Rather wish hir to come to the Meeting and if yr be difference lay it before freinds according to the order of truth.

At the Monthly Meeting held in Amboy, the 8th of the 4th Month 1687 Peter Sonmans & Mary Mitchell Refer'd the whole Matter in difference betwext them unto Miles Forster, John Barclay, Benjamin Griffith & Edward Guy to determine the same & does promise to agree unto there decision.

John Barclay gives an accompt that, he has received the contribution for the fúrmes & payed for them.

[Page 2.] Its apoynted that, what freinds has a mynd to contrbute towards the Rent of the Meeting-Room or for the help of widow Mill that they bring it into John Reid.

Freinds desires John Mill & Benjamine Griffith to speak to Benjamin Clerk about his absenting himself from freinds Meetings & to desire him to come to next Monthly Meeting.

At the Monthly Meeting held in Amboy the 13th of the 5th Month 1687 The freinds apoynted to speak to Benjamine Clerk brought his answer, which was, that he would not come because Governor Laury called him a divil (as he sayes) wherewith freinds not being satisfied desires George Keith & John Barclay to speak to him again.

At the Monthly Meeting held in Amboy the 10th of the 6th Month 1687 John Barclay brought Ben. Clerk's answer being the same with what he said before.

At the Monthly Meeting held in Amboy the 14th of the 7th Month 1687 William Bethell having a designe to Mary a woman who lives at Philadelphia desir'd a certificat from this Meeting which accordingly was granted.

At the Monthly Meeting held in Amboy the 12th of the 8th Month 1687 Enquiry being made there was nothing found to be proposed to the meeting.

At the Monthly Meeting held in Amboy the 9th of the 9th Month 1687 John Lufborrow & Gertrud Holland proposed there Intention of Marriage to the Meeting who apoynts them to come next Monthly Meeting to receave there answer.

At the Monthly Meeting held at Amboy the 14th of the 10th Month 1687 John Reid who hitherto kept the book for this Meeting being now remov'd with his family to another county desir'd freinds to order another in his stead whereupon the Meeting apoynted Ben: Griffith to keep the book & receive the contributions &c.

Mary Forster Daughter of Miles Forster and Rebeckah Forster was born the 18th of the 8th mo: 1687.

[Page 3.] At a Monthly Meeting held in Amboy the 11th day of the 11th month 1687.:

It being proposed to bring Contrebutions towards the Rent of the Meeting-house John Barclay inform'd That the yearly rent was 3^{lb} and that there was thirty Shillings thereof paid 10^s by James Miller 10^s by John Reid and 10^s by John Barclay. John Lufburry promised to Contribute a bushell of winter wheat, John Sim the like. John Barclay Dr for John Laing 4^s Miles Forster 10^s.

At a Monthly Meeting held at Amboy the 11th day of the 4th month 1688.

John Barclay inform'd the meeting he had discharged the money due to the Widdow Bunn for Nursing Widdow Mills Child viz: £:2: 6: 0—Towards which Miles Forster promis'd to pay 10^s: John Reid 10^s—John Barclay 6^s. John Laing 4^s: Ben. Griffith. 6^s:

At a Quarterly Meeting at Amboy the 31 day of the 5 month 1688.

The following paper was there read.

From Our Yearly Meeting held at Philadelphia the 7th: of y^e 7th moth: 1687.—To the Quarterly Meeting held in the Province of East Jersey.

It being recommended to us from y^e Quarterly Meeting of Philadelphia y^e great evil and bad effects that has appeared by selling y^e Indians Rum or other strong liquors And a paper being by them p^resented w^h: was read amongst us relateing thereto, w^h upon due consideration was approved of & in concurrence therewith wee give forth this following Testimony, being deeply sensible & heartily grieved w^h: y^e abuses of this nature, that is too frequent up & down amongst us, especially in that some that goes under y^e profession of Truth (whom it was expected should have been better Examples) we feare is not wholly clear of it, & Therefore we give forth this as our sence That y^e practice of selling Rum or other strong Liquors to the Indians directly or indirectly, or exchanging Rum or other strong liquors for any Goods or Merchandize w^h them considering y^e abuse they make of it, is a thing contrary to y^e mind of y^e Lord & great grief & burthen to his People & a great reflection & dishonour to y^e Truth, so far as any professing it are concern'd. And for y^e more effectual p^reventing this evil practice, We advise as aforesaid. That this our Testimony may be entered in every Monthly meeting book & every friend belonging to their Monthly meeting to subscribe the same

Signed at and in behalf of the Meeting By
ANTHONY MORRIS.

[Page 4.] At a Monthly Meeting in Amboy the 14 day of the 9th month 1688.

Was read a printed paper From the yearly Meeting held in London the 4th 5th & 6th Dayes of the 4th: month 1688. Directed To the Monthly & Quarterly Meetings of Friends in England, Wales, and elsewhere.

There was also read another printed paper att the bottom whereof was G. F.

At a Monthly Meeting in Woodbridge the 17th day of the 8th: moth: 1689.

It was agree'd that the monthly meeting should be kept, the third Fifth day in every month, at Benjamin Griffith's in Woodbridge That Friends

of the Ministry coming to Visit us, should be taken care of.

The above said Monthly Meeting fell from y^e year 1689 to y^e year 1704 by reason of George Keiths Separation which was 15 years and Then was appointed to Be kept att woodbridge first by a preparative Meeting and abt 2 years after Kept a Monthly Meeting.

VII.—REMINISCENCES OF THE CAMPAIGN ON THE RIO GRANDE.—CONTINUED FROM PAGE 103.

BY MAJOR GEORGE DEAS, U. S. A.

During these operations of the Army in the field, the garrison in Fort Brown had had no easy time of it. Unfortunately, the work was constructed in a bend of the river which admitted of a converging fire from the opposite shore. Of this, the enemy took advantage, and kept up an annoying cannonade and bombardment, at intervals, from the third to the eighth of May. The construction of bomb-proof covers afforded shelter to the garrison; nevertheless, the fire being severe at times, several men were lost, and the heroic defender, Major Brown, was mortally wounded. But one bastion was garnished; and the supply of ammunition being limited, the fire from the besieged slackened after the second day, not before, however, the destruction of the principal battery of the enemy. Summons to surrender was replied to with disdain. The brave men there penned up had but to await with fortitude the result of General Taylor's conflicts in the field. Disaster to him was destruction to them; for nothing could have followed but unconditional surrender. Great relief was, therefore, felt by the garrison when victory crowned our efforts at Resaca de la Palma. Too much credit cannot be given to the faithful defenders of Fort Brown. Ignorant of what was taking place with the main body of the Army, upon whose success their only dependence lay; surrounded and harrassed by a numerous and ferocious enemy; assured by the Mexican Commander that General Taylor had been defeated, they yet held out, in full confidence that succor would arrive. It was an exhibition of patient courage worthy of all praise.

After the Battle of Resaca de la Palma, General Taylor proceeded to Point Isabel, to confer with Commodore Connor, commanding the Gulf fleet, which had appeared off the coast, on the eighth of May. The object of this meeting was to devise a plan for the occupation of Matamoras, by a combined movement—the Army to cross near the city, assisted by a naval force in small boats, which were to ascend the river from its

mouth. The heavy rolling surf, however, defeated the passage of the boats; and the General was, therefore, left to his own resources for the means of passing his Army to the right bank of the Rio Grande. The enemy had taken over with them and destroyed all boats of size sufficient for the transport of Artillery. Some smaller boats were secured, and a scow constructed for taking over the field-pieces. In the mean time, Arista was collecting together what remained of his defeated Army, probably with a view to oppose the passage of the river. General Taylor had resumed his position in camp, as before, and had resolved upon crossing. Deputations from the city authorities were received. They demanded terms. No terms could be given. With this reply they returned to Matamoras; and Arista prepared to evacuate the city, which he did on the seventeenth of May. The eighteenth, the Army crossed, about three miles above, at a point which was fordable nearly all the way over. Without opposition, it was comparatively easy; with an enemy in front, it would have been simply impossible, with the means we had at hand. The Mexican General must have had good reasons for thus permitting the American Army to seize Matamoras as it did. What they were must ever remain a mystery to us. Suffice it to say, that on the day that General Taylor crossed the Rio Grande, the Mexican Army was in full retreat towards the interior. Placing the whole of his Cavalry under Colonel Garland, the General directed that officer to follow up the enemy and annoy his rear. Marching immediately, they came up with the stragglers of Arista's force, the next day; but his movements had been so rapid that it was found impossible to reach the main body. The pursuit was, therefore, abandoned, satisfactory intelligence having been obtained by Colonel Garland, that Arista had evidently abandoned the valley of the Rio Grande. He retired towards Linares and Monterey, leaving to our care his hospital filled with wounded, with only two Mexican Surgeons to attend to them. Every attention was paid to these unfortunates—fully as much as was given to our own men—and when cured of their wounds, they were permitted to return to their homes. Humanity and consideration for the Mexican people attended every step of the Mexican Army. Denounced, as we had been, as cut-throats and barbarians, they were surprised to find our soldiers considerate to a degree far beyond their hopes or expectations. No excesses followed the occupation of Matamoras. The markets and shops were opened; and all supplies were paid for. A rigid police were established. Order was preserved in every part of the city. The Army was encamped just beyond the suburbs; the guards and police force being marched into town every morning.

Shortly after this, the volunteers from Louisiana arrived—full of ardor, but undisciplined—regretting that they had come too late to share in the glory which had been shed upon our arms. As I have before observed, this force remained but a short time, and then returned home. The law did not allow the enrollment of volunteers for less than twelve months; and these had been, by mistake, received into service for six. Some excellent irregular Cavalry, from Texas, was also added to our force.

From a state of apathy, or indifference, as to the course of events upon the Rio Grande, and the situation of the Army, the country was aroused to the highest pitch of excitement and ardent patriotism. War against Mexico was declared by Act of Congress on the thirteenth of May, 1846. The President was empowered to raise a force of volunteers not to exceed fifty thousand men, and ten millions of money were placed in his hands. The numerical strength of the regular Regiments was increased to one thousand men; and the recruiting service pushed forward with redoubled activity. Thousands flocked to the national standard. Men enrolled themselves in such numbers that the means of transport were not sufficient for their conveyance to the seat of war. It was determined by the Government to invade the northern Provinces of Mexico; but here, again, ignorance of the topography of the country to be invaded, and its resources, presented itself. Taking an old map of Mexico as a guide, different points were selected for occupation by our forces, without the slightest knowledge as to how they were to march there. Chihuahua was to be reached by way of San Antonio, in Texas, which, afterwards, proved to be an impossibility. New Mexico was to be conquered and Monterey taken. All these were exterior points, at immense distances from the vital parts of the Mexican Republic. Not until the genius of General Scott was brought fully into the councils of the Nation, did the Government adopt the plan of striking at once at the Mexican capital, by way of Vera Cruz. Instructions were immediately sent to General Taylor to occupy Monterey, an interior city, the capital of the State of Nuevo Leon. This was supposed to be a military point, which it really is not. But, nevertheless, the Mexicans were believed to be fortifying the place, with the view of concentrating their forces—which, afterwards, turned out to be correct. The whole energy of the General and his Staff was directed upon this movement. Instead of marching directly from Matamoras, with his whole force, he determined to establish an intermediate depot at Camargo, near the mouth of the San Juan, and at the head of steamboat navigation on the Rio Grande. Steamboats arrived from New Orleans, as soon as it was possi-

ble; but not as quickly as could have been desired, considering the large amount of supplies which it was necessary to send up the river. Early in July, the regular Regiments began to move towards Camargo; and in about a month were concentrated in camp, near that place. Thousands of volunteers and recruits came pouring into the country, until, at last, the General found himself at the head of upwards of twelve thousand men. With this number, he would have wished to march upon Monterey; but the means of transportation were not in proportion to the numbers so suddenly brought together. After weeks of great exertion, and the plentiful use of money, a supply of pack-mules was obtained, sufficient for the transport service of six thousand men, with which force General Taylor, having with him all his regular troops, moved, by slow marches, from Camargo towards Monterey. The Army marched by Brigades, as before—the First on the of August—with several days interval between the Brigades.

During our stay at Matamoras, the country, towards the interior, had been sufficiently well reconnoitred. It is a desolate region indeed. From the immediate valley of the Rio Grande to the slopes of the Sierra Madre—with the exception of here and there a little oasis, it is a hideous wilderness, destitute alike of trees and verdure. The cactus, of which there is great variety and beauty, is here found in abundance, much of it growing thirty feet in height, forming quite a tree. Some of the flowers put forth by this plant are superb, and would grace the finest conservatory in the world. On the spot of their growth, their magnificence is truly thrown away. Between Camargo and Monterey, and near the base of the Sierra Madre, is a pretty little town called Cerralvo. At this point, the advance of the Army, under General Worth, halted; the other Brigades, in the rear, halting and encamping also, in order to await the final dispositions of the General-in-Chief with the raw volunteers to be dispatched from Camargo. Every arrangement for the campaign having been made at that place, General Taylor moved up to the front. The several Brigades advanced, until, on the seventeenth of September, the whole force was concentrated at a small town called Marin, fourteen miles from Monterey. Strange as it may seem, it is nevertheless true, that the strength of the enemy, the extent of fortification in Monterey, and even whether they would certainly defend that city, were matters entirely of conjecture. The spies who had been employed, returned with the most contradictory statements and information. The General could rely upon no one. As for their description of the defences of the city, it was all trash. Besides, they were Mexicans, and, in consequence, might have purposely

given false information. Assuming, however, that Monterey was garrisoned in force, General Taylor hesitated not an instant to attack it, trusting to circumstances, as they might occur, to develop the best mode to accomplish the fall of the place.

Monterey is situated in a beautiful valley formed by spurs of the Sierra Madre range of mountains, and contains about eight thousand inhabitants. It is very substantially built, of solid limestone, quarried just beyond the suburbs. The houses are generally two stories high. The streets are regularly laid out at right angles, and are well paved. Near the center of all Mexican towns is the Plaza, or "place of arms," varying in size according to the actual or contemplated population. This open space is sometimes used as a market-place and exchange, in time of peace; and, in time of war, it may be called the citadel of the city. The principal church, or cathedral, occupies one face of the plaza. The houses are constructed of the most solid masonry, with flat roofs, and are perfectly fire-proof. They, of themselves, therefore, act as parapets and bulwarks; while the streets being, generally, narrow, are easily barricaded. Thus it is very easy to perceive that a Mexican plaza is susceptible of strong defence, with comparatively little trouble or expense. In this manner, the Plaza of Monterey was defended—the barricades being built of masonry, twelve feet thick, each containing one or more pieces of heavy ordnance, completely enfilading the streets. Exterior to this system of defence, was another, on the northern and eastern sides of the city, consisting of a *tête-de-pont* and three advanced works of considerable strength, covering a space of about a mile. Within range of the approach of these works, more to the northward and exterior to the city, was a fortification, called by us "The Black Fort," with four bastions, whose fire being of extended range, was exceedingly annoying to us, when moving to the attack. On the western and southern sides of the city, are two parallel ranges of heights, which were fortified, and commanded the road to Saltillo, the river San Juan running between them. On one of these heights, which slopes into the city, about two-thirds of the way from the summit, is situated a strongly-built edifice, called "*The Bishop's Palace*." This place was fortified; and constituted the place of arms, on that side of the town. From the extreme heights, on the Saltillo road, to the forts on the eastern front, the distance is about three miles in a straight line. To defend these positions the Mexican General (Amputia) had at his disposal about ten thousand men, including his Cavalry.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

VIII.—THEVET'S SPECIMENS OF THE INDIAN LANGUAGE OF NORUMBEGA.

BY HON. J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL, PRESIDENT OF THE CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

André Thevet, in his *Cosmographie universelle*, printed at Paris, in 1575, gave (vol. ii., ff. 1008, 1009,) an account of a visit which he professed to have made, in 1556, to the Great River of "Norumbegue." Doctor J. G. Kohl admits that "Thevet is not esteemed as a very reliable "author," but regards his description of Penobscot-bay as "very accurate, and, altogether, "with the Indian words contained in it, so remarkable" that he gives it in full, in his *History of the Discovery of Maine*, published, last year, by the Maine Historical Society.

The Rev. B. F. DeCosta has criticized this portion of Doctor Kohl's work, and has given (in *The Northmen in Maine*, pp. 63-79,) good reasons for concluding that Thevet "could have "had no real knowledge of the place he endeavored to describe;" and that "the most reasonable view is that he never made the voyage in "question, but constructed his story from maps "and the relations of others."

CARTIER, 1545.

<i>Aiayascon</i> ,	Les bras.
<i>Aguehan</i> ,	Ung homme.
<i>Agrueste</i> ,	Une femme.
<i>Addegesta</i> ,	Un garçon.
<i>Agyaquesta</i> ,	Une fille.
<i>Cabata</i> ,	Une robbe.
<i>Canocha</i> ,	Une maison.
.....	
<i>Azista</i> ,	Feu.
<i>Casigno agnydahoa</i> ,	Allons nous coucher.

<i>Casigno casnouy</i> ,	Allons au basteau [bateau, canoe.]
<i>Damga</i> ,	La terre.
<i>Addagnin</i> ,	Mon frere.

Here Thevet blundered. He intended to take from the vocabulary, the word for "Allons," and, by mistake, took with it the word for "canoe," *casnouy*.

<i>Ame</i> ,	Eau.
<i>Quahouascon</i> ,	Chair.
<i>Carraconny</i> ,	Pain.
<i>Quenhia</i> ,	Le ciel.
<i>Damga</i> ,	Le terre.
<i>Ysnay</i> ,	Le Soliel.
<i>Assomaha</i> ,	La lune.

"*Coaquoca*" and "*Arca somioppach*" are not found in Cartier's vocabulary.

It would be easy to show that it is not for his Indian words only that Thevet was indebted to Cartier or to some of Cartier's companions. There are several passages in the description of the visit to Norumbegue and the intercourse with the

There is one item of evidence which Mr. De Costa did not present, and which, independently of every other, is sufficient to establish the justice of his conclusion and to convict Thevet of dishonesty and untruthfulness. The "Indian "words" introduced in the account of Norumbega belong to a language which was not spoken on the coast of Maine or Nova Scotia, at the time of Thevet's pretended visit. They are of Iroquois origin; not Algonkin or "Souriquois;" and, with very few exceptions, they are manifestly taken from the vocabulary of the language "*des pays & Royaulmes de Hochelaga & Canada*," which was appended to the Brief Recit & succincte Narration of Cartier's second voyage, printed at Paris, in 1545, or, possibly, from a manuscript copy of that vocabulary. The exceptions—four words not found in the *Brief Recit*—were probably of Thevet's invention.

To put this matter beyond doubt, compare Thevet's specimens of the language of "Norumbegue," with their equivalents in Cartier's vocabulary of the language of Hochelaga. I take the former from Doctor Kohl's translation, (*Coll. Me. Hist. Society*, II., i., 417-419;) and the latter from the Paris reprint of the *Brief Recit* (Tross, 1863).

THEVET, 1575.

<i>Aiayascon</i> ,	"a man's arm."
<i>Aquehuns</i> ,	"the men."
<i>Peragruastas</i> ,	"the women."
<i>Adegestas</i> ,	"the children."
<i>Aniusgestas</i> ,	"the girls."
<i>Rabatatz</i> ,	[clothing of skins.]
<i>Canoque</i> ,	"a house."
<i>Peramich</i> ,	"a little king."
<i>Azista</i> ,	"fire."
<i>Cazigno agnyda hoa</i> ,	"my friends, do not start
	"from here; you shall sleep this
	"night with us."

<i>Cazigno casnouy</i>	<i>danga addagriu</i> ,	"Let us go on
		"land, my friend and brother."

<i>Coaquoca Ame Couas-</i>	"Come to drink and eat
<i>con Kazaconny</i> ,	"what we have."
<i>Arca somioppach Quen-</i>	"We assure you upon oath
<i>chia dangua ysmay</i>	"by heaven, earth, moon
<i>assomaka</i> ,	"and stars, that you shall
	"fare not worse than our
	"own persons."

native, that are more likely than not to have been manufactured from materials supplied by the *Brief Recit*, or some manuscript relation of Cartier's voyage.

HARTFORD, CONN.

J. H. T.

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I have abbreviated the titles, but still every one is recognizable. The dates of publication and the size of many could not be ascertained; but it is believed that very few, if any, coming under my heading, properly, have escaped me.—J. G. M.

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[TO BE CONTINUED.]

X.—THE PAPERS OF GENERAL SAMUEL SMITH.—CONTINUED.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS.

1.—Major Smith's Commission.

[In the usual form, as "Major of Colonel Gist's Battalion of the Maryland Line," signed by "John Hancock, President," and "Charles Thomson, Secretary," and dated "Philadelphia, the 10th of December, 1776."]

2.—Extracts from a letter from his father.

BALTO 7th Aug^r 1777.

DR SAM.

* * * *

I am Sorry to hear the situation your soldiers are in, but I believe you need not Expect from this state any thing similar to what the New England Troops receives, indeed if we were [*ever so*] well inclined, it would not be in our Power to Supply [] Cheap as you say you get them, as Rum Sells here [] at 5/ or 6/ ⁷/₈ lb, Coffee 7/6 ⁷/₈ lb Shoes 35/ @ 37/6 ⁷/₈ p^r and ev- [*ery thing in*] Proportion, and rising every day. how these Matters [*will end it is*] not Possible to Tell. but I am afraid if some Method [*is not adopted*] by those in power to Prevent this growing evil [*the army*] must disband. I never heard of an Army before, [*in which*] the Gen^l did not regulate the price of every thing brought [] into his Camp. I am really of opinion if your Gen^l would do some [*thing of the*] sort it would Effect the prices all over the Continent for the Traders is Scattered from North to South Collecting Articles for the Army, at any price, knowing they have nothing to do but ask & have. I am very uneasy on this Acco^t, as I fear our Cause will be ruined by the Exorbitant prices every thing bears, even if the enemy would Lay Idle, and give you no Trouble, and it don't Appear they intend fighting you this year, if they should be gone to the Eastward of Boston or to South Carolina, you can't Possibly follow them, and if you did, you would soon be obliged to return for want of Bread. as it would be impossible to Supply the Army with that Article by Land Carriage at so great a distance from the bread Country. I therefore think Gen^l Washington must employ his Troops in reducing New York. the Taking that Place can't be a Difficult Task, for I presume the Garrison cannot be Strong. if it is the Army with Howe must be weak. however that may be, I see nothing Else you [*can do*] but either Lye Idle or invest New York. if it could be taken [*it would*] I appre-

and Prove a Valuable Acquisition, in Stores, Ammu[nition and] Merchandise. it would compensate for our Loss at Ticonderoga. [

] you must have had a dreadful March this Hot weather, since you [*left the*] North river. I hear you are now at Corneil's Ferry. hope the [] not sicken again. I feel sensibly for them. Poor Jemmy * * * *

Your affectionate Father

JN^o SMITH.

Augt. 12th. Since writing the Above I rec^d a letter from your Uncle Smith informing that your division Haulted at Bound Brook, so that you have been Saved some days March, w^{ch} is a great Matter this Extreme hot Weather. by a Letter from Col^l Hall to your brother John, w^{ch} I opened I find he Left you Sunday was a Week, on your March back to Peaks Kill. hope you make Slow Marches this hot Weather. one Severe day would kill Many of your Men. We have nothing new here, but that Gen^l Schuler is retreating before the enemy. the last Acc^{ot} says he was at Saratoga, and it was Expected the next would be that they were at Still Water or Albany. Our affairs there bear an unpromising Prospect.

I forgot to tell you that Letters are rec^d from Capt. Handy of the Privateer Enterprize, informing She was arrived in Martinique without taking one Prize. She was Chased by a Frigate and with difficulty Escaped. his Pork & Beef was Spoil'd for want of being well enough Salted. which Occasioned his going in there for a Supply. I wish the Enterprize may not run us in debt this Cruise. [] small to make any hand this Year. I wish we were [*well rid of*] her. as we are of the Beggar. the owners of the Beggar [] difficulty in Manning her, Altho' they give Twenty [] Bounty, and bear the Expence to Newbern, which I [*believe will*] be near Twenty Dollars more.

Captain Norwood Expects in a few days to have his C[*rew*] Completely full. he wants not more than Twenty now. and [*is filling*] fast. I wish all your officers were as successful as he [*is, as*] would be the Case if they applied themselves as well.

I am Yours []

JNO SMITH.*

3.—General Washington to Lieutenant-colonel Samuel Smith.

HEAD QUARTERS, CAMP NEAR POTSGROVE,

Sept^r 23, 1777

SIR:

You will proceed with the detachment under

* Those portions of this letter which are in brackets, have been torn off from the original; and where it has been possible to supply them from the context, it has been done. Where the blanks remain, that was impossible.—H. B. D.

your command to Dunk's ferry on Delaware, if you find in your progress the way clear & safe. When arrived there, you will take the safest & most expeditious method of conducting the detachment to fort Mifflin; by water would be easiest & least fatiguing to your men; and if practicable & safe, will certainly be most eligible: otherwise you will cross the Delaware, & march down on the Jersey side to fort Mifflin. In the whole march you will make all possible despatch—keep your men in the most exact order—suffer no one to Straggle—make each officer take a list of his platoon or division, and at the beginning of each march, see that every man be present, you will also take every necessary precaution to prevent the enemy's surprizing you on your march, by keeping out small van, flank, & rear guards, & sentries when you halt.

The keeping of the fort is of very great importance, and I rely strongly on your prudence, spirit, and bravery for a vigorous & persevering defence. The Baron Arundt will be appointed to the chief command; and when he arrives, you will give him every aid in your power.

A Commissary must be appointed (if there be not one already) to supply the garrison with provisions. And it may be highly expedient to lay in a stock of salt meat, if to be had, & a quantity of bread, flour, & wood, for at least one month.

Immediately on your arrival make enquiry of the Stock of amunition for musquetry as well as artillery, & if either be wanting lose not a minutes time in getting a supply.

Wishing you all desirable success, I remain your friend and servant,

G^o WASHINGTON.

To Lieut. Col^o SAMUEL SMITH.

4.—Lieutenant-colonel Smith, to General Washington.

FERRY ANCOOTS 26th. Sept. 1777

SIR:

I have the pleasure to inform your Excellency that I have just arrived here, with my party, & expect to throw myself into Fort Mifflin this night. The want of provisions has detained me much, & the men not being properly chosen for such an expedition has been a great stop to our march. Few of them have Shoes or Stockings, many of them without Coats or Blankets, & scarce any who have more than one shirt. Without their clothing it will be very injurious to their constitutions; and disagreeable to hear their constant murmurings. I have been obliged to send thirty-six men, by water, to Cooper's ferry, who could not march farther. Many of these men have their clothes in the wagons; but as it will be difficult to collect them, & take up

much time, will it not be better to send what we want immediately from the Clothiers especially the shoes and stockings. A list I enclose, which I expect your Excellency will order to be forwarded immediately to us. Col. _____ supplied us last night with Rum & some bread; & I believe we shall be provided with other provision at the fort.

I have the honor to be

Your Excellency's M. O. S.

SAMUEL SMITH.

His Excellency Gen^l WASHINGTON.

5.—*A Return of Ordnance Stores wanting at
"Fort Island."*

200 Rounds of Grape & Case Shot with flannell
Cartouches for 4 1/2 pdrs.

400 Tubes for D^r

50 Round Shot for Ditto & as many paper Cart-
ridges.

1 dozen Portfires & port fire Staffs.

100 Tubes for 12 pdrs.

700 Round paper Cartridges for 18 pdr. Ham-
mer & Nippers for 4 pounders.

J. TREAT, Capt. Artillery.

27th Sept^r 1777

6.—*Lieutenant-colonel Samuel Smith to General
Washington.*

FORT MIFFLIN, 27th Sept^r, 1777.

SIR:

I, last night, threw myself into this Garrison, where, I am sorry to inform your Excellency, I find every thing in the utmost confusion, not as many Cartouches as will last one day, and the very necessary Cartouches for the Block-houses, not sufficient for an hour. Sixty untrained militia are all the artillery-men in the Fort; the provisions almost out. The Militia refused obedience to Captain Treat, and have underwent no sort of training. This day, one of the Frigates was taken by the enemy, which effectually cut off our Communications with Trenton. As Commodore Hazlewood thinks it will be very imprudent to attempt an attack on her, so well guarded as she is by their batteries, the stores I send for, by this express, to Trenton, must come by land, which will take up much time. Should the enemy, in the meantime, make a vigorous attack on the Chevaux de frise and the frigate come down on our backs, where we have no battery, and no cover but pickets, the Fort and Garrison may probably fall into their hands.

General Newcomb, with five hundred militia, is now at Woodbury. I expect they will garrison Billingsport. We cannot spare time to dismantle it. I am endeavoring to put the Fort

into the best posture of defence I can, for which purpose I have drafted fifty of my men to serve the cannon. Captain Treat has taken charge of them, and if they will give us some time to prepare we will be able to make a tolerable defence. I have sent the Commissary to provide for us at Gloucester, where, I am informed, there are some provisions belonging to the Continent.

A Flag has just appeared from Lord Cornwallis, demanding to know why the Commodore wishes to fire on the defenceless inhabitants of the city; and that, should a repetition of the kind happen, he must expect that he would retaliate on the prisoners in his hands. And he further observed the folly of future attempts, as he had sufficiently fortified the approaches, by water, to the city. He further added that he still held up the hand of clemency & mercy to all who would submit; and he begged we would consider the situation we were in; that in a very few days he would be able to attack with such a formidable force that it would be impossible for us to resist. Captain Robinson of the Navy, for answer, informed that Lord Cornwallis must have been misinformed of the intention of the ships being sent up, as the commanding officer had orders from the Commodore to prevent any works from being thrown up.

I have the honor to be

Your Excellency's M. O. S.

SAMUEL SMITH.

His Excellency Gen^l WASHINGTON.

7.—*Lieutenant-colonel Samuel Smith to the
Commissary.*

FORT MIFFLIN, 27th Sept^r 1777.

SIR:

I enclose you a return of Cartouches wanting for use at Fort Mifflin, which I now command. The greatest expedition must be used to send them down, as we have not now in Garrison more Cartouches than we can expend in one day. The Service requires your utmost exertions, & I make no doubt you will use them. Wagons must be provided, as I do not think it will be safe to send by water. To Mantua Creek will be the best place to send it, all the Boats being collected there. The Militia will forward it from there, or the Guard must inform us of its arrival.

I am, Sir, Your Dev^d Servant

SAMUEL SMITH.

Col _____

1, or his Deputy.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

XI.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them: and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.]

ABOUT OLD GRIST MILLS.—In a number of the *Germantown Telegraph*, under the head of "Reminiscences connected with an old landmark," is an account of an old Grist-mill in Germantown, said to be the first, and for many years, the only grist mill in Pennsylvania. The article says: "We have alluded, several times, 'of late, to the 'Old Grist Mill,' on Church-lane, and the probability of its being soon demolished. The structure was erected in 1683, by Richard Townsend, who brought the machinery and nearly all the woodwork from England. When this mill was completed, the present city of Philadelphia, as described by Postorius, the founder of Germantown, 'consisted of three or four little cottages, all the residue being only woods, underwood, timber and trees, among which I several times lost myself in traveling from my cave, by the water-side, to the hut of Bour, a Dutch baker, who made my bread.' For many years this was the only grist-mill in Pennsylvania, and supplied the inhabitants of Philadelphia and the surrounding country with flour. The settlers would carry the grain to the mill on their backs, 'save one man who had a tame bull which performed this labor.' The building changed owners frequently. In 1762, it was sold by Moses Hall to Nicholas Burkhardt and Jacob Brown, with seventy-six and three-quarter acres of ground, and remained in the Burkhardt family, with the exception of an intermission of ten years, until the first of April, 1797, when 'Samuel Burkhardt and others, children and representatives of Nicholas Burkhardt, deceased,' sold the property to William Holby, of Germantown. In 1811, Susanna Holby, Administratrix of William, sold the premises to Hugh Roberts, father of the present owner, who purchased it at an Orphans' Court sale in 1835."

The *Telegraph* is in error about the Germantown mill being the first one erected, and for a long time, the only grist-mill in Pennsylvania. The first mill erected in this State, was built by the Swedes, in 1643 or 1644, just forty years before the Germantown mill. It was located on Cobb's-creek, near the Blue Bell-tavern. It is not known on which side of the Creek it stood. It is said to have been a "fine old mill, which ground both fine and coarse flour, and was going late and early." It has long since passed away; but the spot

about where it stood, is well-known. To it, all the settlers who did not care to *ground* their grain into flour, took their grits to be ground. In that early day, there was a path through the wood from up the Delaware, North of Neshaminy, down to the mill, along which the settlers traveled back and forth. The Court, at Upland, in 1678, decided to have another mill built, which one Hans Moenses put up shortly afterward on Mill-creek, near the present site of Marylandville. In 1683, Richard Townsend and others erected a corn-mill on the site of the Chester Mills, on Chester-creek, above Upland. He was of a company, formed in England, of which William Penn was a member, in 1682. The mill was erected under the care of Caleb Pusey, and the materials brought from England. A mill, to grind flour, was built at Holmesburg, in 1680, and we believe it is still standing, and in pretty good condition. When the British occupied Philadelphia, they used it as a barrack. In 1679, Mahlon Stacey, a Friend who came from England a couple of years before, and settled on the New Jersey side of the Falls of Delaware, built a mill at that point, probably on the Assanpink. Travelers in the country, at that time, speak of it being in operation in that year. For several years, it ground grain for all the settlers on both sides of the river. These are all the mills known to have been erected down to 1683, in Pennsylvania. We find no mention in the public records, of the erection of the mill at Germantown, but take the statement of the *Telegraph* as correct. In 1628, premission was given to Joost, Andriansen, & Co., to build a saw and grist-mill below the "Turtle Falls," the site for which they obtained from the Dutch Commissary; but we have no evidence that these mills were ever built. The toll to be taken by the corn mills was regulated by law, in 1675. These facts show that more mills than one were erected in Pennsylvania, prior to 1683; and that the Germantown mill was built many years subsequently to the earliest one.

THE NAME, WASHINGTON.—Turning over an old Dictionary, it appears that the patroness of the early Methodists, the Countess of Huntington, born 1707, who appointed the great Whitehead her Chaplain, was the daughter of *Washington Shirley*, Earl of Ferris.

Washington came to see *General Shirley* at Boston, in 1856. It is said by Irving, that, during his stay here, he attended with great interest, the Sessions of the Massachusetts Legislature, which was then discussing military operations. At this visit to Boston, when twenty-four years old, "he received the most hospitable atten-

"tions from the polite and intelligent society 'of the place.' It was, no doubt, at that date, (1756) that he danced in the old Hughes house, nearly opposite the old South-church, lately demolished to be replaced by a building unworthy the site.

He had already acquired fame as a soldier, and his coming here had reference to his rank as a commander, relative to other officers of the Colonial or Regular forces. He was accompanied by other officers, and their five-hundred miles journey, from Virginia, was on horse-back, attended by their black servants in livery—the equipments for the same as well as the housings of Washington's horses, being sent from London, per order, and emblazoned with the Washington arms. In their progress they made a sensation in the country, as well by the clattering of the hoofs of their steeds in the streets of Philadelphia, New York and Boston.

A TREACHEROUS MEMORY.—A venerable citizen of Davenport, Iowa, having stated that he voted for General Washington for President, in New York, in 1788, the *New York Evening Post* dispels the illusion by a brief historical statement, as follows:

"New York did not vote at all at the first Presidential election, and she was the only State that did not. Our State was opposed to the Constitution. Only one of our Delegates to the Convention which formed it, signed it. The others withdrew from the Convention, and some of them, on their return home, published an address against it to the people. It was with much difficulty, and only after the requisite number of States had ratified it, that New York consented. The Constitution was adopted by the Convention, on the seventeenth of September, 1787, and New York did not ratify it till the twenty-sixth of July, 1788.

"The first election for President was not held in 1788, but in 1789; and the opposition of New York was so strong that she took no part in that election. Moreover, the Presidential Electors in New York, were never chosen by the people, until 1828; before that they were always appointed by the Legislature."

SCRAPS.—It seems that the Indians understood the art and mystery of "Spiritualism," so far at least as the rope-tying of the Davenports, and so forth, is concerned, a long time ago. A resident of Alton, Illinois, familiar for years with Indian life, declares that the

*Assiniboin*s used to be posted in this spiritual manifestation. They would strip their great medicine man, and tie him from toe to topknot, with buffalo thongs; then roll him in a blanket and tie him again, and polish off by wrapping him in a buffalo robe and tying him once more; when they would put him inside a little tent, with an Indian drum, flute and water-gourd by his side. In less than three minutes, the drum and flute would beat and toot, and in less than five, the disenthralled savage would walk out and make his obeisance to the waiting crowd.

—It is generally said that Vermont was named from its Green Mountains. But how the name comes is not so generally understood. A writer in the *American Gazetteer* gives a Latin etymology, "*Ver Mons*, Green Mountain." But in *A History of the Rev. Hugh Peters*, A. M. & C., by Rev. Samuel Peters, LL. D., New York, 1807, is found this very interesting account:—

"Vermont was a name given to the Green Mountains, in October, 1763, by the Rev. Doctor Peters, the first clergyman who paid a visit to the thirty thousand settlers in that country, in the presence of Colonel Taplin, Colonel Willes, Colonel Judge Peters, and many others, who were proprietors of a large number of Townships in that Colony. The ceremony was performed on the top of a rock standing on a high mountain, then named Pissgah, because it provided to the company a clear sight of Lake Champlain to the West, and of the Connecticut-river to the East; and overlooked all the trees and hills in the vast wilderness at the South and North.

"The baptism was performed in the following manner and form, viz.: Priest Peters stood on the pinnacle of the rock, when he received a bottle of spirits from Colonel Taplin: then, haranguing the company with a short history of the infant settlement and the prospect of its becoming an impregnable barrier between the British Colonies in the South, and the late Colonies of the French in the North, he continued, 'We here have met on the rock of Etam, standing on Mount Pissgah, which makes a part of the everlasting hill, the spine of Africa, Asia, and America, holding together the terrestrial ball, and dividing the Atlantic from the Pacific Ocean, to dedicate and consecrate this extensive wilderness to God manifested in the flesh, and to give it a new name, worthy of the Athenians and ancient Spartans; which new name is *Verd Mont*, in token that her mountains and hills shall ever be green and never die.' And then poured

"the spirits around him, and cast the the bottle at the rock of Etam.

"The ceremony being over, the company descended Mount Pisgah, and took refreshments in a log house, kept by Captain Otley, where they spent the night with great pleasure.

"After this, Priest Peters passed through most of the settlements, preaching and baptizing, for the space of eight weeks, in which time he baptized nearly one thousand two hundred children and adults.

"Since Vermont became a State, its General Assembly have seen proper to change the spelling of Vermont, Green Mountain, to that of *Ver-mont*, Mountain of Maggots."

—The *Philadelphia Sun* has printed a hitherto unpublished letter of General Anthony Wayne, dated at "Haverstraw, near Stony Point, Oct. 1, 1780," in which he thus refers to Benedict Arnold and his treachery:—"I can't say that I was much shocked on the occasion. I had long known the man; as early as 1776, he produced a conviction to me that honor and true virtue were strangers to his soul—and, however contradictory it may appear, he did not possess either fortitude or personal courage. He was naturally a coward, and never went into danger but when stimulated by liquor, even to intoxication; consequently not capable of conducting any command committed to his charge."

—The first printing press set up in New Hampshire, was at Portsmouth, by Samuel Fowle, Esq., of Boston, in 1755. He began the publication of the *New Hampshire Gazette*, which purported to contain "the freshest advices, foreign and domestic," and which bore for a heading a cut of a crow and a fox. Fowle having several type-metal cuts, which had been engraved for an Edition of *Aesop's Fables*, and thinking there should be something ornamental in the title of his *Gazette*, and finding no artist to engrave anything appropriate, introduced one of these cuts designed for the fable of the crow and the fox.

—Among the relics of the revolutionary times brought to light by the demolition of the old "Washington House," in Stamford, Connecticut, is the following letter from Benedict Arnold to General Washington:

"NEW YORK, March 7th, 1778.

"SIR, I take this opportunity to inform your Excellency that I consider myself no longer acting under the commission of Congress, their last (here the words were illegible) being my papers at West Point, you, sir, will make such use as you think proper. At the

"same time I beg leave to assure your Excellency that my attachment to the true interest of my country is invariable, and that has ever been the governing rule of my conduct in this unhappy contest.

"I have the honor to be your Excellency's most obedient and most humble servant.

"B. ARNOLD.

"His Excellency GEORGE WASHINGTON."

—There was a curious Boggs & Stubbs case once among the Congregationalists of Connecticut. Rev. Benjamin Pomeroy, D. D. of Hebron, was a decided "New Light," while the magistrates and leading men of the Colony were "Old Lights," and the General Assembly enacted a severe law designed to check what they conceived to be gross irregularities. One of these "irregularities" was the rambling evangelistic preaching of men who felt bound to go about doing good. On one occasion, Doctor Pomeroy went to Colchester to preach a lecture, as he honestly supposed, with the cordial concurrence of the Rev. Mr. Little, the Minister of the Parish. It turned out, however, that this was a mistake; and on his arrival on the scene, Doctor Pomeroy found his friend in charge of the Parish so unwilling that he should fulfil his appointment, as actually to forbid him the use of his place of worship. As, however, a large number had collected, expecting the service, Doctor Pomeroy, being unwilling that they should be disappointed, invited them into a neighboring grove, where he preached to them, in the face of the prohibition of Mr. Little. The consequence was, that the law was put in force upon him, and—it reads strangely now—he was deprived of his stated salary for a period of seven years, in penalty. This was in 1742. Doctor Pomeroy was one of the original Trustees of Dartmouth College.

XII.—NOTES.

THE OLD TOWN OF DETROIT.—A few months since, when making some inquiries, with another object, in the archives of one of the Government Departments of France, I found a very large map, drawn with a pen and colored, of the Strait of Detroit, and the settlements upon it. The title of the map is as follows:

Plan topographique du Détroit et des eaux qui forment la jonction du lac Érié avec le lac St. Clair, dressée pour l'intelligence des voyages du Général Collot dans cette partie du continent en 1796.

All the land grants are laid down with the utmost minuteness. Unbroken lines of settlement extend on the West side, as far up as Lake St.

Clair, and on the East, as far down as the middle of Turkey Island. But the most interesting feature of the map is a sketch in water colors, of the old town of Detroit. I caused a fac-simile to be made of it, and have it now before me. It is about fourteen inches long and eight wide. The appearance of the town, as seen from the river, is perfectly represented; the small French houses, surrounded by a stockade; on the right, the commanding officer's garden, the officers' mess-house, and, further back, the church; on the left, the magazine and barracks. A vessel is anchored in the river, and a sail-boat and an Indian canoe are gliding down with the stream.

On comparing this picture with the fac-simile of a plan of the town and fortifications of Detroit, preserved in the office of the City Clerk of modern Detroit, and made in 1816, by P. Smith, to represent the condition of the place at a period twenty years earlier, I find some differences, but on the whole, a sufficient correspondence. The plan serves to explain the picture, and indicates very well the nature of the buildings represented in it. The tall palisade which surrounded the town at the time of the Pontiac War, seems to have given place, when the picture was made, to a lower one.

General Victor Collot, by whom or for whom this map and picture were made, is the author of a book called *Voyage dans le nord de l'Amérique en 1796*, describing the valley of the Mississippi, with remarks on the country from a political, military, and economical point of view. An English translation was published in 1826.

BOSTON.

FRANCIS PARKMAN.

THE "APRIL 11TH," OR YORKTOWN, NOTES.—To persons formerly having a complete set of the issues of the Notes of the Continental Congress, the series of Notes issued on the eleventh of April, 1778, and consisting of four dollars, five dollars, six dollars, seven dollars, eight dollars, twenty dollars, thirty dollars, and forty dollars, next to these are those of the twentieth of May, 1777, consisting of two dollars, three dollars, four dollars, five dollars, six dollars, seven dollars, eight dollars, and thirty dollars; and the long note of twenty dollars of the tenth of May, 1775, which on account of its peculiar shape, generally occurs broken in two and was probably oftener destroyed. The following, which we copy from the original manuscript, explains the scarcity of the two series:

"RESOLVED, That the following Bills be taken out of circulation, namely the whole Emissions of May 20th, 1777 & the 11th April 1778. That they be brought in for that purpose, in the manner hereafter provided, by the first day of

"June next, and not afterwards redeemable.

"That they be received for Debts and Taxes into the Continental Treasury and into the State Treasury for Continental Taxes, untill the first day of June next.

"That they be received until the first day of June next into the Continental Loan Office, either on Loan or to be Exchanged, at the Election of the Owners, for other Bills of the like Tenor to be provided for that Purpose.

"That the Bills lodged in the said offices to be so exchanged, be there registered and indented Certificates thereof, given to the Owners by the respective Commissioners of the said Offices.

"That the Commissioners of the Loan Offices make returns to the Treasury Board immediately after the first day of June next, of the Amount of the Bills received into their respective Offices, to be exchanged as aforesaid, and that proper bills to exchange the same be furnished and ready to be delivered out at their said offices within 60 days from and after the said first day of June.

"That the first mentioned Bills as they are brought into the Treasury and Loan Offices be immediately crossed and struck through with a circular Punch of one inch diameter, to be afterwards examined and burned, as Congress shall direct."

NEW YORK CITY.

T. B. M.

A RETURN OF CAPTAIN CUSHING'S COMPANY FOR MAY 8, 1780. FIFTY-ONE MEN.

* Perez Cushing.—CAPT.	
* Paul Revere.—CAPT. LIEUT.	
* W ^m Gordon.—1 st LIEUT.	
* Andrew McIntyer.—2 ^d Lt.	
* John Griffith,	} SERGTS.
* Sam ^l Rawson,	
* Thomas Kench,	
* Nehem ^h Joy,	
* W ^m Merriam,	} CORPORALS.
* Caleb Leach,	
* Lolo Burges,	
* Benja Nash,	
* James McMillian,	} BOMB'DOS.
* Tho ^s Atcherson,	
* George Tate,	} GUNNERS.
* Elias Fisher,	
* Zach ^h Bostwick,	
* George Wilbour,	
* Jon ^h Harvey,	
John Prentice,	
* Jn ^o Gyer,	
* Eben ^r Hollis,	
* Jacob Bull,	
* W ^m Newland,	
* Jn ^o Adams,	

- * Jn° Spooner Barrett.—DRUMER.

* Marrell Ellis.—FIFER.

* Benja Tirrell.—MATROSSES.

* Hector McFarling,

* Thos Seymore,

* Jn° Flackner,

* Elnathan Crapoo,

James Thomas,

* William Kettly,

* Jn° Beam.

* Simeon Ward,

* Rich^d Merridith,

* W^m Sadler,

* Isaac Solindine,

* Jn° Brown,

* Alex^r Emes,

* Tho^s Greenway,

Jn° Barker,

Jn° McKinzey,

* Jacob Smith,

* Jn° McConwell,

* James Cushing,

* W^m Griffiths,

* Josiah Harris,

* Benja Brown,

* Elisha Hunts.
- PEREZ CUSHING, Captain.

In this little roster of patriots, some Boston Genealogists may discover the Rudolph of Hapsburg of a thrifty family, in which event this little waif will have done good service. The Company was of Artillery, and was stationed on the Heights of Dorchester, when the British left Boston. It contains the name of Paul Revere, and shows that he was present on this particular eighth day of May, while James Thomas, and the three Johns, Barker, McKinzey, and Prentice, seem to have been otherwise occupied at the time of roll-call.

NEW YORK CITY.

T. B. M.

EXTRACT FROM AN OBITUARY RECORD IN NORRIDGEWOCK, IN THE COUNTY OF SOMERSET, MAINE, FROM 1832 TO 1867, 35 YEARS.

Year.	No. Died	Under 10.	Over 10 under 80.	Over 80.	Average age.	Ratio per census.	Remarks.
1832	12	4	6	2	not known.	1 to 144	
1833	14	5	8	1	do.	1 to 121	
1834	10	2	7	1		1 to 171	
1835	6	1	5	0		1 to 285	The highest grade of health, in 1835, one to 285.
1836	7	2	4	1		1 to 244	
1837	13	6	7	0		1 to 131	
1838	31	13	17	1		1 to 55	Mrs. Adams died in 1811, aged 105.
1839	16	2	8	0		1 to 171	Amos Adams, 98, her son.
1840	11	4	7	0		1 to 169	Amos Adams, 92, his son, 1859.
1841	13	4	9	0		1 to 143	
1842	19	7	10	2		1 to 97	
1843	20	5	12	3		1 to 92	
1844	28	6	10	4		1 to 60	
1845	17	6	11	0		1 to 109	
1846	24	11	20	3		1 to 54	
1847	22	6	13	1		1 to 83	
1848	20	4	15	1		1 to 92	
1849	21	5	16	0	37	1 to 88	
1850	20	3	12	5	48	1 to 92	One aged 100 years 9 months.
1851	17	5	11	1	37½	1 to 108	
1852	18	1	12	5	63	1 to 100	One 89, one 93, one 91, two 87.
1853	27	2	18	7	45	1 to 70	In 1853, two over 90, one 86, one 85.
1854	32	5	26	1	41	1 to 58	In 1854, one 89.
1855	14	2	11	1	40	1 to 132	In 1855, one 86.
1856	15	0	12	3	50½	1 to 124	In 1856, 88, 82 and 80.
1857	28	4	20	4	38	1 to 65	In 1857, 82 and 81.
1858	33	8	20	5	43	1 to 55	In 1858, 96, 86, 86, 85, 80.
1859	32	1	26	5	55	1 to 58	In 1859, 92, 84, 83, 80, 80.
1860	20	5	15	0	32	1 to 94	In 1860, none over 80.
1861	22	7	14	1	52	1 to 91	In 1861, one 89.
1862	50	19	27	4	21	1 to 38	In 1862, 92 years 9 months, 88, 82, and 90.
1863	32	7	25	0	30	1 to 58	None over 80.
1864	28	9	18	1	28	1 to 65	One 88.
1865	25	1	21	3	49	1 to 76	Two 80.
1866	23	8	20	3	43	1 to 86	One 93, 92, 84.
1867	31	9	20	2	38	1 to 61	One 88, 87, 82.

NORRIDGEWOCK, ME.

WILLIAM ALLEN.

XIII.—QUERIES.

WHO WROTE THE SONG OF JOHN BROWN?—Of all the Songs and Battle Hymns produced during the Rebellion, this was incomparably the most inspiring. Although possessing no great poetical merit, it was sung by millions, both in the camp and at the old homes of the soldiers. On the marches of the Union troops through the northern cities, for "the front," frequently a few of the best singers would lead off, while the whole Regiment took up the refrain, with such effect as to stir up, like a trumpet, the blood of the most apathetic, equal to the "Marseillaise" during the French Revolution. When a Brigade of two thousand picked colored troops entered Richmond on the morning of its capture, they marched up the main street to the Capitol, to this tune, the whole Brigade making the welkin ring with the chorus of the "marching on" of the soul of John Brown. Taken altogether, the scenes and associations of that hour, the burning city, the ringing chorus of the troops, and the evident close of the Rebellion, excited feelings that can never be forgotten. The authors of both the words and the music of this famous song, should be generally known. R.

WASHINGTON'S BIRTHPLACE.--What evidence is there that Washington was, *by birth*, a Virginian? What evidence is there that, *by birth*, he was an Englishman? I ask these questions for no idle purpose; but because I have heard from those who are not accustomed to romance, *first*, that he was not a Virginian, by birth, and, *secondly*, that he was an Englishman.

BRONXVILLE, N. Y.

DICK.

THE EARLY GRADUATES OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY.—The venerable Librarian of the University, in a recently issued Circular, proposes to publish a volume of biographical sketches of the first two hundred and twenty-five graduates of the Academic Department of the University, urging as a reason for the proposed publication, that "*they originated or urged forward the ideas and principles on which our Government now rests, and which in their expansion are agitating the world and ameliorating the condition of mankind.*"

As the author of these remarks is a Clergyman, a historian, and a gentleman, and as he has access to the finest collection of material in existence, illustrative of his subject, he has probable ground for his opinion; but there are some, who are not thus favored, who would like to see some evidence of all this assertion, one of whom is

BRONXVILLE, N. Y.

DICK.

XIV.—REPLIES.

AMEDA. (*H. M.*, II, vii., 129.)—In THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE for February, the authority of Hakluyt is cited to show that the tree called *Amedea* or *Annedida*, reported to have cured Cartier's followers of the scurvy, was the Sassafras. Hakluyt had no information, except that derived from Cartier's narrative. He apparently conjectures the tree to have been the Sassafras, because, in his time, the Sassafras was supposed to have curative properties. It is certain, however, that the tree was an evergreen, as the Frenchmen are said to have made a decoction of its leaves, in the month of December, when the Sassafras, a deciduous tree, is without leaves. Cartier's tree is described as having been as large as an oak. As the Pine, the Hemlock, or the Balsam-fir are not very likely to have been chosen for such a purpose, I am inclined to think, with the Canadian, Faribault, that the Spruce is the tree in question, its leaves having long been used in Canada for making decoctions for sanitary or other uses.

BOSTON, MASS.

F. P.

DID WASHINGTON LEAVE ANY CHILDREN?—(*H. M.*, II, vii., 127.—I don't know how far it may be worth while to excite discussion on the subject of General Washington's leaving any descendants, as hinted at in Theodore Parker's Lecture. The subject, of course, is not susceptible of direct proof; but if the following circumstances throw any light on the subject, they are submitted to your discretion. In the early part of this century, many families from Eastern Virginia settled in Southern Indiana, along the Ohio-river, below Louisville. Among them was a gentleman of noble appearance, tall, and the exact counterpart of Washington. The old emigrants who came out with him, always declared that he was the son of Washington. He naturally rose to the surface of society, and acquired an influential position in public affairs, having been a United States Senator, in 1812-13, and, afterwards, Governor of Indiana Territory for three years, as successor to General Harrison. His biography was written a few years ago by his son-in-law, who, instead of particularizing his ancestry, merely says, he was born "of respectable parentage, on the banks of the Potomac, July 9, 1750." (Washington was then eighteen years old; married in 1759.) His biographer adds, "his personal appearance, both as to form and features, was so attractive as to be a subject of remark wherever he was known." He was appointed by Washington to a high command in General Wayne's army, which gave the final blow to the power of the

Indians in the West, in 1794. He left a son and daughter, both deceased, the former never married.

While on this subject, I will add, that George W. P. Custis, the step-grandson of Washington, has numerous children in Washington City, of the "mulatto persuasion," by slave mothers, some of whom have held subordinate positions in the Departments, for years. They are persons of excellent character, and take an active part in municipal and educational affairs.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

R.

BATTLE OF QUEENSTOWN. (*H. M.* II., vii., 133.)—Your correspondent will find a very full and fair account of the Battle of Queenstown, in Lossing's *History of the War of 1812*, with references to almost every writer that has described it.

R.

SHERIDAN'S RIDE. (*H. M.*, I. vi., 362.)—It is said that Wharton boasted that by his Lillibullero he sang James II. off his throne and out of England; and it is certainly true that T. Buchanan Read, by his dashing poems, made the popular reputation of Sheridan—not his reputation as regards military men, for that Sheridan made for himself, by his gallantry, dash, appreciation of topography, or perception of the advantages of ground and many other great qualities which go to make up a grand soldier and captain. Sheridan has a sufficiency of laurels, honestly won, not to wish to pluck a single one from the brows of a subordinate, Wright, of the Sixth Corps, who does not wear one-tenth of the coronals to which he is entitled.* This will be referred to in another article, although it is as well to state here, that Wright's record is a very fine one, particularly from the date of the passage of the Rapidan, on the fifth of May, 1864, down to the final surrender of Lee, to which he, in no slight degree, contributed. If there is any truth in the representation of the dangerous situation of our right, on the sixth of May, 1864, its re-establishment in a new and better line and the retrieval of affairs in that quarter were due to Wright. The victory at Winchester was in no small degree his; at Fisher's-hill "it is said Wright alone, of all Sheridan's Lieutenants, regarded the project "fixed upon as feasible;"† and on Sunday, the second of April, 1865, Wright's bursting on and cleaning out the Rebel lines, on his front,

settled the question as to Lee's inability to hang on, any longer, to Petersburg.

The disaster at Cedar-creek is in no wise attributable to General Wright, who was left in command of the Army of the Shenandoah, while Sheridan went to Washington to consult with Stanton, Halleck, and the military authorities at the capital, in regard to detaching a portion of his command to reinforce Grant, and the disposition of the remainder of his troops for the future protection of the valley. It is very questionable if all the military authorities were not of the opinion, that Early's force had been so effectually disposed of in the battle of Fisher's-hill, that no farther aggressive movement of importance was to be apprehended from it.

Before leaving his army, Sheridan posted it, so that if there was any error in the selection of the position, that does not rest upon Wright. Moreover, Wright is not chargeable with any of the blame of the surprise by Early. He had urged a thorough reconnoissance of the country in front. This was made, but did not satisfy him. His soldierly instincts told him that the reconnoissance had only been partial and restricted, not extensive and thorough. He ordered two others, which were to start out the very morning that Early burst in upon the Union camps.*

Although Sheridan's army comprised a great many first-class veteran troops, it likewise contained a large number of fresh recruits who were soldiers in nothing but the possession of the name, the uniform, a musket and accoutrements, and personal courage. The writer had two young men in his employment, one of whom copied this very article, who, tempted to enlist by the heavy bounty offered in the Summer of 1864, were mustered in on the ninth of September; joined their Regiment—the One Hundred and Twenty-eighth New York Volunteers—on the night of the seventeenth of October; and, although they had only been drilled a few times, were out on picket, on the morning of the nineteenth, when Early surprised the Union troops. What comprehension of their duty, as outposts, could be expected of young men, however desirous of performing honest service, who had only been nominal soldiers a little over a month, and had only had arms in their hands for a few days? One of the party, from the same neighborhood, who was detailed for picket duty on this occasion, could not go because he had not actually as yet received a musket. Such was the composition of a portion of the picket line, thrown out to guard our army against the at-

* Consult Cullum's *Biographical Register*, etc. II. §1060, pages 5-6.

† Walker's *Vermont Brigade in the Shenandoah Valley*, Burlington, Vermont, 1869. P. 113. Examine this work thoroughly, as it endeavors to do justice to Wright, pages 16, 17, 23, 29, 30, 35, 36, 40, 41, 54, 74, 113, 116, 123, 133, 146, 149, 156, 185, 186, 190.

* See HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, II., vi., 279—November, 1869—for Wright's Report of the Battle of Cedar-creek, in regard to these reconnoissances.

tack of a vigilant and enterprising army of veterans, commanded by bold and experienced Generals, especially that John B. Gordon, who shared with the fiery little Mahone, the last glories of the Army of Northern Virginia. He it was, it is said, who devised this attack; although due credit must be given to Early for accepting his plan and carrying it into execution.

As is well known, Early's surprise was complete. Our troops upon the left, in fact, half the Army streamed to the rear, some in rout, some in confusion, all trying to escape what seemed an irreparable disaster.

Meanwhile, Wright, although he had fallen back from one and a half to two miles beyond Middletown, and from six to seven miles from the position in which the Union Army had been surprised, had neither lost heart nor head. There he reorganized his forces, got his troops well in hand, and assumed a strong position; first to arrest any further aggressive movement of the rebels; second, to begin a counter-aggression and win back all that they had won. This was from ten to eleven, A. M.

The same night that Early was crossing the mountains, under cover of the fog, to surprise his, the Union, Army, Sheridan was sleeping at Winchester, which was from eighteen to twenty miles away from it. He had returned thither, thus far, from Washington, and was accompanied by two engineer officers—Brevet Brigadier-general (then Colonel) George Thom, (Cullum's *Biographical Register*, 1,575, § 992.) and Brevet Brigadier-general (then Major) Barton S. Alexander (*Ibid.*, 242, § 1,117.)—who had been sent back with him: the first to make a reconnoissance of the Shenandoah-valley; the second as consulting Engineer to the Army operating in that valley. Sheridan, Thom, Alexander, James W. Forsyth (Brevet Brigadier-general, then Colonel and Chief-of-staff to Sheridan—*Ibid.*, 2,434, § 1,738.) with an escort, started out, after breakfast, on the morning of the nineteenth of October, to join the Army at Cedar-creek. Thom and Alexander, if not the whole party, were mounted on horses which they obtained from the Quarter-master at Winchester. They had ridden about four miles, as far as Kerns or Kerrtown, when they began to meet stragglers from the battle-field, but not in any number. About four miles further on, they encountered a disordered train, including Sheridan's headquarter wagons, whipping to the rear, and a flood of fugitives. Thus about eight miles had been passed over, leaving only four miles more between this point and the position Wright had already assumed, *i. e.*, that to which he had fallen back to reorganize and get ready to renew the battle. These few lines convert into matter-of-fact prose the first five graphic but simple

imaginary verses of Reed's beautiful poem.*

At this point, Sheridan quitted the party and rode ahead with a few troopers. He left Thom, Alexander and Forsyth, with the rest of his escort, to stop the flight, turn back the runaways, and restore something like order. These officers deployed the escort about ten paces apart, something like a closed-up chain of pickets or videttes across the plain, constituting the valley proper; and, by determination and severity, stopped the flood of fleeing men, then and there. They used their swords and sabres without much compunction; and Forsyth, seeing a wagon loaded with skulkers or malingerers, thrust his sword through the canvas cover into the pile of living bodies within.

Sheridan, as stated, rode on ahead alone, or with only a few Cavalry-men of his escort. He did not stop to rally the crowd. He left that to the officers above mentioned, who had thus far accompanied him. He did not carry on with him, back to the field, a stream of enthusiastic men, infused with new courage and renewed in vigor by his influence. He simply joined General Wright, all ready to go in, without adding any reinforcement except his own right good will and effective presence. Wright, badly wounded, "bleeding like an ox," and covered with blood, received Sheridan with a remark to the effect that they were "all ready to go ahead," and would lick Early out of his boots." This idea Sheridan endorsed in similar but more emphatic language.†

This again converts into plain prose the last two stirring verses of Reed's enthusiastic poetic inspiration.

In regard to the number of men that Early had, there is, it is to be feared, a little exaggeration. A friend of the writer, a loyal West Virginian, a gentleman of veracity, conscripted and forced into the rebel ranks—a man of education, and able to judge—would lead the writer to believe that Early had ten thousand men.‡ This is corroborated by other officers, and tallies, in a measure, with Early's Reports and publication,§ which one of our most esteemed, unprejudiced, and experienced regular officers, a General, said bore the impress of truth.

General ——— had a conversation with a rebel

* *The Boys in Blue, Sheridan's Ride*, by T. Buchanan Read, 125-127.

See Platt on Sheridan's Ride, HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, II., vi., 362, 363—December, 1869.

† Walker's *Vermont Brigade in the Shenandoah Valley*, Chap. xii., Cedar Creek; but particularly pages 148-149, "confirming Wright's dispositions."

‡ See HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, II., vi., 357, 358—December, 1869.

§ *A Memoir of the last year of the War, etc., containing an account of the operations of his command in the years 1864 and 1865.* Lynchburg: 1867.

Surgeon, who was in attendance upon the rebel General Ramseur, who was mortally wounded in the engagement, and died during the night. This Surgeon remarked that "All went well enough with the rebels till they fell to eating and plundering in the captured Union camps;" and he added, in the course of conversation, that he (—) "would be surprised, when the Union officers came to learn the real facts in regard to the scanty force with which Early had made his daring, if not desperate, venture."

This little statement is not made to detract in the slightest measure from the credit due to Sheridan for anything that he did, but simply to vindicate Wright and the truth of history. Wright—one of the ablest of our Generals and most modest of true gentlemen—has never come, and will not suffer himself to be brought, forward, as most officers similarly situated would have done, to enlighten the public as to the real facts of the case—no, not even when the contrary was declaimed or sung, under his very nose, at a recent celebration in Philadelphia, of the Army of the Potomac.

The mention of this fact and friendship for Wright led to the preparation of this article, and an appeal to the generosity and judgment of the public.

ANCHOR.

THE SANDEMANIANS. (*H. M.*, II., vi., 222; vii., 51, 52.)

I.

The society owns a small house of worship here; but there is only a handful who gather there on the Sabbath. Their ordained Elders are both dead; and they are, at present, on that account, imperfectly organized.

They have always been an excellent people; kind to one another; caring for their own poor; and never offensive in their forwardness to declare their opinions.

I have been told that this is the only Sandemanian Church now existing in the United States; but I cannot vouch for the truth of it.

A. L. FRISBIE,

DANBURY, CONN. Pastor of First Church.

II.

THE SANDEMANIANS.—This sect are known in Scotland, as "Glasites," after its founder, Rev. John Glas, the father-in-law of Robert Sandeman, who was only a follower and co-laborer of the former.

They were Independants, in the mode of Church Government; Calvinists, of the strictest class, in their doctrines; and, in their practice, they condemned the union of Church and State; they administer the Lord's Supper,

weekly, as the Campbellites do; they hold "love-feasts," consisting of substantial dinners, at each others houses, at which all are required to be present; they recognize the "kiss of charity," which is given on the admission of a new member and on other occasions; they collect alms for their poor and the support of the Church. Before the administration of the Lord's Supper; they abstain from the use of blood and things strangled, as food; they wash each other's feet; they hold to a community of goods, so far as that every one is to consider all that he has in his possession is liable to the calls of the poor and the Church; and they discountenance the accumulation of property, for future and uncertain use; they do not disapprove innocent amusements; they consider a lot to be sacred, and thus disapprove lotteries and games of chance; they require a plurality of Elders in each Church, and the presence of both in every act of discipline and in the administration of the Lord's Supper; they hold no communion with other denominations; and they absolutely require unanimity in every transaction.

There is remaining only one Church of this denomination, in this country—that at Danbury, Connecticut; and that is understood to be a feeble one.

The curious in such matters may learn more of the Sandemanians and their opponents, by consulting Glas's *Testimony of the King of Martyrs*, Sandeman's *Some thoughts on Christianity* and *Letters on Theron and Aspasio*, Fuller's *Letters on Sandemanism*, Adams's *View of Religion*, etc.

THE CONTEST CONCERNING THE MINT. (*H. M.*, II., vii., 14.)—You are aware that the Act instituting the Mint, April 2, 1792, required, on the coin, simply "an impression emblematical of Liberty." These very general terms seem to give a large "liberty" of device; but, in truth, nothing is harder than to get up a suitable emblem. It has, therefore, been a matter of debate, from that day to this.

It is well known that Washington objected to placing his effigy on the coin; and the prevailing opinion has always concurred with him, in that matter.

JAS. POLLOCK, Director.

U. S. MINT, Phila.

THE FRANKLIN STATUE. (*H. M.*, II., viii., 13, 14.)—The Statue of Doctor Franklin still stands in front of this Library. It was presented by William Bingham, on the fourth of April, 1792.

I find the following Minute in our Records of the offer and acceptance of the Statue:

"At a meeting of the Directors, April 5, 1792:

"A letter from William Bingham, Esq., to the Directors of the Library Company of Philadelphia was read, informing of the arrival of a statue of Dr. Franklin, and requesting their acceptance thereof, and testifying his friendship to the Institution; whereupon, the Secretary was directed to return an answer thereto, informing him of their acceptance of his valuable present, and expressive of their thanks for the same."

LYOYD P. SMITH, Librarian.

LIBRARY CO. OF PHILADELPHIA.

I once saw a negro woman bowing and courtesying to this statue.

THE BOARDMAN FAMILY. (*H. M.*, II., vi., 378.)—Your friend who is looking into the history of this family, may find material on that subject in Mr. Hinman's *Connecticut Settlers*, 261, 262; *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, xv., 224-'6; Savage's *Genealogical Dictionary*, i., 207; Schroeder's *Memorial of Mrs. F. A. Boardman*, 388-415; Captain George H. Preble's unpublished *Genealogical Sketch of the First Three Generations of Prebles in America*, 252; etc.

BROOKVILLE, N. Y.

DICK.

DUANE AND DUANESBURGH, NEW YORK. (*H. M.*, II., v., 336.)—Duanesburgh, in Schenectady-county, was founded by James Duane, a Member of Congress during the Revolution, afterwards Mayor of New York and Judge of the United States Circuit Court in that city. I have seen it stated that he built a Protestant Episcopal Church in Schenectady, at his own expense.

The township of Duane, in Franklin-county, New York, derived its name, as I have always understood, from the fact that he owned the territory of which it is composed. Some of his family were carrying on the mining of iron there, a few years ago.

S. P.

DID DOCTOR FRANKLIN WRITE TWO AUTOBIOGRAPHIES? (*H. M.*, II., v., 336.)—The volume recently edited by Mr. Bigelow shows that there were two manuscripts written by Doctor Franklin, differing slightly. In addition to this, Doctor Franklin's autobiography was translated into French and afterwards re-translated into English. These facts will suffice to

explain any verbal discrepancies in the copies, as published.

PHILADELPHIA.

W.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF CONGRESSIONAL PUBLICATIONS.—"RECHERCHES" is informed that no printed list of the publications of the United States Government exists, that is even approximately complete. The wretched system that has always prevailed of printing Congressional Documents for hap-hazard distribution, and the careless custody of the reserves of public documents, at Washington, has resulted in the fact that no complete set of Government publications exists, anywhere. Two great fires (in 1814 and 1851) destroyed nearly all of these documents that were in the Library of Congress. The present Librarian, we understand, would long since have prepared and printed a full catalogue of public documents, had the materials existed from which to do it. The Library of the House of Representatives has the largest collection of Congressional Documents that exists; but even this is far from being complete, wanting a large part of the early files and nearly all the numerous publications of the Departments and Bureaus of the Government.

As the Government has never printed any list of its publications, and the Documents have always been bound in what may be termed the "conglomerate" style, the difficulties in the way of completing a set of them are formidable, and, in fact, to a man of ordinary time and patience, insurmountable. More than two-thirds of them are "out of print;" and the few second-hand booksellers who buy them, find so little motive to keep them on hand, that they nearly all find a speedy grave in the vaults of the paper-maker.

By the law of February, 1859, the Secretary of the Interior was charged with the custody of the entire reserve of Public Documents; and it was made his duty to receive from the Departments and public offices all which did not belong to some existing library, and to distribute them in pursuance of existing laws. Under this Statute, the books are better protected than formerly; but they are utterly useless to the public. This reserve will serve to supply deficiencies caused by fire, etc., in the Government and State Libraries, and each new Territory has a claim upon it for so much of a set of certain public documents as can be supplied. Two or three times during the War, an attempt was made in Congress to distribute these reserves, by a kind of "grab game," among the members; and a Joint Resolution to that effect actually passed, but the Secretary reported that an equal distribution was entirely impracticable, and the attempt failed.

How much better it would be to have all Government Documents sold at cost, to those who

want them, by printed price-lists, thus supplying legitimate demands and utilising the information they contain, instead of making a foolish gift-book enterprize of our public printing, and loading the mails with costly lumber, which is sold for waste-paper by most of the recipients! This gross waste of the public money has long been a public scandal; and the present Congress should reform it.

As these Government publications will become of increasing importance with the growth of the historical spirit in the country, it may prove interesting to indicate what sources of information exist as to their nature and extent.

1. The revised edition of *The Constitution of the United States*, by W. Hickey, contains a valuable and nearly accurate list of the several classes of publications issued in connection with Governmental affairs of the United States, from 1789 to 1850. Without giving any details of the long and intricate sets of public documents, of a miscellaneous character, issued at each Session of Congress, it supplies a useful outline of the scope of various special publications; and gives a list of the (very imperfect) indexes to Executive Documents, which have been printed, from time to time. This table will be found on pp. 452-471 of the Edition of 1851, of Hickey's *Constitution*.

2. The completest index to the Public Documents of the United States which has appeared in print, is in the *Index to the Catalogue of Books in the Bates Hall of the Public Library of Boston*, issued in 1865. It is arranged topically, in one alphabet, and covers the period from 1823 to 1859. It is preceded by a list of Congressional Documents, in that library, from the first Congress (1789) to the 25th (1858). This, however, is not complete, as neither the Boston Library nor any other has a full set of all Documents published. The Alphabetical Index of Subjects, moreover, is not exhaustive, but a selection from the mass. Still, both these Catalogues are of great value to all seeking information in one of the obscurest and most intricate problems in modern Bibliography.

THE PILGRIM FATHERS. (*H. M.*, II., vii., 56.) —In the last January number of the *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, "E. D. N." heads an article "*Plymouth Puritans*," in which he takes to task Benjamin Scott, Chamberlain of London, for having "in 1856, before the Friends' Institute of that City, supported the historical proposition, 'that the *Pilgrim Fathers* were not *Puritans*, 'but Separatists;'" he charges Mr. Scott and Doctor Waddington, who endorses the proposition, with *ignorance* on the subject; and he quotes King James I. in proof of that ignorance.

This certainly is drawing rather liberally upon

the credulity of the readers of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, to introduce such a witness to invalidate the historical knowledge of so erudite a writer as Benjamin Scott, or to overthrow the profound scholarship of Doctor Waddington. Hitherto, no historian has presumed to quote James I. as credible authority in matters of historical fact. It has been left to the Historian of Minnesota to introduce an historical witness of whom his biographer writes, "James, notwithstanding all his boasted learning, *was defective in history*, the knowledge of which is most necessary for princes. He had so little skill in this, that he knew not the state and condition of so near a country to him as Denmark; nor was he acquainted with the rank the Kings of it bore in Christendom. . . . 'Tis amazing that any one of James's elevated station should be so *grossly ignorant*." Burnet tells us he "was become the scorn of the age; and while hungry writers flatter him out of measure at home, he was despised by all abroad as a pedant without judgment." Lord Bolingbroke observes of him, "He passed for a weak prince and an ill man, and fell into all the contempt, wherein his memory remains to this day." The Abbe Raynal says of him, "when he wanted to be good he was only weak; a divine and he was only a fanatic; a philosopher and he was only extravagant; a doctor and *he was only a pedant*." Sir Anthony Weldon asserts of him, "wise in small things but a fool in weighty affairs." Lingard closes his history of James I. thus: "posterity has agreed to consider him as a weak and prodigal King, *a vain and leacious pedant*." Yet James I. is the only witness E. D. N. brings forward to prove the ignorance of Scott and Waddington.

Those who take an interest in the history of the Pilgrim Fathers, will do well to first read the Lecture of Benjamin Scott, which may be found in the *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE* for 1867, Second Series, Vol. I., page 261; they will then be better able to judge whether the research of the learned lecturer and the reliable authorities he adduces are to be ignored by the *Basilicon Doron* of James I., which Harris says "contains some tolerable things, but intermixed with strange passages; those relating to the Clergy, *whom he opprobriously terms Puritans*."

Doctor Balanqual, Chaplain to James I. and a bitter enemy to all Non-Conformists, is said to have written a portion at least of the *Basilicon Doron*; and it is not improbable he wrote that portion referred to by E. D. N., by which he proposes to establish the ignorance of Scott and Waddington. The learned critic, Gataker, seems to have entertained the opinion that James was not the author of *Basilicon Doron*. He says, "King James, a prince of more policy than pui-

"since . . . penned, or *owned at least*, a book entitled *Battle on Doran*, which whoso shall advisedly read . . . may easily deserv a designation carried all along in it, to ingratiate himself with the *Papish side* . . . bitterly expressed himself in high terms against the *poor Puritans*. Howbeit . . . he prefixed a preface to his book, then reprinted, *wherein on his behalf he protesteth, that by the name of Puritans he meant not all preachers in general, or others that misled the ceremonies, as badges of Popery*, and the episcopacie, as smelling of a papal supremacy"—thus disclaiming and repudiating in the *reprint* of his book, the poor authority upon which E. D. N. rests to invalidate the historical proposition, that the Pilgrim Fathers were not Puritans but Separatists."

The bearing of the tractate of James I. against Vorstius is not apparent, as Mr. Scott does not discuss the origin of the term "Puritan." Harris says "This declaration of James against Vorstius was held in small account."

No one believes (except E. D. N.) the Puritans "*borrowed their name*," as asserted by James, from the "*Puritanes*." Historians agree that the name of Puritan was given the sect, *in contempt*, by their enemies, to cast odium upon them, as the adversaries of the Friends gave them the name of Quaker, in derision.

The Lecture of Mr. Scott has been in print, both in England and America, for some three or four years, and no attempt (save the abortive one of E. D. N.) has been made on either side the Atlantic to controvert what he affirmed in his discourse. We occasionally have a discourse on Forefathers-day or the fourth of July, from some zealous Puritan, in which the Pilgrim Fathers are placed in the front rank of the sect and glorified as *Puritans*, while little is said of the *real Puritans of New England*.

CLEVELAND, OHIO.

M. B. S.

THE DEATH OF COLONEL DAHLGREN. (*H. M.*, II., vi., 361.) * * * In compliance with your request, and solely because it seems to be an unprejudiced one, I transmit my recollections of Colonel Dahlgren's raid, that they may be placed within the reach of those "who respect the truth for its own sake."

February, 1864, found General Lee's Army wintering along the line of the Rapidan, in Orange-county, Virginia. General Meade's opposing Army were in winter quarters, in Culpepper-county, on the line of the Rappahannock.

During the latter part of that month, General Kilpatrick, a Cavalry Division Commander of the latter, essayed a *coup de main* upon Richmond, the "objective point" of his Command-

er-in-Chief. Colonel Dahlgren was a subordinate officer, on that expedition. Kilpatrick's idea was, secretly leaving his Army, to clear General Lee's right flank well, and, by a forced march, with picked men and horses, appear before the western defences of Richmond, and enter its back door without even knocking. Combined with his movement, was a diversion made by General Custer around General Lee's left flank, which drew after it, as was intended, what Cavalry General Lee had at that time with his Army.

Kilpatrick's route and the progress made on it were known in Richmond, so that when he arrived at the outer line of defences, quite a number of people were there to welcome him. I was in the city at the time, in person only, (a portion of my Cavalry being with the Army, and a portion off, wintering in the interior of the State, where forage was more abundant,) and rode out to the line of fortifications, witnessing Kilpatrick's departure after a brief stay, and a few shots fired from his artillery. There was no Cavalry to pursue him with; and his return march, as far as I know, was unmolested.

Colonel Ulric Dahlgren's command was detached from the main body under Kilpatrick, with the intention, it was presumed, of crossing James-river, some distance above Richmond; releasing the Federal prisoners at Belle Isle; and, by entering Richmond from the South or Petersburg side, form again a junction with Kilpatrick. James-river was high; and, without attempting its passage, Colonel Dahlgren moved down its North bank, doubtless with the expectation of finding and uniting with Kilpatrick in Richmond. The latter, however, had left him, and his small force to take care of themselves. It resolved itself then into a case of *saure qui peut*. Dividing into smaller parties, to facilitate their escape, Dahlgren, at the head of one of them, attempted to return through King and Queen-county, but was killed, as far as I know and believe, at the point and in the manner described in the minute statement of Edward W. Halbach, of Stevensville, in that County. His statement can be found upon page 504 in the *Lost Cause*.

I was still in Richmond, when, on the second morning after Colonel Dahlgren's death, Lieutenant James Pollard of the Ninth Virginia Cavalry, brought me some papers and an artificial leg, which he said had been taken from the body of one of the officers of the enemy named Dahlgren, and who had been killed in King and Queen-county. Pollard was one of my officers, accidentally in that vicinity at the time, and hence brought the papers first to me. Upon ascertaining their contents, I immediately took them to Mr. Davis. Admitted to his private office, I found no one but Mr. Benjamin, a mem-

ber of his Cabinet, with him. The papers were handed him, and he read them aloud in our presence, making no comment save a laughing remark, when he came to the sentence, "Jeff Davis and Cabinet must be killed on the spot," "That means you, Mr. Benjamin." By Mr. Davis's direction, I then carried them to General Cooper, the Adjutant-general of the Army, to be filed in his office. I never saw them but once afterwards, when I took them out of the Adjutant-general's office, to see if copies of them, which had appeared in the Richmond papers, were correct, and immediately returned them again. The artificial leg was given to some Army Surgeons, to be used as a model. Colonel Dahlgren's body was brought to Richmond, and buried, I heard, somewhere near the York-river Railroad Depot; but by whom or by whose order I don't know, nor have I ever heard anything more about it.

And now to sum up—It is the universal belief of the Southern people, that when General Kilpatrick and Colonel Dahlgren attempted their *coup de main* upon Richmond, in 1864, it was done with a view, whilst holding the city temporarily, to release the Federal prisoners; to "destroy and burn the hateful city;" and to "kill Jeff Davis and Cabinet on the spot." Richmond, at that time, was filled with refugee ladies and children, whose husbands and parents were away in the armies; and the South was naturally filled with indignation at the exposé of the object of the expedition. To use a trite expression—Put the shoe on the *other* foot—Let the North imagine General Early's body to be found in the vicinity of Washington, when his forces retired from there in July of the same year, with orders upon it, to his troops, to "destroy and burn the hateful city," "kill Abe Lincoln" and "Cabinet on the spot"—"exhorting" long pent-up prisoners, with long pent-up revengeful feelings, to do it. I ask, would his remains be taken up tenderly and interred in the Congressional Burying Ground and his memory be cherished as a "murdered martyred hero?" The best men of the North, now, in their cooler moments, may try to disabuse their minds of such an idea; but *it is a fact* that any officer who could, at that time, have informed the Northern public that he had captured and destroyed Richmond and killed "Jeff Davis and Cabinet on the spot," the Presidency of the United States would have been but meagre compensation for him, in the hearts of the masses of the people.

Personally, as a man educated to be a soldier, I deplore Colonel Ulric Dahlgren's sad fate. He was a young man, full of hope, of undoubted pluck, and inspired with hatred of "rebels." Fired by ambition and longing to be at the head of "the braves who swept through the city of

"Richmond," his courage and enthusiasm overflowed, and his naturally generous feelings were drowned. His memoranda and address to his troops were probably based upon the general instructions to the *whole* command.

The conception of the Expedition, I have heard, since the War, originated in General Kilpatrick's brain. It furnishes the best specimen of Cavalry marching, upon the Federal side, I know of during the War, for great celerity with proper relief to men and horses; but it showed upon the part of somebody, a most culpable want of knowledge of data upon which to base such a movement. I know *no time* during the War, when Richmond, with its admirable circumvallating defences, forewarned or not, could have been taken by a *Division of Cavalry*.

Accompanying this you will find a correct copy of the memoranda found upon Colonel Dahlgren's body, and a copy of my letter to General Cooper, transmitting his note-book. A *true* copy of the original of his Address to his troop can be found upon page 502 of the *Lost Cause*.

I have only to add, in conclusion, that what appeared in the Richmond papers of that period, as the "Dahlgren papers," was correctly taken from the papers I carried in person to Mr. Davis; and that those papers were not added to or changed in the minutest particular, before they came into my possession, as far as I know and believe, and that, from all the facts in my possession, I have every reason to believe they were taken from the body of Colonel Ulric Dahlgren, and came to me without any alteration of any kind.

I am, Sir, very respectfully,
Your Obedient Servant,
FITZHUGH LEE.

[MEMORANDA OF DAHLGREN, AS PUBLISHED IN *Richmond Examiner*, APRIL 1, 1864, AND REFERRED TO IN PRECEDING NOTE OF GENERAL LEE.]

Pleasanton will govern details.

Will have details from other Commands, (four thousand).

Michigan men have started.

Col. I. H. Devereux has torpedoes.

Hanover Junction (B. T. Johnson).

Maryland Line.

(Here follows a statement of the composition and numbers of Johnson's Command.)

Chapin's Farm—7 miles below Richmond.

One Brigade (Hemton's relieved Wise sent to Charleston).

River can be forded half a mile above the City. No works on South side. Hospitals near them. River fordable. Canal can be crossed.

Fifty men to remain on North bank, and keep

in communication if possible. To destroy Mills, Canal, and burn everything of value to the rebels. Seize any large ferry boats and note all crossings in case we have to return that way. Keep us posted of any important movement of the rebels, and, as we approach the city, communicate with us and do not give the alarm before they see us in possession of Belle Isle and the bridge. If engaged there or unsuccessful, they must assist in securing the bridges until we cross. If the ferry boat can be taken and worked, bring it down. Everything that cannot be secured or made use of must be destroyed. Great care must be taken not to be seen or any alarm given. The men must be filed along off the road or along the main bank. When we enter the city the officer must use his discretion as to when to assist in crossing the bridges.

The prisoners once loosed and the bridges crossed, the city must be destroyed, burning the public buildings, &c.

Prisoners to go with party.

Spike the heavy guns outside.

Pioneers must be ready to repair, destroy &c. Turpentine will be provided. The pioneers must be ready to destroy the Richmond bridges, after we have all crossed, and to destroy the rail road near Fredericks Hall (station, artillery &c).

* * * * *

Fifteen men to halt at Belona Arsenal while the column goes on, and destroy it. Have some prisoners. Then rejoin us at Richmond, leaving a portion to watch if anything follows, under a good officer.

Will be notified that Custer may come.

Main column 400.

One hundred men will take the bridge after the Scouts, and dash through the streets and open the way to the front, or if it is open destroy every thing in the way.

While they are on the big bridges, 100 men will take Belle Isle, after the Scouts instructing the prisoners to gut the city. The reserve (200) will see this fairly done and everything over, and then follow, destroying the bridges after them, but not scattering too much, and always having a part well in hand.

Jeff Davis and Cabinet must be killed on the spot.

[LETTER FROM GENERAL FITZHUGH LEE TO ADJUTANT-GENERAL COOPER, ENCLOSING COLONEL DAHLGREN'S NOTE-BOOK.]

HD. QRS. LEE'S DIVISION, CAV. CORPS, A. N. V.
MAR. 31, 1864.

Gen. S. COOPER,

Adjt. & Insp. Genl.

GENERAL,

I have the honor to enclose to you Col. Dahlgren's note book, just sent me by Col. Beale,

Comdg 9th Va. Cavalry. Had I known of its existence, it would have been forwarded with the "papers."

His name and rank is written on the first page with the date (probably) of his purchasing it. The book, amongst other memoranda, contains a rough pencil sketch of his address to his troops, differing somewhat from his pen and ink copy. I embrace this occasion to add, the original papers bore no marks of alteration, nor could they possibly have been changed, except by the courier who brought them to me, which is in the highest degree improbable; and the publication of them in the daily Richmond papers, were exact copies, in every respect, of the original.

Very Respy.

Yr obt sert

FITZ. LEE.

Maj. Gen. Comdg.

XV.—BOOKS.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

(Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HENRY B. DAWSON, MORRISANIA, N. Y.," or to MESSRS. CHARLES SCRIBNER & Co., Booksellers, 654 Broadway, New York City, as shall be most convenient for them.)

A.—PRIVATELY PRINTED BOOKS.

1.—*Records of some of the descendants of John Fuller, Newton, 1644-98.* Compiled from Jackson's *History of Newton*, and other sources. By Samuel C. Clarke. Boston: 1862. Octavo, pp. 16.

John Fuller came to America, it is supposed, in the *Abigail*, Captain Hackwell, in 1635. He settled in Newton, Massachusetts, in 1644; became one of the largest landholders in that town; and died in February, 1698, leaving a widow and several children, among whose descendants were Judge Abraham Fuller of the Middlesex Common Pleas, Mrs. General Hull, and James Freeman Clarke, D.D., of Boston.

This genealogy has not been very minutely extended; nor is it brought down within the present century. It is a very neat little affair; and was printed, exclusively for private circulation, at the expense of the compiler and John McKesson, Esq., of New York, to the last-named of whom we are indebted for the copy now under notice.

2.—*Records of some of the descendants of Richard Hull, New Haven, 1639-1662.* Compiled by Samuel C. Clarke. Boston: 1862. Octavo, pp. 20.

Richard Hulls, a Carpenter by trade, was a Freeman, in Massachusetts, in 1634; removed to New Haven, in 1639; was a Representative in the General Assembly; and died in September, 1662.

Among the descendents of this Richard Hulls,

were Lieutenants Joseph and Samuel Hull of the Revolutionary Army. General William Hull, Commodore Isaac Hull, James Freeman Clarke, D.D., John McKesson—the well-known druggist of New York—Lieutenant-general Joseph Wheeler of the Confederate Army, etc.; and in the neatly-printed volume before us, we have a pretty full record of the various branches of the family, to the present day.

Like the tract last mentioned, this was printed, exclusively for private circulation, at the expense of the compiler and Mr. McKesson, to the latter of whom we are indebted for the copy which is before us.

3.—*The forms of issuing Letters-Patent by the Crown of England*, with some Remarks on the Massachusetts Charter of the 4th of March, 1628—9; A Paper read before the Massachusetts Historical Society, 21st December, 1869, by Charles Deane. Fifty Copies for Private Distribution Reprinted from the Proceedings. Cambridge: John Wilson & Son. 1870. Octavo, pp. 24.

This is a remarkable paper, in view of its origin; and we earnestly thank its learned author for a copy of it.

It opens with a careful description of the formalities with which Letters Patent are created, in England: and having thus laid the foundation, it proceeds to inquire if the Charter of Massachusetts, of the fourth of March, 1628, had been made to conform to the established usage.

In presenting the answer to this portion of the enquiry, Mr. Deane has re-produced the Solicitor-general's Docket, which accompanied the King's Bill and explained, in brief, the nature and contents of the proposed Charter, which was transmitted with it for the King's signature; and he bravely points out, therein, the evidence of the King's intention, concerning the seat of the Colonial Government, when he signed the Charter, and as bravely he disproves much of what has always, hitherto, been said of the transfer of the Government to America, by those, in New England, who have written on that subject.

He next turns to the Patentees, enquiring their opinion of the character of the Charter which they had received; and, with great precision and particularity, he produces the evidence that they, too, supposed that the seat of Government was to remain in England.

Having thus established the fact that the intention of the King in granting and that of the Patentees in accepting this Charter were in exact harmony, Mr. Deane inquires, next, when and through what means the transfer was made to America; and he seems to intimate that John Winthrop had a leading share in this very questionable transaction, and, to that extent, condemns him. He resolutely denies the legality of the transfer; and, what is equally remarkable, he boldly denies that the Charter, when transferred,

was adapted to the purpose for which it was employed, as the organic law of the Colony—maintaining, also, with singular distinctness, that “it ‘became necessary,’ [because of the inadequacy of the Charter, as a Constitution of Government for the Colony,] ‘almost from the first, to assume ‘powers for which no warrant can be found in ‘the instrument itself,’ nor, he might have said, in any other instrument.

We are gratified with this unexpected confirmation, from the bosom of the old and honored Massachusetts Historical Society, of all that we have ever said, concerning the Puritan Fathers of Massachusetts and their Charter, that was in conflict with the current opinions of those men, in Boston; and it is none the less welcome because it comes without having been sent for, a free-will offering on the altar of Truth.

The title-page indicates the number of copies which were printed of this tract and the purpose for which it was thus printed; and the typography is such as is always seen in the handiwork of the Wilsons.

4.—*Contributions to a Grammar of the Muskokee Language*. By D. G. Brinton, M. D. From the Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society. Philadelphia: 1870. Octavo, pp. [9.]

Our respected friend and contributor, Doctor D. G. Brinton, has sent to us a copy of this new *Contribution* from his pen to the literature of the Creek Nation; and we beg his acceptance of our thanks therefor.

The work opens with a series of “Historical Notes,” concerning the Creeks, their locality, their history, their language, and their published literature. Next, follows a description of their alphabet; followed by a series of “Remarks on ‘Buckner's *Muskokee Grammar*,” not much to the credit of the latter; an analysis of the structure of Muskokee Verbs; and one of a sentence in Muskokee compared with the same in Choctaw, showing the similarity of the two.

These ethnological researches are exceedingly interesting; and, sooner or later, they must be productive of important results, notwithstanding the wideness of the field and the scarcity of laborers to cultivate it.

The tract is very neatly printed.

5.—*General Pope's Virginia Campaign of 1862*. Read before the Cincinnati Literary Club, February 5, 1870. By Lewis Este Mills. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. 1870. Octavo, pp. 32.

This pamphlet is an *olla podrida*, compiled from General Pope's Report of his Campaign, from a magazine article prepared to suit a presumed public taste, and from two partizan histories of the times. From the known connection

of the compiler with General Pope, as his Aid-de-camp, it may be regarded as the production of that General himself.

It was read before "The Cincinnati Literary Club;" and the tenor of the compiler is to prove that Pope's was, in plan, a very fine Campaign, but wholly marred, in execution, by certain officers of the Army of the Potomac, who withheld assistance to Pope, "which can be accounted for only upon the theory of cowardice and incompetency, petty jealousy," [of Pope] "or premeditated treason."

The passionate tone of this *ex-parte* statement, to say nothing of its manifest errors, will fail to convince those who read it dispassionately, that its author's account of this "successful and brilliant Virginia Campaign," which "missed brilliancy" for the reasons already stated, is the material of which genuine history is composed—it might be questioned, also, if such an appeal is appropriate while one of the officers who is accused of marring success, is pressing a re-examination of mooted points concerning this Campaign, supported by statements which are diametrically opposite in their import, and with stern demands for justice.

The history of that Campaign is not to be written now, nor by the actors in the events. Results, much desired, were not accomplished, by reason of the failure to deliver orders in time, of not giving sufficient time for their execution, and of other controlling causes; and, instead of casting the blame of his disastrous defeat upon others, General Pope would have followed a good example which Napoleon afforded at Quatre Bras, making the best of his bad fortune and accepting the situation, to improve it.

The tract was not printed for sale; and the beauty of its typography is in keeping with all the issues of its excellent Publishers.

6.—*The Agriculture and Industry of the County of Kennebec, Maine*, with Notes upon its History and Natural History. By Samuel L. Boardman. Augusta: 1867. Octavo, pp. viii., 3—200.

This work is referred to, in this place, notwithstanding it is not a "recent publication," because of its great value, as local history of Maine, and of its extreme rarity, resulting from an awkward blunder in the press-room where it was printed—a plunder which will prevent its very existence from being known to many, even within Maine, unless the knowledge of it shall be borne to them by such notices as this.

The author of it is the excellent Editor of *The Maine Farmer*—one of the best weekly papers in the country—and its pages embody the results of several excursions through the County, made during 1865, '66, and '7, both as a recreation from

office duties and with a view of becoming better acquainted with the agricultural operations and other industrial pursuits of the people; and it is divided into two parts—the first, historical and descriptive, and the last, agricultural and industrial.

In the first of these are successively noticed the History of the County, from the days of the aboriginal possessors to the present day; the Topography of the County, and the History of the several Towns composing it; its Rivers, Lakes, and Ponds; its Geology and Mineralogy; its Birds—by Professor Charles E. Hamlin of Waterville College;—its Climate and Seasons—by Rev. William A. Drew, of Augusta—with which are combined Tables of Winter temperatures, at Gardiner, 1836 to 1864; the rain-fall, at Waterville, monthly, 1850 to 1853; opening and closing of the Kennebec, at Gardiner, 1785 to 1865; mean temperature, monthly, 1837 to 1865, at Gardiner; the extremes and range of temperature, monthly, 1837 to 1865, at Gardiner; and the total moisture, from rain and snow, monthly, 1839 to 1865, at Gardiner; and its early Agriculturists. The second part relates to the Agricultural and Manufacturing interests of the County, in which the author presents not only the existing interests, at the date of the work, but the *history* of each is also presented, with great precision and minuteness.

It will be seen that the plan which the author has followed, in the preparation of this volume, was well-considered and very comprehensive; and his plan was as carefully followed, in its details, as it was carefully selected. It is, therefore, one of the most complete little works, of its class, which we have ever seen; and it will serve, wherever it shall be known, to lighten the labors of many a weary toiler.

It was printed for private distribution, and the edition was intended to number only seventy-five copies; but the clumsy pressman, in printing one of the signatures, counted his paper for only one-third the number; and "twenty-six perfect copies" were all that were delivered to the author—and that number is, therefore, the limit of the edition.

It makes no pretension to typographical beauty; yet it is not less neat in its appearance than many of greater pretensions; and a photograph of the author adds to the interest which attaches to the volume, among the very few personal friends who have been selected to receive it.

7.—*General Fitz John Porter's Reply to Hon. Z. Chandler's Speech in the U. S. Senate, February 21, 1870*: Morristown, N. J.: 1870. Octavo, pp. 20.

We have already expressed our views on what seem to be the facts of General Porter's case, as

far as those facts have been allowed to see the light of day; and we have not seen any reason to change those views to the General's disadvantage.

We have before us a calm and exceedingly able reply to the bitter partizan Speech which the Senator from Michigan pronounced in the case, a few weeks since; but the odds are evidently too great against the General—he is *out*, while his persecutors are *in*, office—and justice in his case, as in many others, will be smothered for partizan purposes. There are too many skeletons in the closets of many of those who are now in authority, to allow the doors of those closets to be opened and the testimony to be exposed, even to correct a wrong, while they can carry the keys and keep the world in ignorance of the truth.

For this reason, General Porter will probably never see the day when his case will be re-opened by those to whom he has recently appealed; yet there may be the greater reason, in this fact, for the speedy publication of a complete exposition of the truth, with the sustaining testimony, by the General himself, in order that the great world may sit in judgment, in the case, and duly punish the real offender, whomsoever he may be.

We earnestly beg him to give us the testimony of the case; and let us see and let the world see wherein General Pope has dragged his shoulder-straps in the dirt and unfitted himself for the society of gentlemen—which he must have done if what seems to be the truth, in this case, is really the truth.

8.—*The National Legend of the Chahta-Muskokee Tribes.* By D. G. Brinton, M. D. Morrisania, N. Y.: 1870. Octavo, pp. 13.

The readers of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE will remember that, in our February number, we presented this subject to their notice, in an elaborate paper from the pen of Doctor Brinton; and in the very handsome tract before us, we have that interesting paper, in a distinct form, for library use.

The edition numbered less than two hundred copies; and it was printed exclusively for private circulation among the friends of the Author and Publisher.

B.—PUBLICATIONS BY SOCIETIES.

9.—*Collections of the New York Historical Society for the year 1869.* Publication Fund Series. New York: Printed for the Society. 1870. Octavo, pp. xv, 560.

Several years since, the Society authorized the establishment of a fund for publishing the historical material which had accumulated in its Library; and the volume before us is the second of that series of publications. It opens with a collection of papers, chiefly from those of the

Earl of Clarendon, relative to the affairs in America, and descriptive of the Colonies there, 1662–1667. They are exceedingly important, as original authority, concerning the origin, progress, and results of the Royal Commission of 1664 and the Colonial policy of Clarendon's Administration. They are from the unpublished treasures of the Bodleian Library, at Oxford, England; and were obtained therefrom by Doctor Moore, the Librarian of the Society, by whom they were placed in the hands of the Committee, for publication in this volume. Next, we find two tracts on the early history of New York—one relating to the destruction of Schenectady; the other is an argument against certain arbitrary measures of the Bellomont Administration in the Colony. Both are interesting to students of New York history. A collection of "Miscellaneous Documents" follows, in which are found an important letter of Lieutenant-governor Colden, on Smith's *History of New York*, and a series of papers respecting Plowden's *New Albion*—both very interesting to those who desire to enter into the niceties of our early history. Then follow three papers respecting the town of East Hampton and Gardiner's Island, and one on Witchcraft in New York—papers which will awaken the spirit of every zealous Long Islander. Lastly, but chiefly, we have the evidence which was collected to vindicate the Territorial Rights and Jurisdiction of New York, to the New Hampshire Grants—a series which will serve to re-kindle all the dormant fires of Vermont's bitterest animosity. An elaborate Index closes the volume.

The contents of this volume are of the greatest importance to those who are engaged in the higher walks of historical investigation, without possessing much interest to any others. They will serve, therefore, rather as material for history than as history itself; and, in consequence, they may be considered as representing an entirely different school of historical literature from that represented by the papers presented in the last volume of the Long Island Society—the latter aiming to be considered as history itself, the former merely as material from which history may be constructed, by a competent hand. The consequence will be, that, for the many, the Long Island volume, notwithstanding all its faults and failings, will be the most acceptable of the two; while to the thoughtful and intelligent few, this volume will be worth more than a shelf-full of the former. Where, however, as in both these cases, the many, rather than the few, are those to whom the Societies respectively appeal for their every-day support, it may be a question as to which of the two volumes is best adapted, in this superficial age, to win the respect and to arrest the fleeting dollars of those in whose hands

that support is; and as that question is a vital one, going even to the prosperity if not to the very existence of the two Societies, we commend it to the thoughtful consideration of those into whose hands the control of those Societies has been cast. There can be no question among scholars, as to the vast superiority of the volume now under consideration: if the greater number into whose hands it has fallen, agrees with us, we shall be agreeably disappointed.

It is published under the provisions of the Publication Fund subscription, for the shareholders of that fund, and is not offered for sale by the Society.

10.—*The First Golden Anniversary in the National Guard. New York, May 18, 1869. Veterans of the National Guard. New York: Francis & Loutrel. 1869. In sixes, pp. 18.*

The Seventh Regiment has a member, Thomas M. Adriance, Esq., yet on duty among its Veterans, who, on the eighteenth of May, 1869, had been an active member for fifty years; and, on that day, he was surprised by his associates in arms, with a testimonial entertainment and the presentation of a badge of membership in the Veteran Corps, which had been especially prepared for the occasion.

It was our good fortune, when a young man, to serve with Mr. Adriance in the Board of Directors of the Mechanics' Institute of New York; and we remember, very distinctly, the remarkable ability which he displayed in every thing pertaining to finances and accounts, the fearlessness with which he resisted wrong-doers and those whose business habits were less methodical than his own, and the unceasing constancy with which his seat was occupied and his duties discharged, whether in minor or important matters. We can understand, therefore, *why* the Veterans so highly respect their veteran Treasurer; and we can understand, too, *why* they expressed their regard in the peculiar manner which they then adopted.

Mr. Adriance has our best wishes for his continued health and happiness, through many years; and we trust that his will continue to be the veneration which eminently belongs to so well-tried and so trusty a citizen-soldier.

The little record is a beautiful little affair, printed exclusively for circulation among the Veterans of the Guard.

11.—*Sixth Annual Report of the Board of Directors, the Librarian, and the Treasurer, presented at the Annual Meeting of the Long Island Historical Society, May, 1869. Brooklyn, L. I.: Printed for the Society. 1869. Octavo, pp. 48.*

The great prosperity which marked the first five years of this young Society's history seems

to have experienced a slight check during the year 1868-9; yet we hope it is only temporary, without affecting or being calculated to affect, seriously, the well-being or the usefulness of the body itself. There is no Society of its class which is more entitled to the warm sympathies of the public, than this; and we shall regret to learn that it has failed to secure them.

12.—*Bulletin of the Essex Institute. Vol. I., Nos. 6-12. Vol. II., Nos. 1, 2. Salem, Mass., May, 1869, to February, 1870. Octavo, pp. (Vol. I.) 129-169; (Vol. II.) 1-34.*

The Essex Institute is engaged in a good work and right well does it perform it.

The tracts before us embrace several numbers of its *Bulletin*; and besides the conclusion of Mr. Upham's paper on the Old Houses in Salem and Reports of the Institute's meetings, they bring to us the Title-page and Index of the first volume and the opening pages of the second.

13.—*Territorial Legislation in Wisconsin. Annual Address before the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Thursday evening, February 4, 1870, by Hon. Moses M. Strong. Published by Order of the Legislature. Madison, Wis.: 1870. Octavo, pp. 40.*

This is an admirable Address, whether considered in its subject or in the mode of its treatment.

The author opens with the organic Act of Congress, under which the Territorial Government was organized; and he traces the progress of legislation, Session after Session, with the skill, directness, and precision of a master, until the termination of the territorial record and the commencement of that of the State.

There is none of the clap-trap in this Address which is too often seen in such papers; and it may usefully serve as a model for many, on either side of the mountains, who aim at great effects, on such occasions, and too often secure only very small ones.

The Address is neatly printed.

14.—*Eulogy pronounced at the funeral of George Peabody, at Peabody, Massachusetts, 8 February, 1870. By Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, LL.D., President of the Peabody Education Fund. Second Edition. 1870. Boston: 1870. Octavo, pp. 26.*

We have received from the distinguished author, a copy of this most eloquent, and yet most appropriate, Address, delivered at the grave of Mr. Peabody, at his final interment.

It is a graceful tribute to the memory of one who was very dear to the speaker and to the country; and it will be widely welcomed, both in Europe and America—wherever, in fact, the peculiar worth and the peculiar intimacy of

Messrs. Peabody and Winthrop are known and honored.

15.—*Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Hobart College*, for the academical year 1869-70. Geneva, N. Y.: 1869. Octavo, pp. 32.

In this College, the four classes number, respectively, fourteen, sixteen, twelve, and seventeen; and there are twenty-one medical students—eighty in all. To "educate" this handful, scarcely as many as there are in many a little country district-school, there are a formidable Faculty of eighteen Professors, extensive Libraries, valuable Museums, costly Observatories and Apparatus, etc., which, it seems to us, might be better employed elsewhere: certainly, it is money poorly expended in Geneva, if Hobart cannot attract stronger Classes than are seen in this Catalogue.

16.—*Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, for December, 1869, January, February, and March, 1870. [Boston: 1870.] Octavo, pp. 159-232.

In the February number of this work, we noticed the new plan adopted by the Massachusetts Historical Society, in the issue of its published *Proceedings* in instalments; and we cannot say more than we then said, in approval of its new system.

In the part now before us, are Mr. Deane's admirable paper on the *Forms used in issuing Letters Patent in England*—referred to, in its separate form, among our notices of "Privately-printed Books"—with a lame attempt to reply, by Professor Parker; a new testimony concerning the Battle of Bunker's-hill—a letter from Newburyport, dated "21st June, 1775," confirming the narrative of Gerrish's cowardice, and not confirming those of Putnam's command, there, nor those relating to his bravery. Thomas Carlyle ventilates, therein, the, so-called, Montcalm Letters; the memoir of Thomas Dudley, which Cotton Mather did not print in the *Magnalia*, is now printed from an ancient copy of it; and Henry E. Pierrepont, of Brooklyn, seeks to enlarge himself by informing the world concerning the portrait of Washington, by Stuart, which he enjoys as an heir-loom.

The typography of this work is excellent.

17.—*Journal of the American Geographical and Statistical Society*. M.DCCC.LXX. Vol. II.—Part 2. Edited by the Recording Secretary. New York: Printed for the Society. 1870. Octavo, pp. cxxxiii, (2) 112.

We welcome this volume to our table, since it is the bearer of good tidings—of tidings from the Geographical Society, which has weathered every storm, overcome every imposition, and shaken off every parasite, while it has

also collected a library of "more than ten thousand volumes," and a "large and very rare collection of Maps and Charts," without having incurred a dollar of debt. All this is good news—better news than we hoped to receive from it—and for it, very largely, the Society is indebted to the excellent judgment and untiring efforts of its excellent President, Hon. Charles P. Daly.

The volume before us contains the Charter, By-laws, Lists of Officers and Members of the Society, the Transactions of the Society for 1868, '9, and '70, the President's Annual Address, List of Donors to the Library and Map-room, Subscribers to Special Funds, and Papers read before the Society by Doctor I. I. Hayes, Captain Silas Bent, Rev. B. F. De Costa, Professor C. F. Hartt, John G. Parker, T. Sterry Hunt, and Paul R. Du Chaillu; and it is in the highest degree creditable to the Society.

The typography of the work is excellent.

18.—*Reminiscences of the Original Associates and Past Members of the Worcester Fire Society*, begun in an Address by Hon. Levi Lincoln, at the Quarterly Meeting, April, 1862, and continued in an Address by Hon. Isaac Davis, At the Annual Meeting, January, 1870, With the Roll of Members, from the commencement to the present date. Worcester: 1870. Octavo, pp. 72.

On the twenty-first of January, 1793, in the midst of the excitement which followed the destruction by fire of Stowell's Woolen Manufactory, twenty-two of the leading men of the Town, including Stephen Salisbury, Isaiah Thomas, Joseph Allen, etc., met and organized a "Fire Society," "for the more effectual assistance of each other and of our townsmen, in times of danger from fire." At that time, Worcester was a small country village of hardly two thousand inhabitants; and these were without any engine or other apparatus for the suppression of fires; and "no other means of resistance to the destroying element, were in the town, than the simple household water-bucket and the hand of man." From that day to the present, this "Fire Company" has been in active operation—numbering among its members, at all times, many of the leading citizens of Worcester and some of the most distinguished citizens of the Commonwealth.

At the Quarterly Meeting, in April, 1862, the venerable ex-Governor, Levi Lincoln, presented the *Reminiscences of the Original Members of the Society*—a series of twenty-two personal sketches and reminiscences, written with all that welcome detail of circumstances which no one except a personal acquaintance with each of the subjects could have so presented—and, last January, our venerable friend, Hon. Isaac Davis, continued the service with similar sketches

of the succeeding fifteen members, all of whom have deceased. A complete Roll of the Society's Members, indicates the dates and places of their births; the dates of their admission to membership; and, when they have deceased, the places and dates of their decease.

This beautiful memorial of the old men of Worcester, must be very acceptable to the residents of that beautiful City, where now reside many of the descendants of those who are thus honored; and it will be little less acceptable to those delvers into local and individual history, whose fortune it is, so seldom, to find such a treasure as this, which is so well calculated to relieve them of so much of their toil, in all that relates to the thirty-seven on whom this volume treats.

The volume before us was conducted through the press by our valued friends, S. F. Haven and Nathaniel Paine; and as a specimen of fine printing, they may reasonably feel proud of it. The edition was a very small one, the copies being intended only for circulation among the immediate friends of the members.

19.—*The New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*. Devoted to the Interests of American Genealogy and Biography. Issued Quarterly. January, 1870. [New York:] Published by the Society. [1870.] Octavo, pp. 8.

The first number of the first Volume of the quarterly of The New York Genealogical and Biographical Society.

It is filled with interesting matter, from the pens of able writers; is well printed; and has before it, we venture to hope, a field of labor in which it will prove both useful and honorable. It has our best wishes for its utmost success; and we extend to its conductors a most cordial welcome, as fellow-laborers in the harvest-field of American History and Biography.

20.—*First Annual Reports to the Saint Paul Chamber of Commerce, by the Directors and Secretary, For 1867*. St. Paul: Press Printing Co. 1868. Octavo, pp. 35.

Chamber of Commerce of the City of St. Paul. Second Annual Report, made January 25, 1869. Also, Articles of Incorporation, By-Laws, Officers, and List of Members. St. Paul: Press Printing Co. 1869. Octavo, pp. 32.

Third Annual Report to the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce, for 1869. By the Secretary, Ossian E. Dodge. St. Paul: Press Printing Co. 1870. Octavo, pp. 51.

For this complete series of the Reports of the Chamber of Commerce, at St. Paul, we are indebted to its Secretary, Ossian E. Dodge, Esq.

The Chamber was organized in 1866; and it seems to have zealously discharged the duties which it imposed upon itself—"to advance the Commercial, Mercantile, and Manufacturing interests of St. Paul; to inculcate just and equitable principles of Trade; establish and

"maintain uniformity in the commercial usages of the city; acquire, preserve, and disseminate valuable business information; and, as far as practicable, to adjust the controversies and misunderstandings which may arise between individuals engaged in trade, and to promote the general prosperity of the city of Saint Paul and State of Minnesota"—in whatever way has been opened to it. The membership numbers all the leading business-men of the City; and its operations are said to have been productive of the greatest benefits to the City and the State, by the removal of obstacles to progress, by the correction of abuses of authority, by the settlement of important disputes, etc.

The great body of statistics which is presented in each *Report*, concerning all the varied branches of Trade and Commerce, is exceedingly important, especially when, as in this case, the results of one year's business can be compared with those of other years; and the importance of complete series of these documents will be apparent to every one.

The *Reports* are very neatly printed.

21.—*Discourse on the Life and Character of George Peabody*, delivered at the Hall of the Peabody Institute, Baltimore, February 13, 1870, At the request of the Trustees, By Severn Teackle Wallis, A Member of the Board. Published by the Peabody Institute. Baltimore: John Murphy & Co. 1870. Octavo, pp. iv, 9-60.

The Peabody Institute of Baltimore, one of the monuments of George Peabody's munificence, recently commemorated his life and character in an Eulogy; and the beautiful tract before us contains that production—one of the best, as it certainly is one of the most temperate and yet most critical, of the papers on that subject, which we have yet read.

It is, also, a most beautiful specimen of book-making, reflecting credit on both the printer and the Institute.

22.—*Annual Address of Hon. Charles P. Daly, LL.D.*, President, delivered before the American Geographical and Statistical Society, January 25, 1870. New York: 1870. Octavo, pp. 46.

The excellent President of the Society availed himself of the opportunity afforded by his renewed inauguration in the honorable position which he occupies, to review those events of the preceding year which were more particularly interesting to those who are engaged in geographical and scientific enquiries, and to discuss the conflicting theories concerning the feasibility of reaching the North Pole and the several expeditions which have recently attempted to accomplish that anxiously-attempted result.

In the former of these subjects, Judge Daly alludes to the completion of the Pacific Railroad and the Suez Canal, the discoveries in Africa, and twenty other events of marked importance; and, in the latter, he closely follows those who insist on the feasibility of reaching the North Pole by following the great currents which flow northwardly, both in the Atlantic and Pacific, and very successfully, it seems to us, overthrows their speculations.

In every respect, whether considered in its successful analysis of testimony or in its arrangement of material and its style, this Address is an admirable one, reflecting equal credit on its author and on the Society in whose service it was officially delivered.

It is very neatly printed.

23.—*Proceedings of the First Annual Session of the American Philological Association*, held at Poughkeepsie, N. Y., July 1, 1869. Octavo, pp. 31.

The title-page of this tract hardly describes, with complete accuracy, the contents of this tract. It is, in fact, the entire proceedings, not only of the Association, as such, but of those who, at an earlier day (*November, 1868*) and in a different city (*New York*) discussed the propriety of attempting to organize such an Association, as well as those of the larger number who met in "Convention," at Poughkeepsie, and really did organize that body and set it in motion.

The importance of the objects which this Association seems to embrace will be seen by every one; and it is hoped that it will not be diverted by the schemes of those fossils who consider that all that is worth attention is to be found in the literatures and languages of Greece and Rome. "High education" will undoubtedly thrust its impudent front into this assemblage and control its operations, unless it shall be met and resisted by those practical men whose good sense will be necessary to keep it in existence.

24.—*Proceedings on the occasion of the Centennial Celebration of St. John's Lodge, No. 1, of Free and Accepted Masons of the State of New York*. Including an Address by Most Worshipful William H. Milnor, Past Grand Master, and an Historical Sketch by Right Worshipful Bro. F. G. Tisdall, Master, etc., etc., etc. Monday Evening, December 7, A. L., 5857. New York: Reprint together with Continuation of History to December, 1869. 1870. Octavo, pp. 92.

The venerable body which is known as "St. John's Lodge, No. 1, F. and A. M.," was organized on the seventh of December, 1757; and has continued until this day. It has numbered, in its membership, many of the most respectable and respected of the burghers of New York; and, although we do not perceive on its pres-

ent Roll of Members the name of any very prominent citizen, it still occupies a high place among the most influential Lodges in the State.

In the volume before us, we have a re-print, with extensions, of the annals of the Lodge, as they were presented to that body, in 1857, when it celebrated its one hundredth birth-day; together with some supplementary matter, respecting the Lodge, which properly belongs there.

We are sorry, very sorry, that so favorable an opportunity was allowed to pass, without improvement, when a carefully-prepared sketch of the early history of Masonry in New York could have been advantageously prepared and presented; and we regret, too, that the material which is perfectly accessible, even to those who are not Masons, was not employed in more fully presenting to the world a history of St. John's Lodge, herself, and that of her offspring. A service might have been rendered to the local historian and to the Lodge, by such a presentation, which has not been rendered; and, we are constrained to say, further, that while Master Tisdall probably did all he could do, with his well-intended inexperience, and while the Committee on continuing the annals undoubtedly did the best they could, they have displayed no abilities, as writers of history, and they should either have entrusted the execution of their important tasks, as historiographers of the Lodge, to some more competent workmen or declined to accept appointments which they could fill with no more credit or usefulness.

The volume is a neat one.

25.—*Historical Sketch of Nazareth Hall, From 1755 to 1869*; with an account of the Reunions of former pupils, and of the inauguration of a Monument at Nazareth on the eleventh of June, 1868, erected in memory of Alumni who fell in the late rebellion. By William C. Reichel, Class of 1834. Printed for the Reunion Society of Nazareth Hall, By J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia: 1869. Octavo, pp. 62: [Catalogue of Pupils] 57; [Theological Seminary.] 20; [Reunions at Nazareth Hall.] 118; [Military and Naval Record of Alumni.] 74; [Appendix.] 25.

How few there are, among those of other denominations, who know anything of the history of the Moravian Church in America or the modest but effective services of her children in the walks of every-day life. How few there are, in the great body of our busy money-seekers, who can tell just *what* the Moravians *believe*, as matters of faith; just *where* they *came from*, when they approached America; just *what* they have *done*, since they found a home in the wilderness of the West. What a contrast between them and the "Pilgrims" of Plymouth, in all these respects: who shall say that He who has ordered us to let not our right hand know what our left hand doeth, will not more highly honor the modest laborers of Herrnhut?

In 1740, Whitefield, the Methodist, purchased five thousand acres of land in the Forks of the Delaware, which he called "Nazareth." His professed object was to erect, there, a school for negro orphans and to establish a colony for such of his English disciples as should become obnoxious to the Government, at home. In the prosecution of his project, he built a large house; soon became financially embarrassed; sold the property to the Moravians; and, in 1742, abandoned the enterprize.

The new proprietors improved their property; extended their peaceful influence to the savages in whose neighborhood they were; erected a Manor-house, for the accommodation of Count Zinzendorf, their head; and, in other ways, fulfilled the mission to which they were called. The short stay in America of the Count Zinzendorf, however, left the Manor-house for other purposes; and it was used, in part, for a Chapel, until 1841; for a Boarding-school for boys; and for a residence. In 1841, it was purchased for school purposes; and, since that date, it has been devoted exclusively to that use. This School was established in 1785; soon secured a high reputation; and many who are known from one end of our country to the other were educated there.

In the very beautiful volume before us, for which we are indebted to our respected friend, John Jordan, Junior, Esq., of Philadelphia, we find a sketch of the history of this ancient Manor-house, or "Hall," in which the simple annals of the school, its preceptors, and its pupils are told with that modest unadorned simplicity of language which distinguishes all that is Moravian. There is no boasting; no meaningless rhetoric; no evident misrepresentation of the truth. A simple narrative of facts is laid before the reader; and that narrative is left to produce its own results.

First in order, we find in this volume the *Historical Sketch* of the "Hall," or School, to which we have referred; next, is an extended Catalogue of pupils, arranged by Classes; then a Historical Sketch and a Catalogue of the Theological Seminary; a series of Reports of the annual Reunions of the Alumni of the School and a Record of the Military and Naval services of those who were educated there, follow; and an *Appendix*, in which are a German version of *John Gilpin* and an original poem, in Pennsylvania-Dutch, completes the work.

As we have said, the work is very handsomely printed; but we must say that the "make-up" of the volume was evidently in the hands of one who was either not accustomed to see fine books or who was very inattentive to the details of his business.

26.—*Memorials of the Moravian Church*. Edited by William C. Relchel. Volume I. [Philadelphia:] Printed for the [Moravian Book] Association, 1870. Octavo, pp. xv. 9—346.

We are indebted to our friend, John Jordan, Junior, Esq., of Philadelphia, for a copy of this beautiful volume.

It contains ten distinct papers, all, we believe, now first printed, and all relating to the earliest days of the Moravian Church in America. Seven of them are either written by, or relate particularly to, the Count Zinzendorf; the other three are a Register of Christian Indians who are buried in Bethlehem, the Annals of early Moravian settlements in Georgia and Pennsylvania, and the Accounts of the Moravians with the Colony, during the War of 1755-6. These are very elaborately annotated, and Introductory Notes describe to the reader the peculiar characteristics of all of them.

It is seldom that we see so much labor expended on the annotation of a text; and the extent and variety of the information which these foot-notes contain render them of the first importance, both to the historical and the genealogical student; and the necessity of a *very minute* Index, both of names and incidents, as well as of localities, will be apparent to every one and must not be overlooked by the diligent Editor of the work.

The typography of the work is very good, if we except the peculiar short-comings in the details of its "make-up," of which we complained in our notice of the *Nazareth Hall and its Reunions*.

27.—*An Address delivered before the St. Nicholas Society of the City of New York*, by James W. Beekman, Saturday, December 4, 1869. Published by the Society. MDCCCLXX. Quarto, pp. 37.

In this *Address*, Mr. Beekman opens with an interesting exhibit of what the Netherlands are and what they are doing, in our own day, contrasting them with the same Netherlands, as they were two hundred years since, and noticing, *en passant*, the insolent slur of Motley who, because they were not controlled by a King and a centralized Government, said of them: "but 'it [*the Dutch Republic*] had no country,' just as he more recently said, of the United States, that, as a Federal Republic, they, too, had no country. He next presents New Netherland, as it appeared two hundred and fifty years ago, with its scattered trading-posts and its primitive society; and he gallantly resents the affront which was successively offered to his Fatherland, by Mr. Valentine, in his *Manual*, and by Mr. Irving, in his *Knickerbocker's History*, as well as those offered, in England, many years ago, by Churchill, and Goldsmith, and the elder

D'Israeli, in their comparison of the Dutch of that period with the English of the same era, very much to the disadvantage of the former; and he contrasts, too, for the same purpose, the Canada of to-day, as a result of purely English and French polity, with the United States, as a result of the Dutch polity, administered either by the Dutch themselves, or by English whose remote ancestors, he says, were Dutch emigrants to Eastern England.

He next follows General de Peyster along the slippery and narrow causeway which the latter constructed through the unstable marshes of tradition and unauthenticated or insufficiently authenticated history, to the fountain-head of the Dutch, exposing to the world their migrations from the Low Countries and their settlement in the fens of Lincolnshire; and we cannot say that he shows much dexterity, as an acrobat, in his journey over the narrow viaduct—why, indeed, as a genuine Dutchman, as Mr. Beekman is, should he attempt to compete, in that line, with the General, who, at best, is little more of a Dutchman than we are, if, indeed, as much? If, “in the beginning of the ninth century,” the Low Countries were overrun by the Northmen, *after the migration to Britain*, “before the beginning of our Christian era,” of the crowds who had left the Low Countries to find homes “on the eastern coast of Britain:” and if these Norse invaders really, then, “overran the country, and, absorbing and intermarrying with the Menapians they found there, remained masters of the land,” as Mr. Beekman suggests, it seems to us that the Dutch of the Low Countries, of the seventeenth century, who settled New Netherland and of whom Mr. Beekman speaks, were, at best, only a race of half-breeds—mongrel crosses between the Northmen masters who had invaded the Low Countries and the Menapian slaves whom they had captured—while the only genuine Dutch at that time existing, were those bog-trotters,—descendants of the emigrants who had left the Low Countries before the influx of foreign Northmen's blood had contaminated the Dutch stock which had remained there—whose homes in the fens of Lincolnshire, in England, about the same period, sent out to the wilds of New England, the Puritan fathers and mothers of the Bay Colony, whom Peter Stuyvesant and the Dutch Manhattanese so much and so justly detested.

We confess that this subject comes home both to Mr. Beekman and to us. If it shall really turn out that, since we are a native of those same fens in which the *unalloyed* Dutch had taken refuge before the flood of Northmen overran the country of their fathers and contaminated the pure blood of those who had remained within the hive of the Fatherland, *we are a*

Dutchman; and if our good friend Mr. Beekman—a native New Yorker—shall turn out to be a *Northman*, instead of a Dutchman, as he evidently supposes himself to be, we may be inclined to claim priority in rank, as a Knickerbocker, and even to keep on our hat, although in the presence of a Stuyvesant.

Seriously, speculation in ethnological theories, in such cases as this, can do no good, while it may bring a commendable subject for purely scientific inquiry into unmerited disrepute. The original settlers of Manhattan, whether Northmen or Menapians, and the polity which they established, and the traits of character which they impressed on the young commonwealth and on the Republic, are not dependant on any ancestry of those settlers, for the honor which belongs to them; and those who founded the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, too, are just as honestly entitled to what in them was honorable as if there never had been a migration from the Low Countries or a difference, in England, between them and the Government. They are the heads of distinct families, each of which has made its own history; and each is independent of ancestry, for all the honor it enjoys. It makes little to us, therefore, whether we or our neighbors are Dutch, or Norman, or Saxon, or Briton; and while we know nothing of our own great-grandfather, on either side, we care as little about him. We are willing to let our “tub stand on its own bottom;” and, if we cannot send down to our descendants, our good name with as many honors around it as there were when we received it from our ancestors, it matters not who was our grandfather, nor whether he was a Dutchman, or a Northman, or a Saxon: if, on the other hand, we can honestly add to the honors which belonged to it when we received it, and can send it down the line with increased attractions, why should we care from whom we descended, or why should the world care? May it be our privilege to leave the name as untarnished as we received it; and may we be so fortunate as to afford an honorable example, in our life and death, which our children will not fail to recognize and to follow. We ask no greater earthly honor.

But to return. Mr. Beekman claims for the Low Countries, the discovery of the telescope and of the art of printing, and the establishment of the first free schools; and he argues, therefrom, that to the Dutch we are necessarily indebted for nearly all the higher privileges, social and political, which we now enjoy. If Mr. Beekman is correct in his supposition as to the three products of Dutch skill and forethought which he describes, we are certainly very much in debt to that people; but we are not prepared to follow him in all his rambles, in that direc-

tion. We are inclined to think that Kostar was not the *first* printer; we know nothing about the *first* telescope; and if the *first* free school was a Dutch institution, we suspect it was as an appendage to the Church, and therefore an ecclesiastical rather than a political establishment—a difference which no one will more readily understand than Mr. Beckman.

But we must close. As a whole, the *Address* is a good one for the purpose for which it was written. It is a sturdy demand for what Mr. Beckman conceives to be justice to the memory of the Fathers of New York; and if, sometimes, the excellent Author has pleasantly claimed more than the authorities will really support, he has not denied to others some merit; nor does he pretend, by virtue of his Dutch blood, to be either a better man, or a wiser statesman, or possessed of greater rights and privileges, either in society or in the State, than belong to those who have descended from the Puritan or Pilgrim Fathers of Massachusetts or from the Cavaliers of Virginia.

Typographically, this volume is a sumptuous one. For beauty of workmanship it has few superiors; and Mr. Munsell, whose handiwork it is, may well be proud of it.

28.—*Manual of the Congregational Church in West Charleston, Vt.* Boston: 1869. 16mo. pp. 19.

This neat little tract contains a historical sketch of the Church; the Articles of Faith and the Church Covenant; the Standing Rules; and a complete list of the membership, from the organization of the Church until now.

It is interesting, as an item of the ecclesiastical history of Vermont.

C.—OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS.

29.—*Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Iowa to the Governor, for the year ending December 31, 1861.* Des Moines: F. W. Palmer, State Printer. 1861. Octavo, pp. 494.

Reports of Nathaniel B. Baker, Adj't and Inspector-General and A. Q. M. G. of the State of Iowa, to Hon. Samuel Merrill, Governor of Iowa. January 1, 1869, and January 1, 1870. Des Moines: F. M. Mills, State Printer. 1870. Octavo, pp. (*Report of 1868*) 3-32; (*Report of 1869*) 33-50.

In our December number, we noticed the series of admirable Annual Reports which the Adjutant-general of Iowa had issued from his office; and in that notice, we referred to the fact that we had failed to procure the Report for 1861, the first of the series. We have since been favored by General Baker, the excellent incumbent of that office, during the War, with his own copy of that important volume, as well as with the subsequent Reports for 1868 and

1869, making our series, as he kindly informs us, "*absolutely complete.*"

The *first* of these is a sensible, business-like document, elaborately supplemented with complete Rosters of the several Iowa Regiments which had then been organized, admirably arranged: the *last* relate generally to the ordinary business of the office.

Both volumes are very neatly printed.

30.—*Annual Report of the Adjutant General of the State of New Jersey, for the year 1869.* Trenton, N. J.: 1870. Octavo, pp. 23.

We are indebted to our esteemed friend, General William S. Stryker, for this continuation of our series of New Jersey's official War Documents.

The detailed Report of the Department, in which the record of every individual Jerseyman's services is written, is reported, a second time, as completed and ready for the press—a second time, too, we believe, to be dishonored by the Legislature, by a refusal to print it.

The greater portion of the volume is occupied with the yearly Report of the Inspector-general and the ordinary affairs of the department.

31.—*Journal of the Senate, at the Extra Session of the Eighth General Assembly of the State of Iowa, which convened at the Capitol in Des Moines, on Wednesday, the 15th day of May, 1861.* Des Moines: F. W. Palmer, State Printer. 1861. Octavo, pp. 125.

Journal of the House of Representatives, at the Extra Session of the Eighth General Assembly of the State of Iowa. Des Moines: F. W. Palmer, State Printer. 1861. Octavo, pp. 222.

Acts and Resolutions passed at the Extra Session of the Eighth General Assembly of the State of Iowa. By Authority. Des Moines: F. W. Palmer. 1861. Octavo, pp. 47.

Journal of the Senate of the Ninth General Assembly of the State of Iowa, which convened at the Capitol, in Des Moines, Iowa, January 13, 1862. Des Moines: F. W. Palmer, State Printer. 1862. Octavo, pp. 652.

Journal of the House of Representatives, of the Ninth General Assembly of the State of Iowa. Des Moines: F. W. Palmer, State Printer. 1862. Octavo, pp. 933.

Acts and Resolutions passed at the Regular Session of the Ninth General Assembly of the State of Iowa. Published by Authority. Des Moines: F. W. Palmer, State Printer. 1862. Octavo, pp. xiii, 288.

Journal of the Senate at the Extra Session of the Ninth General Assembly of the State of Iowa, which convened at the Capitol in Des Moines, on Wednesday, the third day of September, 1862. Des Moines: F. W. Palmer, State Printer. 1862. Octavo, pp. 83.

Journal of the House of Representatives at the Extra Session of the Ninth General Assembly of the State of Iowa. Des Moines: F. W. Palmer, State Printer. 1862. Octavo, pp. 126.

Acts and Resolutions passed at the Extra Session of the Ninth General Assembly of the State of Iowa. Published by Authority. Des Moines: F. W. Palmer, State Printer. 1862. Octavo, pp. 59.

Journal of the Senate of the Tenth General Assembly of the State of Iowa, which convened at the Capitol, in Des Moines, January 11, 1864. Des Moines: F. W. Palmer, State Printer. 1864. Octavo, pp. 613.

Journal of the House of Representatives of the Tenth General Assembly of the State of Iowa, . . . Des Moines: F. W. Palmer, State Printer. 1864. Octavo, pp. 683.

Acts and Resolutions passed at the Regular Session of the Tenth General Assembly, of the State of Iowa. Published by Authority. Des Moines: F. W. Palmer, State Printer. 1864. Octavo, pp. x, 228.

Journal of the Senate of the Eleventh General Assembly of the State of Iowa, which convened at the Capitol, in Des Moines, January 8th, 1866. Des Moines: F. W. Palmer, State Printer. 1866. Octavo, pp. 703.

Journal of the House of Representatives of the Eleventh General Assembly of the State of Iowa, . . . Des Moines: F. W. Palmer, State Printer. 1866. Octavo, pp. 796.

Acts and Resolutions passed at the Regular Session of the Eleventh General Assembly of the State of Iowa. Published by Authority. Des Moines: F. W. Palmer, State Printer. 1866. Octavo, pp. viii, 232.

Journal of the Senate of the Twelfth General Assembly of the State of Iowa, which convened at the Capitol, in Des Moines, Iowa, Jan. 13, 1868. Des Moines: F. W. Palmer, State Printer. 1868. Octavo, pp. 672.

Journal of the House of Representatives of the Twelfth General Assembly of the State of Iowa, . . . Des Moines: F. W. Palmer, State Printer. 1868. Octavo, pp. 829.

Acts and Resolutions passed at the Regular Session of the Twelfth General Assembly of the State of Iowa, begun January 13, and ended April 8, 1868. Published by Authority. Des Moines: F. W. Palmer, State Printer. 1868. Octavo, pp. xxi, 402.

Our respected friend, General N. B. Baker, determined that Iowa should not be outdone by Maryland, in her courtesy to a historical student who is engaged in exploring her history, has kindly sent to us this *perfectly complete* record of the legislation in, and of the administration of the affairs of, the State of Iowa, during the eventful period which began with the War of Secession; and we have pleasure in recognizing, gratefully, his large-hearted kindness and our deep obligation thereto. We possess, what few others possess, the most ample means of rendering exact justice to Iowa; and we trust that we shall very soon be enabled to turn our attention to that interesting subject.

It will be seen from the titles of these volumes exactly what is their character; and as the *Journals* of the Senate and of the House respectively contain the several Reports which were presented to the two Houses, we have the entire record of the State, in all its minutia.

The volumes are very handsomely printed.

32.—*Immigration and the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York.* By Friedrich Kapp, one of the said Commissioners. New York: The Nation Press. 1870. Octavo, pp. 1, 2, (unpaged) iii, 3-241.

Every thing which Mr. Kapp undertakes to do, in the way of literature, is very likely to be

done properly; and the volume before us affords an example of his great diligence in searching for proper material and his remarkable precision in the use of that material, after he has found it.

Opening with an historical Introduction, in which he glances at the causes and result of emigration and its slow growth previous to the present century, he follows with Chapters devoted to the plan of "commuting;" the horrors of the sea-voyage, both in the olden and in modern times; the wrongs inflicted on the passengers after they had landed; the organization of the Board of Commissioners of Emigration; and its plan of operations; closing with a very elaborate discussion of the Constitutional provisions concerning emigration and a very extended Appendix.

As a complete and reliable treatise on Emigration, this volume is well adapted for the evident purpose of its publication—the vindication of the Board from the usurpation of its authority by the Congress of the United States—and we earnestly hope that the evil purposes of malignant partizans, in their attempt to sap so useful an institution as this, will be eminently unsuccessful.

33.—*University of the State of New York. Eighty-second Annual Report of the Regents of the University.* Made to the Legislature, February 26, 1869. Albany: Argus Company. 1869. Octavo, pp. xxxvi, 929.

We are indebted to the Honorable J. V. L. Pruyn, the Chancellor of the University, for this volume, in which are recorded the Annual Reports of the numerous Colleges and Academies of the State, the Educational Documents of the State Convention for revising the Constitution, and the Proceedings of the Fifth University Convocation of the State of New York, in the last of which are the papers read before that body, and the beginning of Mr. Pratt's *Annals of Public Education in the State of New York*.

This volume illustrates, admirably, what we have so long condemned—the shameful neglect of the *History of the United States*, as a branch of study, by the institutions of learning throughout the State and the not less shameful silence, on this subject, of those who ought to have something to say on the subject. Thus: Columbia College passes *all its Histories*—American and European, Ancient and Modern—over to a *Tutor*, who has, besides that subject, to teach all that is taught in that concern of Rhetoric. Union College does not seem to have heard of such a study as History of any kind, although it has heard of Ancient and *Oriental* Languages and other useless stuff of the same character. Hamilton College never opens a

back on the subject; and if it is noticed in any of the *twenty-five* Lectures which are devoted to "Law and History," it can only be looked at, at a distance and as no importance when compared with Livy, Herodotus, Dumas' Napoleon, Tacitus, and Hume, on which it bestows *two hundred and seventy-three* distinct exercises, besides *five* on "Ancient History," generally. Hobart College never devotes an hour especially to the history of our own country; and the University of the City of New York has no one, among its numerous Professors, to instruct its undergraduates, for a single hour, on that all-important subject. Madison University crowds *all* its "Civil History," of *all kinds*, into two terms—two-thirds of one-quarter of its professed term of instruction; while St. John's—our respected Jesuit neighbor—more liberally than any other, thus far, gives a *whole* Professorship to "History," without, however, filling the vacant Chair with a living instructor. Genesee College has no instructor of History, of *any kind*; and the University of Rochester, that of Albany, that of St. Lawrence, and that of Alfred, St. Stephen's and Vassar Colleges, and Rensselaer Institute are equally incapable of teaching any falsehoods concerning the Past of the United States, since they have no one, on their several Faculties, whose business it is to teach *any thing*, true or false, on that subject.

We fail to find words to express our indignation at this exhibit of the impudence of these concerns, too often recipients of State bounty and always State Institutions, which can pass, without proper respect, often without any notice, the history of their own country, and lavish their means, generally bestowed for better and more useful purposes, on the fictions of Greece and Rome and the recognized untruths of Hume and Dumas; and we call on the Regents of the University, who are the legal Visitors of these concerns, to take early and effective measures for the correction of this wrong.

This "higher education" theory ought to have some limit below the exclusion of practical, every-day knowledge from our State Institutions; and it shall not be our fault if the rising generations shall not be taught, regularly and thoroughly, concerning the history of their own country, in the schools and institutions which the taxpayers are called upon to support, either by their direct or their indirect support.

34.—*Ninth Annual Report of the Librarian of the Maine State Library to the Legislature of Maine*, with a List of new Books, for the year 1870. Augusta: Sprague, Owen, & Nash, Printers to the State. 1870. Octavo, pp. 41.

A sensible Report of a judicious Public Offi-

cer, whose chief desire seems to have been to do his duty as efficiently and yet as economically as possible.

35.—*Annual Reports of the Trustees and Treasurer of the College of Agriculture of the State of Maine*. 1869. Augusta: Sprague, Owen, & Nash, Printers to the State. 1870. Octavo, pp. 32 and thirteen folded sheets.

This Report is principally interesting, beyond the boundaries of Maine, because of the very elaborate *Register of Meteorological Observations*, for 1869, which it contains.

36.—*Address of Governor Chamberlain to the Legislature of the State of Maine*. January, 1870. Augusta: Sprague, Owen, & Nash, Printers to the State. 1870. Octavo, pp. 31.

The Annual Message of Maine's Governor is a sensible, well-written paper; as independant in its tone as it should be, while professing to be an exposition of Maine's sentiments and Maine's interests; and boldly suggesting that Maine is little more of New England than her *geographical* position imposes on her.

Maine truly is rather a saucy daughter of Massachusetts—if, indeed, she can really be called the daughter of such a mother: if, indeed, she is not more of a foundling,—flesh of other flesh, and blood of other blood—which Massachusetts picked up by the wayside and forced into her kitchen, to do her chores and add to her revenue. She has attained her majority, and, fifty years ago, she set up an establishment of her own; but she is still of another stock, possessed of more moderate means than her former masters possess, impatient under that system of assumed authority which they still display, and quite as anxious as they are to be "free, sovereign, and independant." She is in debt; but she is proudly confident, she says, of her ability to pay that debt at, if not before, maturity. She is taxed to meet her obligations; but she begins to think she will shift to the shoulders of succeeding generations, a portion of her burdens, notwithstanding her previous boast of her abundant ability to bear those burdens, without much of an effort. She needs Capital; and she must have it or, as her Governor says, she "will have to wait a great while for her coronation;" and she ceases to be loyal to the Government of the United States, and inclines to disaffection, when she declares she is enchained by "the National Government," and "looks to it" "to strike off some" "of the fetters and lighten some of her burdens."

It is well that Maine should suffer. She has dined: let her now pay the fiddler. She has sustained, exultingly, every infraction of "the supreme law of the land," which one reckless

and unprincipled partizan Administration after another has unblushingly committed, for nearly ten years past: let her now remember, by way of consolation, that "the way of the transgressor is hard," and that all such, the good book says, "shall be taken in their own naughtiness." She has helped to destroy the best interests of her own subjects by helping to impose a tariff on the Republic, which prohibits their profitable use of necessary material, in their wonted occupations, and compels them to seek their daily bread *in other channels of employment, in other States of the Confederacy*. She has helped to destroy her local banks, in order to strengthen those strangers whose sympathies are not with her; and she already gasps for the capital which she has thus recklessly forced into other channels. She has proudly allowed others to come into her territory and offer usurious rates for her reserved capital,—the millions which were unemployed and awaited any passing opportunity for employment, locally, at low rates, where safety was—while she has gravely forbidden her own subjects from enjoying the same privilege. She has drenched her territory with a paper currency which "promises" what its authors openly refuse to even attempt to perform; while she compels her own subjects to fulfil their contracts to the very letter.

She sees her debt maturing while a dreary future stares her in the face—she is "fettered" by the General Government; she is "burdened" with Federal taxes; she has not enough capital—what her Governor properly calls "money in motion, whether Gold or Currency"—to keep her operatives within her territory; "her material is scant;" "her industry is crippled;" "her enterprise staggers for want of money;" her ship-yards are unoccupied; her young men are seeking homes elsewhere; her farmers are pouring into the West, leaving their old homes to strangers; she *must* have relief, at any cost, or she "will have to wait a great while for her coronation."

It was "a sad day for the welfare of the State" when [*a series of*] rash measures were adopted "simply because no one dared, for a moment, to question their expediency lest the champions of those measures should taunt him with infidelity to a creed of which *they* were not the chosen apostles, and anathematize him in the name of a power which *they* had usurped;" and we may say to her, under these circumstances, as Moses said to the transgressors in the wilderness of Paran: "*Wherefore now do ye transgress? but it shall not prosper.*"

As we said, the Message is a well-written, manly exposition of the affairs of the State; and does honor to its distinguished author.

36.—*First Annual Report of the Geological Survey of Indiana, made during the year 1869*, By E. T. Cox, State Geologist, assisted by Prof. Frank W. Bradley, Dr. Rufus Haymond, and Dr. G. M. Lavette. Indianapolis: Alexander H. Conner, State Printer. 1869. [1870?] Octavo, pp. 240.

The Forty-sixth General Assembly of the State created the office of State Geologist; placed him at the head of a Geological and Scientific Department, in connection with and under the control and management of the State Board of Agriculture; required him to institute a Survey of the State, to establish a laboratory at Indianapolis, to build up a Cabinet of Geology and Natural History, and to publish the results in the Annual Reports of the Board of Agriculture.

Professor Cox was appointed to this important post; and entered zealously on the discharge of his duties. He removed to the Capital; arranged his offices and rooms; built and furnished "one of the best arranged and most completely equipped analytical laboratories in the West;" organized his corps of assistants; made surveys, to some extent, of Franklin, Parke, Fountain, Warren, Owen, Vermillion, Clay, and Greencounties; and, generally, he got fairly in motion, in his great work.

The volume before us presents, in independent form, the result of his first year's labors; and to those who are interested in the iron-working industry of the country, in which are involved the coal deposits and those of fire-clay, that result is of the greatest importance. Indeed, the Geologist's zeal, in his responsible and honorable position, is worthy of all praise; and the admirable clearness of his narrative—a clearness which will be as much more satisfactory to the plain people for whose benefit his survey was instituted as it will be unwelcome to those for whom it was not instituted, but whose "high education" has, too often, afforded a license for arrogant pretensions and impertinent interference—is peculiarly and agreeably noticed.

The work, thus admirably commenced, should be pushed forward as rapidly as shall be consistent with its proper execution; and both Indiana and the Republic, generally, will be very largely the gainers by the outlay.

37.—*Twenty-second Annual Report of the Regents of the University of the State of New York, on the condition of the State Cabinet of Natural History and the Historical and Antiquarian Collection annexed thereto*. Transmitted to the Legislature, April 10th, 1869. Albany: Argus Company. 1869. Octavo, pp. viii, 112.

This series of Reports is so well known to our readers that we need not enlarge on its general character and importance.

The volume before us is confined exclusively to the Natural History of the State; and of that, a *Partial List of Shells found near Troy* and an

exceedingly elaborate *Report of the State Botanist* occupy nearly the entire space.

It is one of the best Reports of the series; and it will be widely welcomed.

"We shall be grateful, and will give a liberal exchange, for the Third of this Series of Reports, which we need to complete the earlier portion of our set."

38.—*Fifty-second Annual Report of the Trustees of the New York State Library*. Transmitted to the Legislature, January 19, 1870. Albany: Argus Company. 1870. Octavo, pp. 223.

The State Library is one of the best in the country, as it should be; and it is managed with a degree of good judgment, prudent economy, and judicious liberality, which does honor to those in whose hands the government of it has been placed.

The Report before us contains merely the list of the twenty-two hundred and forty-six volumes which were added to it during the year 1868—upwards of twelve hundred of them, by purchase—and the ordinary financial Report of Receipts and Disbursements.

39.—*Report of the Chief of Engineers to the Secretary of War, for the year 1869*. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1870. Octavo, pp. Title-page and verso, 650.

This volume—for which we are indebted to our friend and contributor, Major-general Humphreys, the distinguished Chief of Engineers—contains a detailed Report of the duties devolving upon the Corps of Engineers, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1869.

This Corps of Engineers is eminently a *working* party. All its members, except four, are "on duty;" and of the four, one has leave of absence until the date of his resignation (which has been accepted) and two are on the retired list, incapacitated for active service. It has slowly increased our coast defences—as fast as the appropriations have warranted;—it has continued the investigations relating to the use of metals for defensive purposes—casting doubts on the availability of iron for ships;—it has sought improvements for barbette guns in earthen batteries; it has experimented on the use of iron in shielding casemate guns, in existing masonry casemates, very much to the disadvantage of iron, as it is now produced; it has further examined the subject of the defence of our seaboard cities, and reported thereon; it has added to the accommodations of the men and the stores, at its depots at Willett's Point, Jefferson Barracks, and Yerba Buena Island; it has superintended the enlargement and repairs of fortifications, the improvements of rivers and harbors, and the building of bridges; it has

continued the surveys of the lakes; it has continued the preparation of maps of battle-fields and campaigns; and in various other duties, as important as they were numerous, this branch of the service has been busy; and the volume before us is the record of those services, briefly presented.

It forms an interesting portion of our annual records.

40.—*History of Pennsylvania Volunteers, 1861-5*; prepared in compliance with Acts of the Legislature, by Samuel P. Bates. Vols. I. and II. Harrisburg: B. Singerly, State Printer. 1869. Large Octavo, (Vol. I.) viii, 1827; (Vol. II.) iv, 1359.

In the December number of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, we alluded to the sadly imperfect records of her part in the recent War, which Pennsylvania had published: it is now our very agreeable duty to notice the beginning of a new era in the literature of her military history and the commencement of a record which is as unusual, for its completeness, as it is honorable to the good old Commonwealth whose eminent services and sacrifices it so admirably commemorates.

The plan of the work is similar to that adopted in Rhode Island and several other States, and gives the name, rank, date of muster into service, term of service, and final disposition of *every man* of that mighty host which Pennsylvania sent into the field, arranged in the order of Regiments, with a preliminary historical sketch of the services of the Regiment prefixed to each Chapter; and the more than unusually complete narratives and beautiful maps which grace these volumes, place them at the head of that row of official State records of the War of Secession, which, already, even in its yet imperfect form, is a wonder of the world and the pride of Republic. The second volume of the work carries the record to the close of the Roll of the Eighty-fourth Regiment; and we are informed that two more volumes, similar to these, will be required to complete it.

As a workingman in the little party who profess to be students and writers of American history, we freely and cheerfully acknowledge our obligations to the industry of the Editor of this work and to the enlightened policy of the State which has authorized its publication. The admirable manner in which the Editor's arduous labor has evidently been performed by Mr. Bates, and the good taste which has been displayed in the make-up of the work, by Mr. Singerly, are worthy of all praise; and if, as will undoubtedly be the case, a copious Index shall close the work, by which its contents may be found without any unnecessary loss of time, we shall have little more to desire concerning the military his-

tory of Pennsylvania, during the recent War, unless the publication, *in extenso*, of the detailed Reports of Operations which may have reached her Adjutant-general's Office, and yet remain unpublished.

The Records of Pennsylvania, from the beginning, under Penn, until the close of the War of the Revolution, and many of her papers have been carefully edited by Mr. Hazard and already printed; and students of her history have been enabled, thereby, to understand the truth and to tell it with boldness: how much more will the students of her latter-day history rejoice when these volumes shall be sent over the land—harbingers, we hope, of others yet to come—affording, to the wearied and anxious worker, at least a clue to the truth, and indicating to him what he may reasonably hope to learn more of, in the archives of Pennsylvania.

We shall welcome the concluding volumes of the work; and we earnestly hope that no unnecessary delay may occur in their preparation and publication.

As we have said, these volumes are very handsome specimens of book-making.

42.—*Civil List and Forms of Government of the Colony and State of New York.* Compiled from official and authentic sources, by S. C. Hutchins. Published annually by Weed, Parsons, & Co., Albany. [Albany: 1870.] Duodecimo, pp. vi., 604.

The *sixteenth* annual issue of this exceedingly important volume is before us. It possesses all the peculiarities of previous issues except their errors, which, as far as possible, have been expunged; and, in all which relates to the various governmental organizations, to the principal Colonial, State, and County Officers; to the Congressional Delegations and Electoral Colleges, etc., this volume furnishes the handiest and surest guide within our knowledge. It is, in fact, a necessary volume on the desk of every one who pretends to either write or talk on the past Governments of this State; and no one who has once become acquainted with it will willingly do without it.

We are indebted to our vigilant friend, Henry O'Rielly, Esq., for this copy of the work.

43.—*Manual for the use of the Legislature of the State of New York.* 1870. Prepared pursuant to a Resolution of the Senate and Assembly of 1865, by the Secretary of State. Albany: Weed, Parsons, & Co. 1870. 16mo., pp. lxii., 448.

Another of the statistical annuals which are officially published by the Government of this State, for the purpose of enabling her legislators to act intelligently on matters which go before them.

The contents of this volume are so varied that

it would be easier to give the list than to attempt to describe them—the index of subjects extending to twenty pages, of fine print, and embracing the Constitutions of the United States and of this State; the Counties and Cities in the latter; its population, by Towns, Wards, and Counties; Post-offices and Postmasters, therein; Officers in the Federal and State Governments—the latter from 1683 until 1870—County Officers; Funds of the State; Regents of the University; Assessed value of property in the State, by Counties; Amount of Town, County, School, and State taxes, for 1869; School funds of the State; Banks and Saving-banks, with their statistics; Members, Officers, Committees, and Rules of the Senate and Assembly; the Officers of the Militia; the Canals and their statistics; Agricultural Societies; etc., etc.

As a convenient hand-book of all that relates to the statistics of New York, for the year 1869, this little volume is unequalled.

44.—*Rules and Decisions of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania. Legislative Directory. Together with useful political statistics. List of Post Offices, County Officers, &c.* By John A. Small, Resident Clerk of the House of Representatives. Harrisburg: Benj. Slingerly, State Printer, 1870. 16mo. pp. Title-page and verso, 491.

This volume serves the same purpose, in the Legislature of Pennsylvania, which the *Manual*, last described, serves in the Legislature of New York; and its contents are also very similar in their character to those of the *Manual*, save only that they relate to the institutions of the former State instead of the latter. We are inclined to think that it will suffer by a comparison with the *Manual*, in the extent and completeness of the statistics of the latter; yet we suppose it answers quite as useful a purpose among those who are sent to Harrisburg, as legislators, since they generally go there for other objects than the *public* good; and seem to plunder more than they read.

45.—*Tenth Annual Report of the Directors of the Free Public Library, Worcester, Mass.. For the year ending January 1, 1870.* Together with the Rules and Regulations. Published by Order of the City. Worcester: Tyler & Seagrave, City Printers. 1870. Octavo, pp. 32.

This is the Annual Report of one of those institutions, supported by the public, which are affording so much good to the towns-people among whom they are located.

This Public Library at Worcester was the result of several successive organizations, co-operating with, or operating on, a large-hearted man. Doctor Green, who bequeathed a large sum for the endowment of one of its departments; and as it is managed by some of the best of Worcester's citizens, it cannot but be well managed and as widely useful.

This Report is handsomely printed, on tinted paper; and it embraces the financial as well as the general affairs of the institution.

46.—*The West Virginia Hand-book and Emigrant's Guide.* A sketch of the State of West Virginia. Geographical Position, Historical Outline, State Constitution, Population, Surface and Soil, Agriculture, Stock-Farming, Wool-growing, Fruit and Wine-growing, Timber, Coal, Iron, Petroleum, Salt and other Minerals, Manufacturing, Water Power, Internal Improvements, Education, Religious Worship, Lands and Farms, Titles and Prices, with a brief Notice of each County, and an official State Directory and Map. By J. H. Diss DeBar, State Commissioner of Emigration. Parkersburg: 1870. Octavo, pp. 193.

The very elaborate title-page describes the contents of this work so fully that we need not expend our space by repeating it.

Those who are interested in either the history or the topography of this part of the Union will find this volume almost a necessity, so well has Mr. Diss DeBar discharged his duty; and we know of no other volume in which both the history, and the topography, and the physical geography of West Virginia have been so clearly and so fearlessly described.

D.—TRADE PUBLICATIONS.

47.—*Annals of Witchcraft in New England, and elsewhere in the United States, from their first settlement.* Drawn up from unpublished and other well authenticated records of the alleged operations of Witches and their instigator, the Devil. By Samuel G. Drake. Boston: W. Elliot Woodward. 1869. Quarto and small quarto, pp. 306.

We are indebted to our friend, the publisher, for a copy of this work; the eighth of his *Historical Series*.

The venerable Editor of the volume has attempted, therein, to collect the scattered annals of witchcraft in the United States; and, in his search, he has extended his enquiry from 1636 to 1728, from Plymouth, by way of Connecticut, Boston, Springfield, Ipswich, New Haven, New Hampshire, Long Island, Saybrook, Albany, Andover, Fairfield, Hadley, Northampton, Philadelphia, Portsmouth, Salem, Seitate, South Carolina, Stratford, and Westchester, to Rhode Island; and he includes among his Witches not only aged widows and middle-aged married women, but Quaker maids—evidence, in itself, of his good taste, as a man, as well as of his accuracy, as an annalist.

The narrative, in each instance, is necessarily very brief; and the references, at the foot, might have been increased in number without injury to the work. Yet, for all the purposes of this publication, we suppose what we find therein is quite sufficient; and, as an extension of either would have extended the size and the cost of the volume, any material extension of either the text or the Notes would probably have defeated the designs of those who have carried it

through the Press.

The Editor, in a ten-page *Preface*, makes a not very successful apology for those who degraded their manhood and their, so-called, Christianity, by persecuting helpless women; and he does this by assuming "that those in authority, in that 'day,' who persecuted old women on a plea of Witchcraft, 'were men 'fearing God,' and by assuming, too, that the witchcraft of the Bible and the 'witchcraft' at Salem were the same—in both cases without submitting any evidence thereon to his readers. A *Preliminary Dissertation* of thirty-six pages follows, in which a wide range of inquiry is taken, without securing a very evident success in any part of it.

There seems to be an undue attraction in this subject of witchcraft; and, if we may judge thereon by the number of volumes devoted to it, the reading public seems to be well-pleased with it. There seems to be great room for improvement, however, in the current literature of witchcraft; and we regret that one so well-read and careful as Mr. Drake, has not broken up the sod, in the volume before us. Why has not he traced, for instance, as Mr. Upham traced, the origin and moving causes of this Witchcraft fraud? Why did not he ascertain the reason of its appearance in the New England towns at the East end of Long Island? Governor Colver's contempt for the subject, when contrasted with the veneration which was paid to it to the Eastward, might have afforded, one would have supposed, the subject of a paragraph in that *Dissertation*, on Yankee shrewdness and Dutch stupidity; and other curious phenomena might have been usefully examined.

But we must go no further. The volume is very handsomely printed by Munsell of Albany.

48.—*Cyclopædia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature.* Prepared by the Rev. John McClintock, D.D., and James Strong, S. T. D. Vol. III. E, F, G. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. (6) 1048. Price \$5.00.

We have already referred our readers to the peculiar thoroughness of this work; and we can add nothing to what we have already said on the subject.

If we except what seems to be an undue disposition to introduce the names of American Methodists who are unknown to fame, among its biographies—not that these were not good men, but they were only locally famous, and there were those in other denominations who were equally good and equally famous in their own neighborhood, and yet are not mentioned—this work would fill the measure of our wants and our notions in this department of literature; but, even as it is, this peculiar feature does not affect its high character nor its completeness, in

the general subjects on which it treats.

It is very thorough, unusually impartial in its statements, and exceedingly comprehensive in its selection of subjects. It is remarkably candid in its examination and exposition of disputed subjects, to the extent, even, in some cases, of seeming to conflict with the known tenets of the Church of which its Editors are honored members; and it does not seem to avoid anything—as such works too often do—simply because an examination of it would involve trouble and, possibly, provoke discussion. Besides, it is well-printed and neatly illustrated; and as a specimen of book-making it is as creditable to its Publishers as, in its literary character, it is creditable to its Editors.

It will interest a large portion of the reading public to know that the lamented death of the Rev. Doctor M'Clintock will occasion no delay in the publication of the remaining volumes of this exceedingly useful work. The main body of this important contribution to religious literature was prepared before the first page was put in type; and the separate articles now require only to be revised, to add the results of fresh researches and discoveries in scholarship, as the several volumes go to press. In this labor Doctor Strong has the assistance of many able and accomplished scholars, belonging to different denominations; and nothing will be left undone to secure the utmost thoroughness and accuracy on every page of the work. The third volume, now before us, exhausts the letter *G*; and about three volumes more will be required to complete the alphabet. The whole work, thus comprised within six or seven convenient volumes, will form the most important and compact library of reference in the English language for the student of the Bible, in accuracy of scholarship, comprehensiveness of plan, and fullness of detail and illustration, far surpassing every former work of the kind ever attempted in Europe or America.

49.—*The Heart of the Continent*: a record of travel across the Plains and in Oregon, with an examination of the Mormon principle. By Fitz Hugh Ludlow. With Illustrations. New York: Hurd and Houghton. 1870. Octavo, pp. 568.

The author of this volume was one of a party who crossed the continent "for artistic and scientific purposes;" but we have no means of learning, either from the volume itself or from any other source, *when or for what exact purposes* the journey was undertaken, except from the fact that the railway communication, westward, at that time, extended no farther than Atchison.

Starting from that place, which the author briefly describes, supplementing the description of the town with one, exceedingly minute and painfully graphic in its character, of a lynch-

law trial and an execution which were witnessed there, the party proceeded, overland, on the Overland Mail Coach, by way of Comstock's Rancho—where the party enjoyed its first buffalo-hunt, which is most minutely described, in all its various phases—Fort Kearney, Denver,—from which place excursions were made to Pike's Peak and the Garden of the Gods,—Salt Lake City—at which place both Brigham Young and his people were carefully noted—to San Francisco—whence journeys were made to the great Yosemite and Oregon.

The author describes the adventures of this extended journey with commendable spirit and with occasional displays of the *science* which the party was supposed to have possessed; and he has succeeded in making a very entertaining work, illustrative of the perils of the old-fashioned overland journey, of the general appearance of the country to the westward of Atchison, and of the habits and every-day life of the frontier-men of the West.

The Appendix, which seems to be the portion of the volume in which the Author takes the liveliest interest, is occupied with an examination of the great Mormon question, and with an exposition of what he supposes is necessary for its disposition—a suggested process which stamps Mr. Ludlow with his evidently true character, as a man who measures other men's rights by his own notions, and whose notions of a republican form of government are cramped into the mould of Austria and Russia, in their Hungarian and Polish policies.

There is not, at the close of the volume, what there should be, an Index of subjects which are discussed or referred to in it; and it will take as long to find a subject as to read it.

The peculiar beauty of workmanship which distinguishes the issues from "the Riverside Press," at Cambridge, is exhibited in this volume—it is one which displays rare good taste, both in the printing and the binding.

50.—*The Documentary History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Vermont*, including the Journals of the Conventions from the year 1790 to 1832, inclusive. New York: Pott & Amery. Claremont, N. H. Claremont Manufacturing Co. 1870. Octavo, pp. 418.

The object of this work is to preserve from extinction, and to render more generally accessible, the information of the Past of the Protestant Episcopalian Church in Vermont, which, before its publication, could be found only in the perishable records and in the fading memories of those who took part in the events referred to—too soon, it may be, to be found no longer.

The basis of the work, of course, is the Journals of the several Conventions, from 1790; but these meagre and, very often, imperfect records

have been admirably edited by a Committee, whose modesty, strange to say, is as great as its merit. Very elaborate Notes have been added to each Journal, explaining what was obscure in the latter and adding, in substance, what was before omitted. In these Notes, are introduced papers of the highest importance, not only to the local historian but to the student of our general history—as instances, we need only allude to the exceedingly important correspondence with Samuel Peters, D.D., concerning the Episcopacy in Vermont; the various notes concerning the attempted sequestration of the Church lands and Glebes which had been reserved in the several towns, when they were originally organized; etc. Besides, we find, scattered through the volume, brief biographies, statistical exhibits, etc.; and a tolerably good Index closes the volume.

We have seldom taken up a volume which has been edited as carefully as this. It is, therefore, of the first importance, both as a local, relating to the history of Vermont, and as an authority on matters pertaining to the Episcopalian Churches in America, to every one who may be interested in the important subject of American History.

51.—*A comparative Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Language*. In which its forms are illustrated by those of the Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Gothic, Old Saxon, Old Friesic, Old Norse, and Old High-German. By Francis A. March. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. ix, 253.

The Anglo-Saxon language, at best, is a mongrel. The Celts, who originally peopled Britain, were as little like their invaders, either in language or manners, as were the aborigines of America, like the Spaniards or the English who invaded the New World and robbed its inhabitants; and the language which we call "Anglo-Saxon," is just such a jargon as might have been found on our borders, two or three hundred years ago, before the language employed by the present generation had been licked into shape by a succession of users, each improving on the last. It is a compound of Latinized Saxon, seasoned with a sprinkling of Celtic, Danish, and, possibly, a corrupted Roman; and it has about the same relation to the Celtic that the English has to the Chahta. Yet, the Anglo-Saxon is important in its bearing on the language which we employ; and, as such, it is an appropriate subject for the consideration of scholars.

In the beautiful volume before us, we have an introduction to the subject, ranging from the alphabet to Prosody; and it seems, as far as we can judge, to have been prepared with great care. The examples have been translated; the citations made easy for verification; leading rules and groups of facts have been brought together; indices have been made: and, not least, the re-

sources of the printer have been freely employed to make the work as complete and as distinct as possible. It will be a welcome addition, we doubt not, to the philological apparatus of our colleges and high schools; and if it shall serve to learn a little common sense to those who prefer to grope in the Latin and Greek—tongues of which the very pronunciation is yet a vexed question—it will not have been published in vain.

52.—*Tom Brown's School Days*. By an old boy. New Edition. With illustrations by Arthur Hughes and S. P. Hall. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 135. Price 50 cents.

The peculiar merits of this well-known book for boys are so widely known and recognized, that we need not occupy space in describing them; and we content ourselves, therefore, with announcing a new edition, very handsomely printed and illustrated, and every way worthy of an extended circulation.

53.—*The Genealogy of the Benedicts in America*. By Henry Marvin Benedict. Albany: Joel Munsell. 1870. Octavo, pp. xix, 475.

In 1638, a solitary "Benedict," Thomas by name and a weaver by trade, wandered from Nottinghamshire, in England, to America, in company with his step-mother's daughter by a deceased husband; was married to his *compagnon du voyage*, after their arrival in the New World; settled in the Bay Colony; subsequently removed to Connecticut; thence to Southold, on Long Island; thence to Huntington; thence to Jamaica; and, finally, to Norwalk, in Connecticut, where, early in 1690, he died, in the seventy-third year of his age. He was much respected; a Deacon in the Church; and quite influential in the political and social circles of his neighborhood, wherever he lived. Like most of the New England men of those times—we might say *unlike* most of the New England men of these times, who, in this as well as in many other respects, are not nearly as manly as their fathers were—he left nine children, all of whom had their shares of descendants.

The volume before us, which seems to have been intended only as a pioneer in the service of its diligent author, contains what one would suppose to be a complete record of the descendants of the *sons* of the founder of the family; yet he tells us, emphatically, that "he does not consider his work finished, as it stands;" and that he designs the publication of a supplementary volume which, "he trusts, will correct all errors and supply all omissions of the present."

We like the spirit which evidently prompted the author of that promise. We admire his evident fidelity to the self-assumed duty which has

devolved on him, as an author. We honor the resolute determination with which he has promised increased labor—the exact meaning of which promise he understood when he made it—in order to make as perfect and as accurate as possible, the work which he has undertaken to prepare and carry through the press. We have confidence, therefore, in the accuracy of what he has already written, as far as *he* can ensure accuracy therein; and, although he is an entire stranger to us, we are proud of him as a new member of that feeble circle of authors who, in order to do their duty, dare be singular.

Our valued friend and contributor, Hon. Erastus C. Benedict, of New York, has written an "Introduction" to the work, pleasantly discussing the origin of the name; the earlier "Benedicts"—some of whom, we suspect, were not of the tribe now under notice—the sterling virtues of his forefathers and the honor which the family derives from them; the characteristics of the family; etc.; and very elaborate Indices close the volume.

The work is very carefully illustrated; and its typographical appearance, having been printed by Munsell, is very good.

54.—*Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department of the United States.* By Henry Lee. A new edition, with revisions, and a Biography of the Author, by Robert E. Lee. New York: University Publishing Co. 1869. Octavo, pp. 622.

In our January number—*ante*, page 78—we referred to this work, at length, in which we alluded to its merits, as an authority in history. We have recently received a copy of the same work, elegantly printed on tinted paper, with rubricated title-page, and illustrated on indiapaper—one of an edition mainly intended for presents—and we make mention of it, in its new form, for the information of collectors.

55.—*Christianity and Greek Philosophy; or, relation between spontaneous and reflective thought in Greece and the positive teaching of Christ and his Apostles.* By B. F. Cocker, D.D. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 531. Price \$2.75.

This volume was written for the masses. It is a profound discussion of some of the most important problems of the day, in the management of which the author has been actuated, as he tells us, "by a conscientious desire to deepen and vivify our faith in the Christian system of truth, by showing that it does not rest *solely* on a special class of facts, but upon all the facts of nature and humanity: that its authority does not repose *alone* on the peculiar and supernatural events which transpired in Palestine, but *also* on the still broader foundations of the ideas and laws of the reason and the

"common wants and instinctive yearnings of the human heart. It is his conviction that the course and constitution of nature, the whole current of history, and the entire development of human thought, in the ages anterior to the advent of the Redeemer, center in, and can be interpreted only by, the purpose of Redemption."

It will be seen, therefore, that the leading theories of the great thinkers of the present age, as well as the profound systems which prevailed in Greece, have been therein confronted with the simple teachings of the Saviour and his followers; and the volume will serve, usefully, therefore, as a guide to the history and character of both ancient and modern philosophy, while it also serves to suggest the peculiarities of both.

It is seldom that so profound a work is issued from the American press; and, whether its teachings shall be assented to or otherwise, whether its author shall be found to agree or disagree with the thinkers of all classes, who are to read and pass judgment on his volume, the remarkable ability which he has displayed in its preparation will place him in the front rank of living American philosophers, and command, for him, the respect of even those who shall dissent from his conclusions.

A carefully prepared Index closes this volume; and the second of the series, on *Christianity and Modern Thought*, is promised.

56.—*American Political Economy; including strictures on the management of the Currency and Finances, since 1861, with a Chart showing the fluctuations in the price of gold.* By Francis Bowen. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1870. Octavo, pp. ix, 495.

Some dozen years or so ago, Professor Bowen published a volume entitled *Principles of Political Economy*; and the volume before us seems to have been based on that work. It may not be the same, but it probably originated in that volume.

Professor Bowen, in this volume, takes the sensible ground that every people has its own peculiarities and needs its own system of Economy; that while there are some fundamental principles, underlying all systems, which are applicable to all, alike, there are other principles which are not applicable to more than a single State; that, therefore, Adam Smith, and Ricardo, and J. Stuart Mill, and others who have followed them, have truly written only the Economy of *England*; and that there is a necessity for a treatise which shall present that of *America*. The volume before us is intended to supply that demand; and we have, therefore, a scientific examination of the Economy of the United States, as it has been developed in the age of lawless-

ness in which, during ten years, the United States have squandered their honor and their honesty.

We have not yet found time to follow the learned Professor through his abstruse Chapters on Finance, and Taxation, and Banking; but we have gone far enough therein to satisfy ourselves of the fact that while the Professor may be an expert as an Economist, he needs some alteration before he can be considered as a reliable historian, or be safely entrusted with the history of the United States, as evidence to establish his theories in Economy. Yet, notwithstanding these defects, either accidentally or otherwise, the Professor has evidently done the country a service; and his volume may be usefully referred to by those who are sufficiently acquainted with the Truth to be able to recognize Error, where it has been presented in his pages, and to reject it.

The typography is creditable to the excellent house which publishes it.

57.—*An Essay in aid of a Grammar of Assent.* By John Henry Newman, D.D. New York: Catholic Publication Society. 1870. Octavo, pp. viii, 479.

This is another of the volumes, recently issued from the press, which appeal to the careful reading and careful study of the thinking few. It is intended for that class which is really very small, in every country; and while it might be profitably studied by many who will not see it, thousands will see it, unto whom, because they do not understand its value, the sterling gold which is scattered throughout its pages, will be no more than was the jewel to Æsop's cock on the dung-hill.

The first Part relates to "assent and apprehension," in which are treated, successively, the modes of holding and apprehending Propositions, Assent considered as Apprehensive, the Apprehension of Propositions, Notional and Real Assent, and Apprehensive Assents in Religious Matters; while the second Part treats of "Assent and Inference," in all their connections, with equal precision and particularity.

It will be seen, from this brief survey of its contents, that Doctor Newman grapples with some of the most abstruse problems.

58.—*The History of Rome*, by Theodor Mommsen. Translated with the Author's sanction and additions by the Rev. William P. Dickson, D.D. With a Preface by Dr. Leonhard Schmitz. New Edition, in four volumes. Volumes I. and II. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1869. Crown octavo, pp. [I.] 635, [II.] 568. Price \$2.50 per volume.

This work, which has earned a European reputation, as the best History of the Roman Republic, is in the hands of Charles Scribner & Co.; and a re-print of the first two volumes, in an extreme-

ly neat dress, is before us, embracing that portion of the work which relates to the period anterior to the abolition of the Monarchy and that which tells the story of Roman history, from the abolition of her Monarchy to the subjugation of Carthage and the Greek States.

In thus venturing to place before the great body of American readers, at a very moderate price and in a very neat dress, one of the very best of Roman Histories, our respected friends, its publishers, have done a real service to American literature; and we hope they will be amply rewarded.

59.—*Ancient States and Empires; for Colleges and Schools.* By John Lord, LL.D. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1869. Crown Octavo, pp. 645.

This work is said to have been prepared chiefly for educational purposes; but we confess that we think its author belongs to any other class than that which includes within its membership the real educators of youth.

It is seldom that we have seen so much of a job, in the line of book-making, as in this work; and if the author had been modest enough to allow some person, more competent than himself, to follow him and his printer, for the purpose of correcting the errors of both—we say both, because we have supposed that some of these errors belong to each, although the poor printer may be guiltless of all of them—the volume would have been made more respectable as a History of Ancient States and Cities, and more useful, even in this age of educational humbug, as a text-book, "for colleges and schools."

Typographically considered, this work is very neatly printed.

60.—*A Manual of Church History.* By Henry E. F. Guericke. Translated from the German by William G. T. Shedd. *Mediæval Church History*, A. D. 590—A. D. 1073. Andover: Warren F. Draper. 1870. Octavo, pp. vii. 160. Price \$1.75.

We have not seen the volume of which this is said to be a continuation; but we understand that the two, together, constitute an unbroken history of "the Church," during the first ten centuries—*what* Church we have not yet exactly ascertained.

Guericke is an Evangelical Lutheran, we believe; a Professor in the University of Halle; and a disciple, as far as history goes, of Neander; and the volume before us is marked by all the peculiarities of the German mind which framed it. It includes, among other topics, the spread of Christianity among the Gothic, Scandinavian, and Slavonic races; the exciting controversies concerning the two Wills in Christ, Image-worship, and the Lord's Supper; and the division of the East and the West.

We have not attempted to examine this work very closely, in the absence of the earlier portion of it; but the high character of the author and the judicious care with which Doctor Shedd has translated it seem to warrant the high praise which has been hitherto awarded to it. We have no hesitation, therefore, in calling the attention of our readers to it.

It is very neatly printed, by Rand and Avery of Boston.

61.—*Lieut.-General U. S. Grant, his Services and Characteristics*, as sketched and delivered by Major-Gen. B. S. Roberts, before the Faculty and Students of Yale College, by invitation, October, 1865, and again read to the Legislature of Connecticut, by special invitation, in 1866, at its Session at New Haven, Conn. New Haven: 1869. Octavo, pp. 19.

A fulsome Eulogy of General Grant; by an officer of the Federal Army.

62.—*Some General Practical Information in regard to the "Great State of Kansas." The Greatest Fruit, Stock, and Grain Country in the World.* Second Edition, enlarged and Revised. Lawrence, Kansas: Kansas Publishing Company. 1870. Octavo, pp. 64. Price 50 cents.

This is one of those hand-books which are so useful to emigrants, and which mark the steady progress to greatness of the rising States of the West. It is one of the best of the class; and we can commend it as a "local" which, some day, will be sought and not found by those who will be anxious to learn of the history of Kansas.

It has an excellent map of the State; and is very fairly printed.

63.—*A Secular View of Religion in the State, and the Bible in the Public Schools*, by E. P. Harbut. Albany, N. Y.: Joel Munsell. 1870. Octavo, pp. 55.

In this pamphlet the author attempts to show that, in a Democratic Republic, which derives its existence and power from popular consent, Religion cannot be entertained as an affair of the State; that Governments which promote Religion are opposed to Democracy, and corrupted into Theocracies which are entirely antagonistic—are founded on a false and dangerous assumption, and result in tyranny and persecution—giving a few striking historical examples to sustain this view.

The author holds it dangerous to the safety of the American Republic, for a foreign Prince to send emissaries to this country and to appoint high dignitaries of a Church to reside on American soil and exercise episcopal functions in our midst; and he advocates an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, authorizing the prohibition of this practice, which is viewed with jealousy by European States and, by several, is prohibited as an infringement on their

individual Sovereignty.

On the much mooted question of the Bible and religious teaching in the Schools, the author takes the ground of entire exclusion, in order that the Schools supported by compulsory tax may be freed from all objection and successfully maintained as one of the main supports of a free State.

He replies briefly to the arguments of the Rev. Mr. Preston, who has published the Catholic view of the School-question; and protests against the money raised by a general tax being used for the support of sectarian Schools, regarding them as dangerous to the well-being of the State. He notices also the arguments of some Protestant Divines, in favor of religious teaching in the Schools, and who assert that Christianity is a part of the Common Law of the land.

The pamphlet concludes with the proposal of a further Amendment to the Constitution of the Union, prohibiting Congress, or any State or Municipality, from levying any tax, or appropriating any money, for the support or in aid of any sectarian School, or for any religious purpose whatever.

64.—*The Life of Christopher Columbus.* From authentic Spanish and Italian Documents. Compiled from the French of Roselly de Lorgues. By J. J. Barry, M.D. Boston: P. Donahoe. 1869. Octavo, pp. xvi, 620.

We are glad to find, at last, in English, a Roman Catholic biography of Columbus, since there are many portions of his career which could not be treated by those of an opposite religious faith, with that certain candor and fidelity which the importance of the subject demands.

In the volume before us, the French Memoir by de Lorgues has served as the basis of the narrative; but it has served only as a basis, as that memoir has been abbreviated, completed, and sometimes corrected; and a volume has been produced which possesses more of the elements of originality than many which make greater pretensions.

We have examined this volume with entire satisfaction. It does not pretend to be as perfect, in all its parts, as de Lorgues's volumes are; yet no one can read it without admiring the spirit in which it was written and the diligence which has been bestowed in making it as perfect and as accurate as possible. It supplies a want which has long existed; and we bespeak for it the attention and respect of our readers.

It is very handsomely printed, on tinted paper; and it reflects as much credit, from its typographical neatness, on its enterprising publisher as, by its merit as a biography, on its diligent author.

65.—*Wild Sports of the World: a book of Natural History and Adventure.* By James Greenwood. With one hundred and forty-seven illustrations. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 474.

The title-page of this volume accurately describes its character—it is not a mere book of hair-breadth escapes and doubtful adventures; but one in which the character and habits of the wild-beasts of the world are carefully described, with merely incidental allusions to adventures, as illustrations of the narrative. It is, therefore, less open to objection, as a volume for the young, than many others; and, as such, it should be more widely circulated.

The illustrations are appropriate and well executed; and, as a whole, the volume is a very neat one.

66.—*Annual Statement of the business of the Saginaw Valley and "the Shore," for 1868.* Details of the manufacture of Lumber, Staves, Lath, Shingles, and Timber. The product of the Plaster Beds, Fisheries, and Ship Yards, with statement of Shipments, Markets, Stock on hand, &c. By Geo. F. Lewis and C. B. Headley. East Saginaw: *Daily Enterprise* Office. Octavo, pp. 27.

This is another of those annual statements of trade which are now thrusting themselves into our presence, when we least expect them, from the many young year-old markets of the mighty West, and startling us with the thundering announcements that, before we know it, "the West" will control the destinies of the Republic, and be felt, very sensibly, throughout the entire world.

We confess we knew nothing of this new market-place—this region from which, twenty years ago, scarcely a ripple disturbed the great current of the country's trade—this creation of a day, whence, in 1868, more than four hundred and fifty-seven millions of feet of Lumber, and more than one hundred and one millions of Shingles, and nearly thirteen millions of Staves, and more than five hundred and fifty-five thousands of barrels of Salt, were shipped.

We have seldom heard of this region, we say, and we have never dreamed of its importance—just as we are undoubtedly ignorant, in fact, of the overwhelming power, even at the present day, of that marvel of the age, "the West," in all that relates to the resources and the trade of our country. That power exists, however; and we can only hope that it will never be employed in any other than a righteous cause.

67.—*Personal and Military History of Philip Kearney, Major General United States Volunteers.* By John Watts de Peyster. New York: Rice & Gage. 1869. Octavo, pp. 6. (unpaged) 512.

In this volume, General de Peyster has eulogized his cousin, General Philip Kearney, who fell at Chantilly, on the first of September, 1862.

We cannot say that we admire either the subject or the way in which it has been handled; yet, as there seems to have been enough of a misunderstanding between the Author and his Publishers, to render uncertain which of the two are really accountable for some of the shortcomings of the volume, we do not feel called upon to condemn the former for faults in the work, which may be there because of the obstinacy of the latter in preventing the correction of them.

Of this, however, we are very certain—the volume before us is marked by all the faults of its author's earlier writings, although it is not without evidence of his superior abilities, as an accomplished military critic and an unusually well-read gentleman. Even his earliest works are not more elaborately pedantic nor more parenthetical in their structure than this is; nor are they more profuse in their frequent and extended references to the military history of Europe and to the makers of that history, as it is read on the battle-fields of the Continent.

The peculiar faults of which we speak are such as to make the volume an unwelcome one to almost every reader; and the Author, by this mistake, has inflicted a sad injustice, both on himself and his subject. Yet, notwithstanding these drawbacks, the careful reader will find much of History in it which he can find in no other work; and the careful student will not fail to notice, profusely scattered throughout its pages and sparkling in the midst of more that is forbidding in its character, many a little gem of unusual brilliance, the result of extended and careful reading and of deep and continued reflection, which needs only to be separated from the baser matter in which it is embedded, to ensure for those who seek it, both honor and advantage.

It is, we believe, a volume which is supplied only by Agents and not to be found in the bookstores.

68.—*History of Acworth, with the Proceedings of the Centennial Anniversary, Genealogical Records, and Register of Farms.* Edited by Rev. J. L. Merrill, Town Historian. Acworth: Published by the Town. 1869. Octavo, pp. 308.

Acworth, in New Hampshire, celebrated its centenary, in September, 1868; and the report of that event has extended to a fine octavo, devoted also to a history of the Town and of its early settlers, and illustrated with numerous portraits of both old and young.

More than one-third of this volume is occupied with an elaborate report of all the doings at the Centennial Celebration to which we have referred; and like those who followed the feast, in the presence of the Savior, literally nothing has been lost to the reader for it, of the fragments which were then dropped from the tables of jubi-

lant Acworth. A history of the Town follows, in which due attention has been paid, successively, to the Civil, Ecclesiastical, and Military portions of her history; and a Genealogy of the resident families and a Register of Homesteads fitly close the work.

The volume is handsomely printed and neatly illustrated; and we are inclined to think well of that rural Town which, in its corporate capacity, has thus honored its founders while it has also honored itself.

69.—*Vick's Illustrated Catalogue and Floral Guide for 1870.* James Vick, Rochester, N. Y. Octavo, pp. 84.

James Vick, of Rochester, once a typo, now a distinguished and enterprising florist and seedsman, has sent us a copy of this beautiful handbook of floriculture, for which he will accept our thanks. It is an elegant octavo, printed on tinted paper, beautifully illustrated, and is supplied to order at the nominal price of ten cents per copy; and we advise those of our readers whose taste runs toward their gardens, to send for one.

70.—*Military Commissions for the Trial of Citizens.* A Letter to the Attorney-general of the United States. By John H. James, Jr. Cincinnati: R. Clarke & Co. 1869. Octavo, pp. 16.

This letter seems to have been addressed to *The Cincinnati Daily Enquirer*, by one whose name indicates a relationship with one of our honored contributors, the venerable Colonel John H. James, of Urbana, Ohio. It relates to the celebrated Yerger Case, and is addressed to the Attorney-general, applying to his back, with a liberal hand, the severe castigation of an indignant protest against the official action of the latter, in opposing the application of Yerger for a Writ of *Habeas Corpus*.

As one of the pamphlets of the day, on one of the greater questions of the times, it is worthy of notice by all who examine the subject of which it treats.

71.—*A Monogram on our National Song.* By the Rev. Elias Nason, M. A. Albany: Joel Munsell. 1868. Octavo, pp. 69.

This beautiful volume is not happily named since it does not convey to all readers, clearly, a just idea of its contents.

The author opens with an essay on "The Ministry and Power of Music; and this is followed by others, successively, on "The Secret Power of Patriotic Song," on the "Little Music in the Old Colonial Times," on the "Music of the Revolution," including *Yankee Doodle*, on the "Songs at the close of the last Century," including Robert Paine's *Adams and Liberty*, Hop-

kinson's *Hail Columbia*, Sumner's *Ode to Science*, etc., on "The Early Songs of the Present Century," including Keyes's *Star-spangled Banner*, on "Our Songs during the tranquillity which Mr. Madison's War secured," on "Our Songs in the late War," and on "The distinctive character and future mission of our National Song;" and it will be seen that the entire range of our country's music passes in review and is noticed by the Author, both from the historical and the philosophical stand-points. The history of most of the popular songs is glanced at; and their character and effects are frequently made the subjects of well-considered and judicious remarks.

As we have intimated, this volume is a most beautiful specimen of typography, from the press of our good friend, Munsell, of Albany.

72.—*Contributions to the Geology of Ohio.* By Col. Chas. Whittlesey. Cleveland: 1869. Octavo, pp. 48.

Our readers will not forget how unsuccessful we have been in all our attempts to respect the character and do justice to the claims of our venerable contributor, Colonel Whittlesey of Cleveland; and many a man of a bolder mien than we possess, would have shrunk from the pamphlet which we have named at our head, if he had received it, as we did, through the Post-office. We have not, however; and we beg to invite our readers' attention to it.

We hope our venerable contributor will not take offence if we assure our readers that he is one of the most distinguished of western Geologists; that, during twenty years, he has been taking notes of the Geology of Ohio and the neighboring States; that he has generously published, from time to time, much of his material on this subject, which has been seized by others and employed without credit; and that we are pleased to learn that he is now about to reclaim the fugitives and put them to press on his own account.

In the tract before us, we suppose, we have an installment of this valuable material, in which the author discusses, successively, "The Ice Period and the Glacial Drift," the "Ancient Glaciers in Ohio," "Instances of Muck beds and burned Timber in Ohio," "The Extinct Mastadon and Elephant in Ohio," "Natural Ridges and Terraces in Ohio," and a great variety of kindred subjects; many of them carefully illustrated; and all of them written with great ability.

We hope the venerable author will present all his valuable Notes on this important subject to the public, in order that the world may not lose the benefit which may be derived from his observations; and we assure him that no one will

more earnestly and heartily welcome them than ourself. He has our best wishes in his work; and he may depend on the enjoyment of our willing co-operation wherever we can promote his well-intended and important purposes.

73.—*The Free Lands of Iowa*. Being an accurate description of the Sioux City Land District. A general View of Iowa: her resources and advantages; with reliable information relative to the vacant lands for all who are seeking homes in the West, and full directions for obtaining homesteads and pre-emptions. By A. R. Fulton. De Moines, Iowa: Mills & Co. 1869. Octavo, pp. 44.

A very carefully-prepared description of that portion of North-western Iowa which is embraced in the Sioux City Land District, together with minute instructions for locating lands, under the various Laws of the United States.

As a "local" of Iowa, this tract is a very important one: as a guide to explorers or settlers it is not less valuable.

74.—*Aiken, South Carolina*. A description of the Climate, Soils, and the Nature of the Products in the vicinity of Aiken, S. C., especially Fruit, Cereals, Cotton, Corn, &c., including extracts from Letters of distinguished visitors, correspondents, action of Town Councils inviting emigrants, &c., &c., &c. Illustrated with Maps. New York and Aiken: J. C. Derby. 1870. Octavo, pp. 78.

This is a Southern publication, descriptive of the country around Aiken, issued for the purpose of inducing immigrants to settle in that vicinity. It will interest many of our readers as an important South Carolinian "local," which they will undoubtedly seek copies of.

75.—*The Vicar of Bullhampton*. A Novel. By Anthony Trollope. With illustrations. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 300.

Miss Van Kortland. A Novel. By the author of *My daughter Elvior*. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 150. Price \$ 1.00.

Beneath the wheels. A romance. By the author of *Olive Varcoe*, etc. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 173. Price 50 cents.

The Portrait in my Uncle's Dining-room; and other Tales. First Published in America, in *Littell's Living Age*. Boston: Littell & Gay. [1870.] Octavo, pp. 107. Price 25 cents.

Kilmory. By William Black. New York: Harper & Bro. 1870. Octavo, pp. 136. Price 50 cents.

Man and Wife. By Wilkie Collins. New York: Harper & Bro. 1870. Octavo, pp. 239.

Guendoline's Harvest. A Novel. By the author of *Carlyon's Year*. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 85. Price 25 cents.

The above are all works of fiction, neatly printed, on good paper, and sold at very low prices, to meet the demand of those who are travelling, or amusing themselves in the country, or seeking only the temporary pleasure which such works are intended to produce.

76.—*France and England in North America*. A series of historical narratives. By Francis Parkman. Part third. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 1869.

The Discovery of the Great West. By Francis Parkman. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1869. Small Octavo, pp. III. 425. Price \$2.50.

We are indebted to the learned author for this new volume of his series of historical narratives; and we have glanced over its pages with complete satisfaction.

The discovery of the Great West, as the valleys of the Mississippi and the Lakes are called, is a portion of our history which has been hitherto very imperfectly understood; and the purpose of this volume is to supply the information on that subject, which has been wanting, hitherto.

Mr. Parkman, in his first page, introduces the great master-spirit of Western discovery—*René-Robert Cavelier*, Sieur de la Salle, the son of wealthy parents; a native of Rouen; probably, at one time, a member of the Society of Jesus; and a man of great resolution and tenacity. He next describes the settlement of La Salle, at La Chine, on the St. Lawrence, and his day-dreams of a western passage to the Pacific, by way of the Ohio and the Mississippi—both of which streams had been described to him by the struggling Indians who had visited his settlement—and of the commercial profit which would accrue to the fortunate explorer. He tells, also, of La Salle's preparation, at his own expense, for the enterprize of exploration; of the union with his, of the expedition, under Dollier de Casson, which the Seminary of St. Sulpice, at Montreal, had fitted out for missionary purposes; of the probable intrigues of the Jesuits, on the Genesee, to prevent a prosecution of the enterprize; of the parallel expedition of Joliet; of the early abandonment of him by the Sulpitians; of the prosecution, by the latter, of their journey westward, by way of Lake Erie, the Strait of Detroit, and Lake Huron, to the Sant St. Marie; and of their return to Montreal, by way of Lake Nipissing and the Ottawa. He has failed in his effort to ascertain, with certainty, the exact occupation of La Salle, during the succeeding two years after the Sulpitians left him; but he fully secures to that daring explorer the honor of having discovered the Ohio-river and the Illinois; although he sees no evidence to prove, conclusively, that he discovered the Mississippi. He next describes the explorations of Marquette and the Jesuits; the formal occupation of the West, at the Sant St. Marie, by the French; the discovery of the Mississippi by Joliet and Marquette; their exploration of that stream, as far as the Arkansas; their return; the death of Marquette; and the subsequent devotion of Joliet to trade. Returning to La Salle, Mr. Parkman next opens to our

view the great schemes of that great man—the opening of a passage, over the Continent, to the Pacific; the anticipation of Spain and England, in the occupation of the West, by France; and the securing of an outlet for the trade of the West, at the mouth of the Mississippi. He tells of the mercantile venture which led to the original settlement of Kingston, on Lake Ontario; of the Grant of that settlement to La Salle; of the opposition by the Jesuits to his projects and to himself; of the prosecution of his great designs, under the authority of the King, with enlarged commercial privileges; of the establishment of the post at Niagara; of the construction of the *Griffen*, above the Falls, and her passage up Lake Erie, into Lake Huron and to the Jesuit Mission at St. Ignace of Michillimackinac; of her subsequent trip to Green Bay; of her return trip, laden with furs, to Niagara; of La Salle's establishment, at the mouth of the St. Joseph's and near Peoria; of disaffection among his men and of discontent among his creditors; and of the destruction of his last two settlements, the loss of the *Griffen*, and of disasters, everywhere. He describes the adventures of Hennepin, his impositions, and his captivity among the Sioux. He relates the renewed activity of La Salle; his attempt to confederate the Western Indians under the shadow of the flag of France, a counterpoise to the Iroquois; and his successful voyage down the Mississippi, to its mouth. He tells of the extension of the domain of the King of the French; of the successful establishment of his Colony, on the banks of the Illinois; of the triumph of his enemies, in Canada; and of his return to France, in search of new authority and other means to sustain it. He describes the new expedition to the Gulf of Mexico, which La Salle organized in France; his debarkation in Matagorda Bay; the disaffection of his followers; his sufferings; and his death by assassination; and the volume closes with a description of the destruction of the French Colony in Texas, by the Indians and Spaniards.

It will be seen that the central figure of this interesting narrative, is that of the *Sieur de la Salle*; although Tonti, and Frontenac, and Hennepin, and Joliet, and Joutel, and Marquette are duly represented and described, one after another, as playing their several little parts in the great work of discovery and settlement; and we cannot but admire not only the patient research with which the distinguished author has obtained his material and tested its value, but the peculiar ability with which he has employed it and presented the result to the world. We are not quite sure that Mr. Parkman will always command the approval of all whose studies have made them familiar with the details of his subject—how can he, with La Salle as his hero and

with such evident want of sympathy with the Jesuits which he has exhibited?—yet, all will admire the unquestionable sincerity and the singular frankness with which he has discussed, successively, the different portions of his subject; while the remarkable beauty of his style indisputably adds charms to his narrative which few other authors can command.

As a whole, this volume forms a part of one of the most important series connected with American Colonial History—a series which, for general historical accuracy and beauty of style, has commanded the respect of scholars, the world over—and we venture little in promising a hearty welcome to it, wherever the peculiar excellencies of its learned author are known.

As a very fine specimen of bookmaking, this volume is also particularly noticable.

77.—*History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the defeat of the Spanish Armada.* By James Anthony Froude, M. A. Volumes XI and XII. New York: C. Scribner & Co. 1870. Crown octavo, pp. (XI.) 702; (XII.) 653. Price \$ 3.00 per volume.

Mr. Froude having stopped with the defeat of the Armada, instead of carrying his subject to the death of Elizabeth, as formerly proposed, these volumes conclude the series.

The work having been finished, we may look at it, complete, as one of the most remarkable works of the age. Under the system which Mr. Froude has so admirably illustrated, the old-time histories become obsolete; the traditions of the fathers, on historical subjects, mostly disappear on being touched; and new facts, clearly expressed and abundantly sustained by evidence, start up on every line. Nothing has been taken on credit: nothing has been repeated because it has been, already, oft-told: nothing is presented without the accompanying foot-note, when such an accompaniment will add weight to the statement.

Such an example as Mr. Froude has presented, with such results, cannot but be useful to the cause of historical enquiry, since the littleness of what has been called "history" has been demonstrated; the worthlessness of many of the great ones has been proved; and the superiority of many who have been maligned, generation after generation, has been established. It is a bright example of the "new school" of history, of which so much has been said; and the excellent publishers, for their courage in so bravely re-producing the work, deserve the thanks of every earnest lover of genuine History.

The typography is excellent; and the make-up of the work, generally, is very good.

78.—*The ancestry of General Grant, and their contemporaries.* By Edward Channey Marshall, A. M. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. xlii, 186.

What was and what was not "the ancestry of General Grant" is of very little importance, except as material for the gratification of a little individual pride in General Grant and his family, or for the purpose of securing a little personal allusion to the person who inquires concerning it.

According to this book, the first of the Grants, in America, was MATTHEW, of Windsor, Connecticut—"probably" an emigrant per the *Mary and John*; and certainly a respectable surveyor and the Clerk of the Town. His son, SAMUEL, and his grandson, SAMUEL, were also respectable residents of Windsor, but, not unlike the great body of their townsmen, they have been entirely unknown to fame, until within the past few weeks. The last of these had a son NOAH, of Tolland; and a grandson of the same name—the last, a Captain in the Provincial service, was killed near Lake George, in 1756. The Captain left a son, NOAH, who lived and died in Maysville, Kentucky, leaving a large train of descendants, many of whom, if not the greater part of them, were supporters of the insurrection and either fought against the United States or helped others to do so. One of them, however, was JESSE, the well-known Postmaster of Covington, Kentucky, whose good fortune it has been to have raised a son, named ULYSSES SIMPSON, now President of the United States.

There is a great amount of irrelevant matter in this volume, concerning sundry persons named Grant, some of whom or none of whom may or may not have been related to the real ancestors of General Grant; and we confess that it poorly serves to compliment that gentleman's personal abilities, to prove, or even to assert, that he has descended from a race of giants who had been reduced to the stature of ordinary men, before he was born, and who were accidentally raised again, above the average height of those who are their contemporaries, entirely through the personal merits of the last of the race, or through the circumstances in which he was placed. If there is anything in the Grants, more than in other people, they are indebted for it to the General rather than to his ancestors; and he is entitled to the entire credit of doing that for which the author of this volume seems to be anxious to give other people the credit.

This volume is very beautifully printed, on tinted laid paper.

79.—*The Odes and Epodes of Horace.*—A metrical translation into English. With Introduction and Commentaries. By Lord Lytton. With Latin text from the editions of Orelli, Maclean, and Yonge. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. 321.

The readers of *Blackwood's Magazine*, during the past two years, will find nothing new in either the Introduction or many of the translations which are in this volume, since they have already appeared in that widely-known journal. For convenience sake, however, and for the benefit of those who do not see *Blackwood*, this volume will be acceptable; and it seems to have been required, also, as a portion of the collective edition of Bulwer's writings which the Harpers are issuing from the press.

Concerning the merits of Lord Lytton's estimate of Horace, as a poet, and of his new translation of the poet's Odes and Epodes, there will be great difference of opinion among scholars: we confess that the latter does not please us, notwithstanding the high character of the translator.

The volume is very neatly printed.

80.—*Novels of George Eliot. Vol. I. Adam Bede. With Illustrations.* Duodecimo, pp. 452.

..... Vol. II. *The Mill on the Floss.* With Illustrations. Duodecimo, pp. 464.

..... Vol. III. *Felix Holt.* With Illustrations. Duodecimo, pp. 529.

..... Vol. IV. *Scenes of Clerical Life and Silas Marner.* With Illustrations. Duodecimo, pp. 497.

..... Vol. V. *Romola.* With Illustrations. Duodecimo, pp. 517.

Among the most notable of the female writers of the day, because of her perfect independence of thought, her intense but refined sympathy with the joys and sorrows of human nature, and her great power of delineation, is "*George Eliot*," whose series of novels, in an exceedingly neat dress and at a very low price—seventy-five cents per volume—have been recently published by the Messrs. Harper of New York.

With such works accessible to every one, at such prices, there is no excuse for spending time on trashy volumes, by writers without merit.

81.—*History of England from the death of Wolsey to the death of Elizabeth.* By James Anthony Froude, M. A. Volumes V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, and X. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. (V.) 474; (VI.) 495; (VII.) 554; (VIII.) 495; (IX.) xlii, 602; and (X.) xiv, 565. Price \$1.25 per volume.

We have so often alluded to the peculiar merits of this great historical work that we need do no more than announce these six additional volumes of what is called "*The Popular Edition*," which the Publishers are sending out, at a merely nominal price.

There can be no reason for ignorance among the masses, while such books as these are afforded at such prices, and that, too, not in closely-trimmed pages, stitched in paper covers; but from the same plates as the library edition, well-

printed, and very neatly bound.

It is a marvel of cheapness, and two more volumes will complete the work.

82.—*The Life of Mary Russell Mitford, Authoress of Our Village, etc. Told by Herself in Letters to Her Friends.* Edited by the Rev. A. G. K. L' Estrange. In two volumes. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. (I.) 378, (II.) 363.

In these neat volumes, we find the life and the labors, the pleasures and the pains, the joys and the sorrows, the opinions and the realities of Miss Mitford, clearly set forth in her own widely-extended correspondence with her most intimate friends. It is one of the most agreeable books of the day—full of interesting reminiscences, gossip, and biographical pleasantries; and perfectly adapted to the purpose of conveying to the reader the most accurate picture of the everyday life, and trials, and thoughts of the venerable subject of the memoir.

There are sprinkled over the varied surface, many incidents which will interest American readers, among them, Miss Mitford's evident satisfaction that her writings had been scattered over America, in cheap editions; and that, too, without an international copy-right. In like manner, allusions to Daniel Webster and Doctor Channing, Ticknor & Fields and Nathaniel Hawthorn, Mrs. President Sparks and Elihu Burrett, and other men and matters, of interest to our countrymen, will arrest attention.

One thing has been omitted, in the preparation of this work, which is wholly unpardonable—the Index—and we beg our friends, the Harpers, to supply the defect in their next edition of the work.

83.—*Journal of a Visit to Egypt, Constantinople, the Crimea, Greece, &c., in the suite of the Prince and Princess of Wales.* By the Hon. Mrs. William Grey. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Duodecimo. pp. 209.

The Prince and Princess of Wales recently visited the East; and in their train, as a traveling companion, was a Swedish lady, the author of this volume. That intelligent lady seems to have written a running comment on what occurred and what she saw and heard, during that journey, not for the purpose of printing it, but for her own amusement. The pleasant narrative seems to have reasonably attracted attention; and the fair author has been persuaded to give it to the press—a step which every one who reads it will approve and for which all will thank her.

There is an unaffected simplicity of style in this work which captivates the sober reader; and it is really refreshing to glance over the sketches of adventure and of character which she so pleasantly presents—her visit to the harem of the sovereign, particularly, is admirably told.

The volume is very neatly printed.

84.—*A German Course;* adapted to use in Colleges, High-schools, and Academies. By Geo. F. Comfort, A. M. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. viii, 423.

This work consists of, *First*, practical lessons for learning to read, write, and speak the German language; *Second*, familiar conversations, in German and English, forms of letters, etc.; *Third*, a compend of German Grammar; and, *Fourth*, tables of German monies, weights, measures, vocabularies, etc.

The arrangement of these different parts is eminently practical in its character, and commends itself to the good sense of all who, like ourself, know little of the language and desire to know more of that part of it which is practically useful, without burdening themselves with that which is merely ornamental; and we have pleasure in calling the attention of our readers to the volume.

The typography is excellent, in all its parts.

85.—*Man in Genesis and in Geology: Or, the Biblical Account of Man's Creation, tested by Scripture theories of his origin and antiquity.* By Joseph P. Thompson, D.D., LL.D. New York: S. R. Wells. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. 149. Price \$1.00.

"The origin of man" is one of the great problems of the age; and every leading theologian and every scientist, as well as every one who assumes to be such, seems anxious to make a dash at it. Doctor Thompson is the last of the number of whom we have any knowledge.

The volume before us is composed of a series of Lectures, in which the Doctor seeks to adjust and reconcile what seem to be the differences which exist between the Bible and the Geologists, on this important subject. It is neither a book of Theology, as such, nor one of Science, as such; but it aims to present the latest results of Science concerning the origin and antiquity of man, side by side with the account of his creation, as presented in the Scriptures, interpreted by the critical tests of modern Philology; and to suggest certain principles of adjustment, between the record of Nature and that of the Bible, without violence to the spirit of either.

Such a work, honestly written, as Doctor Thompson has undoubtedly written it, is very well calculated to become exceedingly useful; and the ripe scholarship of the Doctor enables him to handle his subject with unusual ability. Though condensed in style and argumentation, it is a valuable contribution to Science and Theology.

The volume is a neat one; and must become widely popular.

86.—*The Texas Almanac for 1870, and Emigrant's Guide to Texas*, showing the vast Area, Climate, and Fertility of the Soil; the Mild Temperature, neither so hot nor so cold as in the Northern States; the great Profits realized in Stock Raising, Sheep Husbandry, Agriculture, and various Manufactures; etc., etc., etc. [Galveston:] Richardson & Co. [1869.] Duodecimo, pp. 288.

This is a hand-book of the State of Texas, in which are presented accurate descriptions of nearly everything which any one will desire to know about that State, or concerning either its Agriculture, its Trade, its Lands, its Schools, its Government, its History, its Statistics, its Mineral Wealth, or its Inhabitants. It is the fourteenth issue of the work; and we speak understandingly when we say that it is decidedly the best work of its kind which we have yet seen.

Those who profess to collect "locals" will find nothing relating to Texas which will at all compare with it; and they will be pleased with it.

It is very neatly printed.

87.—*A Vocabulary of the Snake, or Sho-Shonay Dialect*. By Joseph A. Gebow, Interpreter. Second Edition, Revised and Improved, January 1, 1864. Green River City, Wg. Ter.: Freeman & Bro. 1868. Duodecimo, pp. 24.

We notice this tract, not because of its recent publication, but because of its importance to ethnologists and to those who collect the literature of the Indians. It is the work of an old resident in the Mountains; has received his careful revision; and is, probably, an unusually accurate and complete vocabulary of the Snake language. It may be considered, therefore, an important acquisition to the supply of works on the philology of the Aborigines; and, as such, it will be a welcome guest in the collections of all who shall be fortunate enough to secure copies of it.

It is very neatly printed; and what adds to the interest which it possesses is the fact that it was issued from a "press on wheels," which was carried from place to place, as its owners found work for it; and an inscription on the cover of the copy which is before us, evidently written by the printers, indicates that it was about to leave Green River City, "to be resurrected as *The Frontier Phoenix*, at Brigham City, Utah."

88.—*The Romance of Spanish History*. By John S. C. Abbott. With Illustrations. New York: Harper & Bros. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. 462.

Mr. Abbott seems to have exhausted French history, and turned to that of Spain.

In the volume before us, the author has ranged over the entire area of Spanish history, from B.C. 800 until the present day, seizing those more prominent points which present themselves above the average level of events, and presenting them, with all that peculiar skill in description for which Mr. Abbott is so well known, to

the attention of his readers. We are inclined to think well of this work, because it presents, in a small compass, a pretty good epitome of the history of Spain—enough, indeed, for the purposes of the greater number of readers.

89.—*A Winter in Florida; or Observations on the Soil, Climate, and Products of our semi-tropical State; with sketches of the principal Towns and Cities in Eastern Florida*. To which is added, a brief historical summary; together with hints to the Tourist, Invalid, and Sportsman. By Ledyard Bill. Illustrated. New York: Wood & Holbrook. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. 220. Price \$1.25.

The growing importance of Florida, as a place of resort for invalids from the rugged climate of the Northern States, seems to call for just such a work as this aims to be—a hand-book which shall serve to guide and instruct a stranger, in a visit to a strange country. What to expect and how to secure it, what to look at and how to see it, which way to go and how to go, are topics which interest every traveller, no matter for what purpose he goes.

In the volume before us, Florida is presented in all its varied features of natural beauty and social ugliness. We have the lines of travel described; the topography and geology of the country; the habits of the inhabitants; sketches of the history of the country; its climate and productions: etc.; and as it is written by a live Yankee, who has a habit of keeping his eyes and ears open, while he also looks out for the main chance, the value of the volume, as a companion of the journey, will not be questioned. It is calculated to save unnecessary expense; while it will serve, also, to make the trip more satisfactory to the stranger.

The illustrations are neat; and the typography of the volume is good.

90.—*A Greek Grammar for Beginners*. By William Henry Waddell. New York: Harper & Bros. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. 104.

This work is what it professes to be—a work "for beginners," to be studied and mastered by them, thoroughly and without discount. It is a school-book, for school-boys; for use, not for ornament; to be committed to memory, not laid by for reference. It seems to have been carefully prepared; and it is presented with all the attractions of beautiful typography and neatness of exterior.

91.—*A Southern School History of the United States of America, from the earliest discoveries to the present time*. By W. N. McDonald, A. M., and J. S. Blackburn. Baltimore: George Lycett. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. viii, 507.

This is a School History, written by Southerners, from a Southern point of sight, for the particular use of Southern Schools, and published

by a Southern publisher—the first book of the kind, we understand, which has yet been published.

Under these circumstances, it must be supposed that this volume will differ from others, proceeding from other sources; and it must be expected, too, that it will contain much and omit much, the omission and possession of which are peculiar to Northern productions. There is, also, a different way of stating the same circumstances, from that which we see in other School Histories; and we have a vastly more distinct portrayal of “the other side,” in all that relates to the various contests between the North and the South.

In all this, however, we see little to which we can object; and we certainly shall not object that, for their own purposes, in their own country, our Southern friends shall prefer to encourage their own literature, support their own tradesmen, and disseminate what they have a right to consider their own dearly-bought truths of history. Besides, there are some portions of this volume which are more complete than are usual in such volumes; and in no part of it have we noticed a word which savors of a desire to misrepresent the truth or to foster any bitterness of feeling. It is true, there are some portions which we think have been written without due examination of the authorities; and these we would have corrected: there are some, too, which will sound strangely in the ears of Northern readers, which are precisely true; and these we would not touch, even to silence a slanderer. As a whole, this history is a good one; as creditable to its Authors and Publishers as it will be useful to those for whose use it was written.

It is a neatly printed volume; without illustrations; and it may usefully find a place on Northern bookshelves.

92.—*Lost in the Jungle*. Narrated for Young People. By Paul du Chaillu. With numerous engravings. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. 260.

This is another of those famous books of wild adventure, by du Chaillu, which have been so vastly popular among the young folks, during the past few years; and it is very well calculated to keep that excitement alive, for some time to come.

We have reports, concerning it, from more than one of the young people of our family who have read the copy now before us; and there is great unanimity among them concerning it—they are all delighted with it, and almost frantic when they recite the stories of adventure which it contains.

It is beautifully illustrated; and will continue

to be popular, wherever it shall be circulated.

93.—*Health by good Living*. By W. W. Hall, M. D. Fourth Thousand. New York: Hurd & Houghton. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. vi, 277.

Doctor Hall is somewhat noted for his brave, out-spoken common sense; and this volume, like his noted *Journal of Health*, is calculated to establish that reputation.

He tells his reader, very sensibly, the *object* of eating, *when* to eat, *what* to eat, *how* to eat, *how much* to eat, and other matters of similar import; and the stern truths which he so sternly tells are those which appeal to every one, both in his own person and in every member of his family. If this volume could go into every man's hands—and into those of every woman, too—and be carefully studied and honestly obeyed, we should soon see healthier and better men and women, in our houses, and healthier and better children, on our side-walks, than we now see there; and the country would be the gainer for it.

It is neatly printed, and well calculated for a place in every sensible man's family library.

94.—*History of the State of New York*.—For the use of Common Schools, Academies, Normal and High Schools, and other Seminaries of Learning. By S. S. Randall, Superintendent of Public Schools of the City of New York. New York: J. B. Ford & Co. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. i—xx, 7—

It is a difficult task to trace the rise and progress to greatness of any State, no matter how simple its origin or how quiet its advances: how much more difficult must it be, therefore, to do that work for a State, such as New York is, in which its beginnings were under one sovereignty, its progress under another, and its triumph under a third; wherein it has played a leading part in the affairs of a Continent for two hundred years; wherein, to-day, the pulsations of its great heart carry either life or death into the farthest recesses of the Continent.

Our excellent neighbor and friend, Mr. Randall, has bravely attempted to compress this great body of facts into a single duodecimo volume; and that, too, with an honest and earnest desire to make the details intelligible to the young reader and welcome, from their entire accuracy, to those who are of riper years and wider range of information. He has examined, for himself, the various sources of information; and he has boldly disregarded what, in others, he has found to be of doubtful integrity. He has succeeded, therefore, with here and there an exception, in making a little compend of the history of our good old State, which will be useful to the great body of the people while it will, also,

from its small compass, be wholly within reach of all who shall desire to possess it.

Such a work has been very much needed, both in our schools and in families; and if the author will revise it, where it may need revision, and add to it an Index and a Map, it must become, as it should become, a welcome visitor in thousands of households in which, now, the history of New York is comparatively unknown and uncared for.

The volume is very neatly printed and very appropriately illustrated.

95.—*Sketches of Creation*; a popular view of some of the grand Conclusions of the Sciences in reference to the history of matter and of life, together with a statement of the intimations of Science respecting the primordial condition and the ultimate destiny of the earth and the solar system. By Alexander Winchell, LL.D. With Illustrations. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. 459.

This work is entitled to more of our time and space than we can possibly bestow on it. It is a concentrated statement of the great results of modern Science concerning the history of matter and of life; concerning what we term the progress of Creation; concerning what has been styled the six "days" of the primal Creation of all things.

In thus presenting this great subject, the learned author has done a service to more than one class of readers. Even the scholar will find the volume a welcome one, since it enables him to survey the entire field of his research, from one point of sight, without the distracting intrusion of details: how much more welcome, then, must it be to the general non-professional or unscientific reader, unto whom even the great general truths of modern Science are too much a mystery.

Unto every one, unless to those who cannot understand the revelation by the Scriptures except in a strictly *literal* sense, this volume will be a most welcome one; and every sober, thinking reader of it will rise from his perusal of its well-considered and well-written pages, if he shall have read them honestly, a more humble and devout Christian and a more intelligent and a better man.

The volume is very handsomely illustrated; and its typography is marked with the usual neatness of the recent publications of the Harpers.

96.—*Tah-koo Wah-kan; or the Gospel among the Dakotas*. By Stephen R. Riggs, A. M. With an Introduction, by S. B. Treat, Secretary of the A. B. C. F. M. Written for the Congregational Sabbath-school and Publishing Society, and approved by the Committee of Publication. Boston: Congregational Sabbath-school and Publication Society. Sine anno. (1869.) 16 mo., pp. xxxvi. 491.

In 1834, under the direction of the Prudential Committee of the American Board, Doctor Williamson made a tour of observation, up the Mis-

issippi, as far as Fort Snelling; and, in 1835, a Mission was established among the Dakotas, or Sioux, at Lac Quiparle, two hundred miles westward from Fort Snelling, and another at Lake Harriet, about eight miles nearly westward from the same military post. From that period to the present, this Mission has been sustained among the warlike Sioux, through every vicissitude and in the face of unceasing dangers.

The volume before us opens with a careful description of "the land and the people" where this Mission has been planted; and, following this, are Chapters relating, respectively, to the language of the Dakotas; the every-day life of that people; their amusements; what are supposed to be the Dakotas' ideas of the Supreme being, and their mode of worship; and, following these, are others devoted, respectively, to a sketch of the origin of the Mission, the perils to which the Missionaries were exposed, their early labors, a sketch of the life of Joseph Renville, believing women—in which are noticed the peculiarities of the domestic life of the Dakotas—the opposition of the Indians to the establishment of a Mission among them, the greater and lesser troubles of the Mission, the hostilities of 1862—which are very minutely described—the influences of the Mission, the system of education among the Indians, their systems of medical practice, and their music and dances.

It has been prepared at the request of the Synod; and the author enjoyed, in its preparation, the assistance of the Rev. A. L. Riggs, S. W. Pond, G. H. Pond, and T. S. Williamson. It is an admirable and, unquestionably, a most accurate exposition of the history, language, customs, and superstitions of the great family of aborigines, known to us as the Sioux; and, as such, it must be welcome to all who are devoted to the study of the Indian character; while, as a record of the establishment of Christian Churches, in Minnesota, it cannot be overlooked by any one who is devoted to the study of the history of that growing State.

In its arrangement, which is by subjects, related without regard to chronological order, it does not commend itself to the good sense of those who are accustomed to read history; yet its evident fidelity to the truth and its very sensible style, in which no unnecessary display is made, either of cant or bad rhetoric, will commend it to the respect of all who shall peruse it.

Both in its illustrations and its text, this volume is a pattern of typographical neatness; yet it is to be regretted that so handsome a book is so sadly disfigured by faulty proof-reading—a short-coming which is peculiarly noticeable throughout its pages.

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I.—THE BATTLE OF BENNINGTON.*

WRITTEN ON THE INVITATION OF THE VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY, AND READ BEFORE THAT BODY, AT BURLINGTON, JANUARY 23, 1861, AND, SUBSEQUENTLY, AT THEIR REQUEST, BEFORE THE NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC-GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY, AT BOSTON, AND THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

BY HENRY B. DAWSON.

MR. PRESIDENT :

The Summer and Autumn of 1777 will be recognized, by every American, at least, as one of the most interesting periods in the history of his country. Sir William Howe—heavily reinforced, and supplied with every article which might conduce to his comfort or ensure his success—had listened to the vile suggestions of Charles Lee, then a prisoner, in his hands, and had moved, by way of the Chesapeake, to divide and conquer the newly-formed Confederacy, agreeably to the *Plan* of the cowardly traitor, which, through the instrumentality of George Henry Moore, Esq., of New York, has recently been recovered and given to the world. Sir Henry Clinton, the second in command, occupied the City of New York, with a powerful reserve, and was ready, and willing, to strike wherever and whenever a blow might promote the success of his associates or advance the interests of his Sovereign. At the same time, General Burgoyne, one of the most accomplished and enterprising officers in the British service, at the head of a powerful and well-appointed army, had moved

from Canada, by way of the Lakes Champlain and George and the vallies of the Mohawk and the Hudson, towards Albany; intending, thence, to join Sir Henry Clinton, at New York, and, with his co-operation, to separate New England from the Northern and Southern States, as Sir William Howe had proposed to separate the Southern from those in the Northern and Eastern sections of the Union. Thus, separated into three fragments, and held in check by sufficient forces at Philadelphia and New York, it had been hoped that the Eastern, the Middle, and the Southern States—no longer able to co-operate one with the other, nor to strengthen the weak, nor to supply the destitute—could have been overrun by the Royal forces; and that the rebellion could have been crushed in all its parts, before the close of the year.

It is not the purpose of this paper to discuss the plans or the movements of Sir William Howe, in the Chesapeake, nor those of Sir Henry Clinton, in the vicinity of the City of New York; nor are those of General Burgoyne, in the North, nor those of Lieutenant-colonel St. Leger, in the valley of the Mohawk—except wherein they may concern the special subject of my enquiry—more entitled, at this time, to my consideration or your attention. The subject of this paper is “THE BATTLE OF BENNINGTON,” for which, and for myself, I bespeak your indulgence; and I do not propose to weary myself, nor to impose on your kindness, by an elaborate discussion of any other topic.

The army under General Burgoyne—notwithstanding all the annoyances to which the General had been subjected, through the unwillingness of the Canadians to enter the service, even as laborers or teamsters—had rendezvoused at Cumberland Point, on Lake Champlain, between the seventeenth and the twentieth of June; and, on the twenty-first, it had been strengthened by the arrival of about four hundred Indians. At that time, the army numbered not far from eight thousand men, exclusive of officers. Of these, nearly four thousand were British Infantry; upwards of three thousand were German Infantry; two hundred and fifty were British Artillerists;

* Contrary to our usual practise, in such cases, we have omitted, in this publication of it, all the authorities on which we relied, when we wrote and read this paper.

We have done so, in order that those Vermonters who have been pleased to manifest so much ill-will towards us, within the past few months, because of our inability to discover any competent authority for what they have been pleased to consider and to publish as “History,” may have a fair opportunity to turn their artillery on it, and every possible facility to demolish both the article and its author.

We earnestly hope that these gentlemen will let their fire be made as “short, sharp, and decisive” as possible.—EDITOR OF HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

one hundred and fifty were British recruits, under Lieutenant Nutt; seventy-eight were Hessian Artillerists; two hundred and fifty were Canadian and Provincial Volunteers; and four hundred were Indians. It was supplied with an immense train of artillery, embracing sixteen heavy twenty-four pounders, ten heavy twelve-pounders, eight medium twelve-pounders, two light twenty-four pounders, one light twelve-pounder, twenty-six light six-pounders, seventeen light three-pounders, six eight-inch and six five and a half-inch howitzers, two thirteen-inch, two ten-inch, six eight-inch, twelve five-and-a-half-inch, and twenty-four four and two-fifth inch mortars; while of artillery stores and ammunition there was an ample supply, even for this enormous train; and of provisions, hospital-stores, and every other auxiliary, except Canadian teamsters and laborers, there does not appear to have been the least scarcity, either present or prospective.

The troops whom General Burgoyne had thus led into the wilderness, both in their habits and their equipments, were but little adapted to service in the woods. But very few of them had performed any duty such as that which they were then called upon to perform; while their appointments were as poorly adapted to the service as were the men who bore them. An officer of that army has furnished the following sketch of the loads which the soldiers carried during this Campaign: "a knapsack, a blanket, a haversack that contained his provisions, a canteen for water, a hatchet, and a proportion of the equipage belonging to his tent: these articles," he continues, "added to his accoutrements, arms, and sixty rounds of ammunition, make an enormous bulk, weighing about sixty pounds." The Hessian troops, he said, were laden with additional burdens; and he described their Grenadiers, stating that, exclusive of the incumbrances which he had previously described, they carried "a cap with a very heavy brass front, a sword of an enormous size, a canteen that cannot hold less than a gallon, and their coats very long skirted." Picture to yourselves an army of men, thus equipped and encumbered, struggling among the underbrush of an American forest or forcing their way along the roads, which had been obstructed "every ten or twelve yards," as Captain Anbury informs us, "with great trees laid across them, exclusive of smaller ones;" or wading through "the watery grounds and the marshes," which were so numerous that upwards of forty bridges had to be constructed between Skenesborough and Fort Edward; and you may understand a portion, at least, of the difficulties with which General Burgoyne had to contend.

It is proper to remark, in this place, that Gen-

eral Burgoyne, long before that time, had proposed a movement into New England, either independent or in concert with the movement of his army—the latter, in order that the inhabitants of that section might be held in check, while the main body could move directly towards Albany and open a communication with the City of New York. In some *Thoughts for conducting the War from the side of Canada*, dated at his house in "Hertford-street [London] Feb. 28, 1777," he had suggested to the Ministry, that "it may be highly worthy consideration, whether the most important purpose to which the Canada army could be employed, supposing it in possession of Ticonderoga, would not be to gain the Connecticut River;" and, at the same time, he submitted a detailed plan of operations for carrying that idea into effect. It appears, however, that the Ministry did not agree with the General, on this subject; and his orders to effect a junction with General Howe were so emphatic, that, as he expressed it, in a subsequent letter to the latter officer, "under the present precision of my orders, I should really have no view but that of joining you, nor think myself justified by any temptation to delay the most expeditious means I could find to effect that purpose;" although, at the same time, he expressed his wish "that a latitude had been left for a diversion towards Connecticut." The same sentiments were conveyed to Sir William, in a letter from Cumberland Point; and there can be no doubt that it was the policy of the Government, as well as that of General Burgoyne, acting under its orders, to move the army to New York as directly and as rapidly as possible. I refer to this subject, at this time, to show that it was not within the original purpose, either of the Government or the General, to move into New England, except for a diversion; and that it was a *local* cause which led to the movement into Vermont and to "the Battle of Bennington," rather than a fixed policy on the part of the enemy.

As I have stated, already, the army was organized at Cumberland Point, between the seventeenth and twentieth of June; and, on the first of July, in conjunction with the enemy's naval force on Lake Champlain, it invested Fort Ticonderoga. The subsequent evacuation of that post, the retreat of the garrison toward Castleton, the pursuit by the enemy, and the action at Hubbardton—in which the gallantry of Colonel Seth Warner was so prominently displayed—have been so often and so ably discussed in your hearing that I need not repeat the story. With the single remark, therefore, that loyalty to my own State—at that time the legal sovereign of the territory now forming the State of Vermont—and fidelity to the truth of History alike compel

me to dissent from the opinions respecting the fidelity, courage, and ability of Generals Schuyler and St. Clair, which have hitherto been submitted to this Society, by one of its most learned members, I will proceed to the more immediate subject of my paper.

Leaving behind him, under the command of Brigadier-general Hamilton, the Sixty-second British Regiment, to occupy the works on Mount Independence, and the Hessian Regiment of Prince Frederic, to occupy Fort Ticonderoga, in the afternoon of the sixth of July, General Burgoyne, with "all the rest of the Army" — not already engaged in the pursuit of the fugitives, on the road to Castleton—and forty-two pieces of artillery, proceeded up Lake Champlain, as far as Skenesborough, now Whitehall, in pursuit of the baggage and stores of the fugitive garrison, which had been conveyed in that direction, under the protection of five armed vessels; and, having succeeded in capturing or destroying them, the more active duties of the Campaign were commenced, with that place as the base of the line of operations.

In front of the enemy were small parties of the local Militia of New York, with such reinforcements from the remains of the garrison, at Ticonderoga, as could be collected, under the command of General Schuyler; and, by them, the most laborious efforts were made to obstruct the route which the enemy had chosen for the line of his next movement. Trees were felled, in every direction, forming formidable abatis; pits were dug across the roads; and the bridges were generally destroyed. Wood-creek, also, through which General Burgoyne designed to convey his stores, baggage, and ammunition, had been heavily obstructed by felling trees across it, by sinking stones in the channel, and by other obstacles: and, in the absence of the coveted Canadian laborers, to whom reference has been made, the immense amount of labor which was required for opening the roads, for clearing the channel of Wood-creek, and for repairing the bridges, or building new ones—to say nothing of transporting provisions, for the support of the entire army, from Ticonderoga—devolved upon the Royal troops, except that portion of it which was performed by the unarmed Tories who had joined their fortunes with those of the enemy. What wonder, therefore, need there be, that, within three days after its arrival at Skenesborough, "the army was very much fatigued;" or that "many parts of it" had already fasted two days; or that "almost the whole" of it, at the same time, "wanted its tents and baggage?" With so gloomy a prospect around him—with so enormous an amount of labor to be done in his front, and an equally enormous amount of toil, in the transport of provis-

ions, to be done in his rear—what wonder need there be that an officer, such as General Burgoyne was, even at that early day,—while he was yet only on the margin of the wilderness; when he had scarcely struck the first blow into the foremost obstruction which checked his progress or removed the first stone from the channel of Wood-creek—should have quailed before the task which had been placed before him; or that he should have entertained, in his own mind, *as he had*, a desire to avoid it? The General has frankly informed us, over his own signature, that he had "considered not only the general impressions which a retrograde motion is apt to make "upon the minds, both of enemies and friends," but also, "that the natural conduct of the Americans, in that case, would be to remain at Fort George, as their retreat could not then be cut off, in order to oblige me to open trenches and, consequently, to delay me; and, in the meantime, they would have destroyed the road from Fort George [*at the head of Lake George,*] "to Fort Edward," on the Hudson. In other words, the General himself being the witness, after he had destroyed the baggage, at Skenesborough, on the sixth of July, and had witnessed, from afar off, the difficulties which had beset the line of his proposed operations, he had entertained the thought—*the wish, evidently, having been the father of that thought*—of a retreat to Ticonderoga and a movement up Lake George, from the head of which he could, readily, have moved to Fort Edward without removing a single obstruction which then checked his progress, on the route on which he had entered. He well knew, however, that a retreat, at any time, was demoralizing to an army and gratifying to its opponents: while, at that time, especially,—before he had entered the woods, and within ten days after the publication of his inflated Proclamation—it would have been the fore-runner of a more speedy and disgraceful defeat, as he well knew, than any which the pen of the historian had ever recorded. Beside this, had he then abandoned the most eastern route, because of the obstructions which had been thrown into it by General Schuyler and his handful of troops, and by the local militia of New York, whom that officer commanded,—whose attention, too, had been directed to the defence of the more western route, from the head of Lake George to Fort Edward—how much more effectually might not that opposition have been made—if, indeed, it might not have assumed an *offensive* character—with the opposing forces, under General Schuyler, concentrated on *one* line of operations, against an enemy whom they would have already defeated, and with the co-operation of such auxiliaries, from among the people, as would have crowded to their assistance, with the change

of their fortunes? The truth is, General Burgoyne had been already defeated, morally, before he left Skenesborough; and it had become, with him, merely a question of time when that defeat, together with the pretences of the incompetent and unyielding Ministry, in England, who had directed every minutiae of the Campaign in such a manner as to call forth the censure even of Sir Guy Carleton, should be made manifest to the world.

There was another reason, however, which, without doubt, operated on the mind of General Burgoyne, in resolving rather to "bear the ills he had, than fly to those he knew of." Like a good officer, as he was, he had taken measures, as far as his Instructions allowed, to cover both the flanks of his army, in order that the inhabitants, in those quarters, might be held in check, and that any proposed interference, therefrom, might be prevented. On his right flank, in the valley of the Mohawk—whence a resolute and patriotic people, under the leadership of the lion-hearted Nicholas Herkimer, could have inflicted heavy and continued blows—the Lieutenant-colonel St. Leger was moving with a strong force; and had not only compelled the inhabitants to remain at home, for the defence of their families and their firesides, but, at a subsequent date, he obliged them to seek the assistance of General Arnold and a detachment from the main body of the army, for the same purpose. In like manner, on his left flank—to prevent the incursions of what he then supposed to be the patriotic rebels in northern New England, and to hold in check those who lived in the more southern sections of the same States—he had halted the light-troops, under Brigadier Fraser, and the Hessian and Brunswick troops, under General Riedesel, on the banks of the Castleton-river, the head waters of East-creek, and the roads leading to Pultney and Rutland; and he had busied himself, while he had thus distracted the popular leaders, by "making roads, reconnoitring the country, and making all possible feints of a march to Connecticut." The General has informed us, that his first intention had been to turn the whole body of Indians which was under his command, into this section of the country, to force a supply of provisions, to intercept reinforcements, and to confirm the jealousy he had, in many ways, endeavored to excite in the New England Provinces; but, finding that the Americans, under General Schuyler, were laboring to remove their magazines from Forts George and Edward; and that they were, everywhere, destroying the roads and preparing to drive their stock and to burn the country towards Albany, he changed his purposes, temporarily, and determined to employ the savages to prevent, if possible, the continuance of those operations;

promising himself, however, that when he should arrive at Albany, they should be employed to renew the alarm towards Connecticut and Boston. He had been obliged, therefore,—whether willingly or not—to detach a portion of his *regular* troops, for the protection of that flank; and, in consequence of that diversion, he had depreciated his effective strength, without enjoying any reciprocal advantage, either present or prospective. But, while the necessity for covering his left flank and of keeping the New Englanders in check would have absolutely continued, whether General Burgoyne had retreated from Skenesborough to Ticonderoga and taken the route through Lake George, as he seemed disposed to do, or continued on the route which he had already taken, by way of Skenesborough and Wood-creek, the main army would, in the former case, have been moved beyond supporting distance of General Riedesel, at Castleton, and that officer and his command would necessarily have been withdrawn from that place, at the cost of the greater number of the advantages which his occupation of that position had promised to General Burgoyne, the army, and the Royal cause.

The General's plans had been laid with all the skill of which he was an accomplished master, on the basis of his Instructions and the intelligence which he had received. On his front was an active and determined, as well as a purely patriotic and skillful General, at the head of a small, but active, and determined, and patriotic body of men, whose axes, and log-chains, and crow-bars, had proved themselves to be more than a match for his sword; and whose skill, and patient endurance, and steadiness of purpose had not only struck dismay into the soul of the invader, but had shielded Vermont from the tomahawk, and the scalping-knife, and the fire-brand of St. Luke and his savage associates. The obstructions which had been thrown into his way appeared to be insurmountable, in the absence of his coveted Canadian laborers; and he looked back, and longed for the comparative comfort which awaited him, on the route through Lake George. At the same time, he was admonished that the labor of conveying all the supplies for the army, from Ticonderoga, must seriously diminish his active force in the field; and while it was necessary to remove the obstructions, in front, and to bring forward his supplies from the rear, he also considered it not less necessary to add to his supplies from the magazines of the Americans, should he be able to come within reach of them.

With these feelings harassing his mind, General Burgoyne moved forward from the head of Lake Champlain, as rapidly as the nature of the service would allow—the head-quarters having been removed from Skenesborough to Fort Anne, on

the twenty-fifth of July; and, on the twenty-ninth of the same month, to Fort Edward, on the Hudson—while General Phillips, to whom had been assigned the duty of “forwarding all the “necessaries from Ticonderoga,” by way of Lake George, on the twenty-ninth of July—the same day on which General Burgoyne reached Fort Edward—had reached Fort George, with what the General termed “a great embarkation,” and established a *dépôt* at that place.

From the twenty-ninth of July until the fourteenth of August, the army remained at Fort Edward; during which time “every possible “measure was employed to bring forward the “batteaux, provisions, and ammunition from “Fort George to the first navigable part of Hudson’s River, a distance of eighteen miles, the “roads in some parts steep, and in others wanting great repair. Of the horses, (furnished by “contract, in Canada,) not more than a third “had yet arrived. Fifty teams of oxen, which “had been collected in the country through “which the army had marched, were added to “assist the transport; but these resources, together, were found far inadequate to the purposes of feeding the army, and forming a “magazine at the same time. Exceedingly “heavy rains augmented the impediments. It “was often necessary to employ ten or twelve “oxen upon a single bateau; and, after the utmost exertions, from the thirtieth of July to the “fourteenth of August, fifteen days, there “were not above four days provisions before-hand, nor above ten batteaux in the river.” But General Burgoyne was not slow in perceiving that if, at *that* time, the utmost exertions of the entire army were necessary to transport provisions for its own support, without allowing more than four days in nineteen for any other purpose, even that small proportion of field service would be reduced as the army moved farther from the magazine, at Fort George. To maintain the communication with the magazine at Lake George, under these circumstances, and, at the same time, to move forward in the face of an enemy, was, therefore, an obvious impossibility. The army was too weak to have afforded a chain of posts; while the organization of escorts for every separate transport would have required a still greater drain of men.

It had become absolutely necessary, therefore, that other sources of supply, beside that on Lake George, should be found—that the Americans, by forced contributions, should be compelled to add to his stock of provisions—or that the object of the Campaign must be abandoned; yet it was equally imperative that the necessity which controlled him should be kept a secret in his own bosom, else his own command, from that cause, would be demoralized and enervated;

while, on the contrary, the Americans would be inspirited, in a corresponding degree, and, at the same time, they would be animated to other and more determined acts of opposition. General Burgoyne, thus influenced, alternately, by his necessities and his fears, occupied a position to extricate himself from which might have baffled a more gigantic intellect, had not other elements, insensibly, led to his relief.

While General Riedesel occupied the position, at Castleton, to which I have already referred, he had traversed different parts of the surrounding country, and procured intelligence from other and more remote sections of it. In all the country, in the vicinity of his position, he “had found the people frightened and “submissive,” and he had encountered no opposition to any of his movements; “while every day’s “account tended to confirm the persuasion of “the loyalty, to the King, of one description of “the inhabitants and the panic of the other.” In all these reports, therefore, General Burgoyne found arguments in favor of his secret project; and, more firmly than ever before, he determined to carry it into effect. Yet, at the same, the knowledge of that purpose was confined to himself; and it is evident that even the members of his military family and the General officers of the army, were not entrusted with the secret. It was not long, however, before he was relieved from his anxiety. General Riedesel had also noticed the fine horses which, even at that early day, graced the stables and the pastures of the farmers of Vermont, and he had “conceived the purpose of mounting his Regiment of Dragoons,” then doing duty on foot, from that source; and the subject was brought to the notice of the General. At the same time, two zealous Loyalists, named Peters and Jessup—one from the vicinity of Albany; the other from Charlotte-county—who had received authority to form Battalions of Loyalists, for the King’s service, had heard of the professions of loyalty which the people of “The “Grants,” as Vermont was then called, had made; and they, too, as Riedesel had done, had conceived the purpose of perfecting their commands from the same prolific source. Besides these influences, Colonel Philip Skene, of Skenesborough, and other prominent and zealous friends of the Government, seconding the reports of General Riedesel, had urged the General to send a detachment into “The Grants,” where “the friends of “the Government were said to be as five to one,” for the purpose of encouraging the “five” to avow their political predilections, and of holding the “one” in check, until the “five” could “show themselves.” Thus beset by three different parties, each representing a distinct idea and all desiring to employ the same means for the accomplishment of their own particular projects,

General Burgoyne shrewdly availed himself of the opportunity which was thus afforded, to attempt the execution of *his own* important purposes, and of securing, therein, the most cordial co-operation from every portion of his Army, without divulging, to any one, *the real* objects by which he had been actuated. To all the different propositions, therefore, the General appeared to be favorably inclined; and to General Riedesel, while yet in his camp, near Castleton, the duty of preparing a plan of operations, in the form of "Instructions" to the commander of the expedition, was entrusted; and subsequently, that plan was, "considered, amended, and enlarged, 'in concert with that officer.'" General Phillips, an officer of rare abilities, was also consulted concerning it, and gave it his "full approbation;" while General Fraser, to whom, also, it was submitted, objected to it only by reason of the employment of German instead of British troops; but his objections were modified, if not entirely removed, within a few hours afterwards. In that plan, thus "amended and enlarged," all the varied purposes of General Riedesel, Colonel Skene, and Majors Jessups and Peters, had found places; and the requirements of his own Quartermaster and Wagon-master, for additional horses, for draught purposes, were also provided for. It was truly an "omnibus"-plan, as Colonel Benton would have called it; and there was quite a variety of passengers within it: but, strange as it may appear to you—as it appeared strange to his army and to the House of Commons, some time afterwards—instead of being also a passenger, booked for an inside seat, General Burgoyne unexpectedly mounted the box, seized the reins, and drove the concern to suit *his own* purposes.

The commandant of the expedition—Lieutenant-colonel Friedrich Baume, of Riedesel's Regiment of Dragoons—was selected as "an officer well-qualified for the undertaking;" the Instructions which had been prepared by General Riedesel were delivered to him; and he moved forward to Fort Miller, as he afterwards advanced to Batten-kill, in advance of the main-body, preparatory to his movement into "The Grants," unwittingly ignorant, all the time, as every other person than the General was also similarly ignorant, of the *real* purpose for which the expedition had been organized. The party which was thus moved forward embraced the Regiment of Riedesel's Dragoons, numbering fifteen officers and two hundred and nineteen non-commissioned officers, drummers, and privates; an officer (Lieutenant Bach) and thirteen men, from the Hesse Hanau Artillery, with two light six-pounders; a small body of Rangers, under Captain Fraser—the only British troops in the detachment; the skeleton Battalions of Loyalists, under

Majors Jessup and Peters—the completion of which was one of the supposed objects of the expedition;—a body of Canadian Volunteers; and about a hundred Indians. It is said that a larger body, from General Frazer's Brigade, was originally under orders to join the party; that it could not be got ready in season—probably an excuse, to mask the true reason;—and that other troops were ordered to take its place, a short time previous to the movement of the expedition from Batten-kill. One officer and twenty-five men, from the Battalion of German Grenadiers commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Breyman; two privates from the Regiment of Rhetz; one officer and nineteen men from the Infantry Regiment of von Riedesel (Von Speth's); sixteen privates from the Infantry Regiment of Specht; and two officers and fifty-nine Chasseurs, from the Rifle Regiment of Major von Barner, under these circumstances, joined the detachment. The number of effectives who were thus placed under the orders of Lieutenant-colonel Baume, is quite uncertain; and the estimates of different authors have greatly varied. The number of Germans employed have been satisfactorily ascertained, from the Returns made to the Duke of Brunswick, to have been twenty-one officers and three hundred and fifty-three men, in the aggregate: the Rangers, under Captain Fraser, were a Captain's command—not less than a hundred men; General Burgoyne says there were a hundred Indians; but of the Loyalists and Canadians we know nothing concerning their numbers. General Burgoyne, in his *public* Despatch to the Government—you are undoubtedly aware that he wrote two, one intended for the public eye, through the medium of *The London Gazette*; the other, marked "Private," for the especial eye of the Ministry and the King—has stated "the whole detachment amounted to *about 500 men*;" but when it shall be remembered that he there states the number of Dragoons at "two hundred," when two hundred and thirty-four were present; that he does not make a single allusion to the fourteen Artillerists, the twenty-six German Grenadiers, the thirty-eight German Infantry, nor the sixty-one German Chasseurs; and that it was not usual, at that time, to include either the Militia or the Indians, in the public reports, the degree of confidence to which this Despatch is entitled will be readily perceived.

Let us turn aside from the enemy's camp, at Fort Edward, for a few minutes, and look at the inhabitants of "The New Hampshire Grants"—the Vermonters of that day.

The elaborate threats of General Burgoyne, which he had published in his "Proclamation," had been followed by his successes at Ticonderoga and Hubbardton, and by the establishment of

his flanking-party, under Reidesel, at Castleton and its vicinity; and the entire country had been exposed to the enterprize or the necessities of the enemy. That he had actually intended to employ St. Luke and his savages to ravage that portion of the country, as he had threatened, he, himself, asserts; but the movements of General Schuyler had furnished other employment for the savage allies of the King, and they had been withheld from Vermont, as I have already stated. The local and bitter disputes with New York, respecting the sovereignty of the country, in which the inhabitants of Vermont had been so long engaged, had produced a mutual hatred between the parties engaged in that dispute; and so completely had that animosity absorbed all other sentiments, that it appeared to be impossible for either to expect any good from the other, or to co-operate, for the mutual advantage of both, even while the invader was within their boundaries. The inhabitants of Vermont and the valley of the Connecticut, therefore, neither knew nor stopped to enquire, what had been done by General Schuyler or the inhabitants of north-eastern New York, to oppose the progress of the enemy toward Albany; much less did they offer any assistance to prevent a measure which was fraught with so much mischief to the cause of their common country and of mankind. Nor were they any better informed of the nature of General Burgoyne's Instructions. They did not know, of course, that the threats of that loud "Proclamation," had been intended more for New York—the mother of the rebellion—than for them; nor did they have the least suspicion that, like a galley-slave chained to his oar, General Burgoyne dared not move, in force, into *their* country. It was enough for them to know that he had issued threats; that he had opened the door, in his occupation of Ticonderoga; and that he had walked into their territory, and seated himself at Castleton. They naturally supposed that the next movement would be made for their extermination; and every scouting party was magnified into a Division, and every idle rumor was swelled into a grave reality. Many of them, abandoning their homes, flocked into the neighboring States of Massachusetts and New Hampshire; and, in some cases, so numerous were the fugitives, that they "greatly burdened" those among whom they had thus taken refuge. Others of them, who remained in Vermont, in their weakness, sought the assistance of their neighbors; while they accepted, from the enemy, for their immediate safety, the "protection" which they needed, and cajoled him with fair promises of submission, which many of them never intended to consummate. New Hampshire—then, and subsequently, faithful and unyielding—had seen,

from the slopes of her mountains, the danger of her neighbor; and, in accordance with that "higher law" which God, himself, has enacted, and before the swift-footed messengers from Vermont could lay their errands before her, she "had determined to send assistance to that State." Under the influence and with the example of John Langdon before her, she immediately ordered the organization of three Regiments, in addition to the force which she had then in the field; and the veteran Colonel John Stark—who had been driven from the service into private life, as Wooster had been, and as Schuyler was, soon afterwards—was called from his farm and his saw-mill, on the bank of the Merrimac, to take the command, with the local rank of Brigadier-general.

Frank, hospitable, and strictly honorable; widely known throughout the upper parts of New England, in the French and Indian Wars and in the earlier movements of the Revolutionary struggle, as an able and successful commander; cool and determined in action; cautious, yet prompt, at all times; individually, courageous; and politically, a blameless patriot, the newly-appointed commander—rejected, indeed, by the demagogues of that day, and slighted by a Continental Congress whose dishonesty he would not approve—possessed, in himself, a power over the people which neither adversity could obliterate nor inactivity corrode. The people, therefore, flocked to his standard, without hesitation; and more men than his Orders called for were speedily collected and marched to Charlestown, on the Connecticut-river, the appointed place of rendezvous; whence, as soon as they had been equipped, they were moved to Bennington, in Vermont, at which place General Stark arrived on the ninth of August—the day on which Lieutenant-colonel Baume moved from the main body to Fort Miller, on his way to the same place.

On the ninth of August, therefore, the belligerents—as far as this enquiry goes—were posted at the following places: General Burgoyne, with the main body of the army, was at Fort Edward, on the Hudson, where, also, the force commanded by General Riedesel had assembled, after it had moved from Castleton, on the fourth of August; at Fort Miller, seven miles below Fort Edward, Brigadier Fraser had encamped, with the advance of the army; and, immediately in his rear, Lieutenant-colonel Baume, with his command, had taken a position. On the other hand, General Stark, with part of his newly-recruited force, was encamped near the residence of Colonel Herrick, since known as the Dimick-place, about two miles West from the Meeting-house, at Bennington; two Companies were posted on the mountains, between Charles-

town and Ticonderoga, to observe the movements of the garrison of the latter post; one company occupied the rendezvous, at Charlestown; and the remainder were *en route* to the appointed places of assembly. Colonel Seth Warner, with the fragments of his Regiment,—the noble relics of Hubbardton—was at Manchester: the positions, at that time, of the Berkshire and Vermont militia, have not, as far as I have seen, been placed on record. General Stark's command and Colonel Warner's Regiment remained, respectively, at Bennington and Manchester, until within a few hours of the action: the enemy, on the contrary, kept constantly in motion, and I beg your attention, while I follow his movements. You will recollect that, on the ninth of August, General Fraser had moved, with the enemy's advance, to Fort Miller; and that Lieutenant-colonel Baume had followed him, on the same day, and encamped in his rear. You will also remember, that, on the following day, orders were issued for a hundred Germans to join the latter, in the place of a similar party, from General Frazer's Brigade, which, it was said, could not be got ready in season; and that, on the evening of the eleventh of August, that detachment had joined him at Batten-kill, to which place he had advanced on that day. With the instructions, to which I have referred, in his possession, and with a knowledge of their contents in possession of many others, at five o'clock on the morning of the twelfth of August, Lieutenant-colonel Baume, with his command, moved from Batten-kill, on his way toward Arlington, not really supposing that he, at least, knew the purpose of his movement. The column had not moved more than a mile from the place of its encampment, however, when it was overtaken by a messenger from General Frazer, who commanded the advance of the Army, with Special Orders from General Burgoyne to Lieutenant-colonel Baume, directing him to return and post the detachment advantageously on Batten-kill, until he should receive other Instructions from Head-quarters; and the Order was immediately obeyed. The time was rapidly approaching when the *dénouement* of the scheme was to be manifested to the army; and the Commander-in-chief entrusted to no one, but himself, the untieing of the knot. Some of his officers, subsequently, manifested great indignation at the deception; and, as will be seen, the veteran Riedesel resented it in the most emphatic terms.

The "Instructions" which Lieutenant-colonel Baume had already received were in writing; and they were in these words:

"The object of your expedition is to try the affections of the country, to disconcert the councils of the enemy, to mount the Reidesel's Dragoons, to compleat Peters's corps, and to

"obtain large supplies of cattle, horses, and carriages.

"The several corps, of which the inclosed is a list, are to be under your command.

"The troops must take no tents, and what little baggage is carried by officers, must be on their own bat-horses.

"You are to proceed from Batten-kill to Arlington, and take post there, till the detachment of the Provincials, under the command of Captain Sherwood, shall join you from the southward.

"You are then to proceed to Manchester, where you will take post so as to secure the pass of the mountains on the road from Manchester to Rockingham; from hence you will detach the Indians and light-troops to the northward, toward Otter-creek. On their return, and also receiving intelligence that no enemy is in force upon the Connecticut-river, you will proceed by the road over the mountains to Rockingham, where you will take post. This will be the most distant part on the expedition, and must be proceeded upon with caution, as you will have the defile of the mountains behind you, which might make a retreat difficult: you must, therefore, endeavour to be well informed of the force of the enemy's militia in the neighboring country.

"Should you find it may with prudence be effected, you are to remain there while the Indians and light troops are detached up the river; and you are afterwards to descend the River to Brattlebury, and from that place, by the quickest march, you are to return by the great road to Albany.

"During your whole progress, your detachments are to have orders to bring in to you all horses fit to mount the Dragoons under your command or to serve as bat-horses to the troops, together with as many saddles and bridles as can be found. The number of horses requisite, besides those necessary for mounting the Regiment of Dragoons, ought to be thirteen hundred. If you can bring more for the use of the army, it will be so much the better.

"Your parties are likewise to bring in waggon and other convenient carriages, with as many draft oxen as will be necessary to draw them and all cattle fit for slaughter, milch cows excepted, which are to be left for the use of the inhabitants. Regular receipts, in the form hereto subjoined, are to be given in all places where any of the above-mentioned articles are taken, to such persons as have remained in their habitations and otherwise complied with the terms of General Burgoyne's manifesto; but no receipts to be given to such as are known to be acting in the service of the rebels.

"As you will have with you persons perfectly

“acquainted with the abilities of the country, it
 “may perhaps be advisable to tax the several
 “districts with the portions of the several arti-
 “cles, and limit the hours for their delivery;
 “and should you find it necessary to move be-
 “fore such delivery can be made, hostages of
 “the most respectable people should be taken,
 “to secure their following you the ensuing day.
 “All possible means are to be used to prevent
 “plundering.

“As it is probable that Captain Sherwood,
 “who is already detached to the southward and
 “will join you at Arlington, will drive in a con-
 “siderable quantity of cattle and horses to you,
 “you will, therefore, send in this cattle to the
 “army, with a proper detachment from Peters’s
 “corps, to cover them, in order to disencumber
 “yourself; but you must always keep the Regi-
 “ments of Dragoons compact.

“The Dragoons themselves must ride, and
 “take care of the horses of the Regiment.
 “Those horses which are destined for the use of
 “the army, must be tied together by strings of
 “ten each, in order that one man may lead ten
 “horses. You will give the unarmed men of
 “Peter’s corps to conduct them, and inhabitants
 “whom you can trust. You must always take
 “your camps in good position; but, at the same
 “time, where there is pasture, and you must
 “have a chain of sentinels round your cattle
 “and horses, when grazing.

“Colonel Skeene will be with you as much as
 “possible, in order to assist you with his advice,
 “to help you to distinguish the good subjects
 “from the bad, to procure you the best intelli-
 “gence of the enemy, and to chuse those people
 “who are to bring me the accounts of your pro-
 “gress and success.

“When you find it necessary to halt for a day
 “or two, you must always entrench the camp of
 “the Regiment of Dragoons, in order never to
 “risk an attack or affront from the enemy.

“As you will return with the Regiment of
 “Dragoons mounted, you must always have a
 “detachment of Captain Fraser’s or Peters’s
 “corps, in front of the column, and the same in
 “the rear, in order to prevent your falling into
 “an ambuscade, when you march through the
 “woods.

“You will use all possible means to make the
 “country believe that the troops under your
 “command are the advanced corps of the army,
 “and that it is intended to pass the Connecticut,
 “on the road to Boston. You will likewise in-
 “sinuate that the main army from Albany is
 “to be joined at Springfield by a corps of troops
 “from Rhode Island.

“It is highly probable that the corps under
 “Mr. Warner, now supposed to be at Manches-
 “ter, will retreat before you; but should they,

“contrary to expectation, be able to collect in
 “great force and post themselves, advantage-
 “ously, it is left to your discretion to attack
 “them or not, always bearing in mind that your
 “corps is too valuable to let any considerable
 “loss be hazarded on this occasion.

“Should any corps be moved from Mr. Ar-
 “nold’s main army, in order to intercept your
 “retreat, you are to take as strong a post as the
 “country will afford, and send the quickest in-
 “telligence to me, and you may depend on my
 “making such a movement as shall put the en-
 “emy between two fires, or otherwise effectual-
 “ly sustain you.

“It is imagined the progress of the whole of
 “this expedition may be effected in about a
 “fortnight, but every movement of it must de-
 “pend upon your success in obtaining such sup-
 “ply of provisions as will enable you to subsist
 “for your return to the army, in case you can
 “get no more. And should not the army be
 “able to reach Albany before your expedition
 “should be completed, I will find means to send
 “you notice of it, and give your route another
 “direction.

“All persons acting in Committees, or any
 “officers acting under the directions of Con-
 “gress, either civil or military, are to be made
 “prisoners.”

It will have been seen that, in these written
 Instructions, no mention was made of the stores
 at Bennington—that which, above all others,
 was the especial object of the expedition—that
 the Lieutenant-colonel was ordered to proceed
 from Batten-kill to Arlington, thence to Man-
 chester and Rockingham, thence to Brattle-
 borough, and from that place, by way of the
 great road, to Albany—not the most distant
 allusion having been made to Bennington, nor
 to the stores which laid there.

I believe that none of the many writers, on this
 hackneyed subject, either in Europe or America,
 except General Burgoyne himself, have publicly
 called attention to this fact; and yet, Mr. Presi-
 dent, what fact, relating to this Campaign, was
 or can be more significant or more important.
The truth is, that Lieutenant-colonel Baume had
two sets of Instructions, when, on the thirteenth of
August, he left Batten-kill, the second time—one,
a comparatively public, written set, which you
have heard read, and which, from the beginning,
 was intended to mislead, both the enemy
 and the Americans, should it fall into the
 hands of the latter; *the other, a private and*
confidential set, which the General had deliver-
ed, verbally and in person, to him, after the lat-
ter had returned to Batten-kill, and after the
General had despatched Riedesel to the head of
Lake George, on a pretended inspection, evident-
ly to prevent him from meeting Baume, after the

latter had received his final Orders. Like some of the Ministry, to whom the General was accountable, you may suppose that he acted in bad faith with his colleagues, in thus concealing the true purpose of the expedition; but, as in that case the Ministry was answered, so you will be answered, in the General's own words, that "a man must indeed be void of military and political address, to put upon paper a critical design, where surprize was in question and everything depended upon *secrecy*." "Surely there is nothing new or improbable in the idea," he continued, "that a General should disguise his real intentions, at the outset of an expedition, even from the officer whom he appointed to execute them, provided a communication with that officer was certain and not remote;" and if the world has dealt unjustly with General Burgoyne at all, as I believe it has, it has been in failing to recognize in his character those elements which made him one of the ablest officers of his time.

As I have said, Lieutenant-colonel Baume received a second set of Instructions—verbal and confidential in character—from General Burgoyne, in person; and, at four o'clock in the morning of the thirteenth of August, he moved, a second time, from Batten-kill, on his way toward Bennington. While on his way, he received intelligence of a magazine, which was protected by some forty or fifty militia; and he pushed forward thirty of Captain Sherwood's Company of Provincials and fifty Indians, to seize it. The movement was successful; and, although the greater part of the guard escaped, five prisoners—John, Matthew, and Samuel Bell, George Duncan, and David Starrow, by name—and a considerable number of cattle, horses, carts, and wagons, were taken, without loss to any of the troops who were engaged in the expedition. The Indians, however, seized the horses; and not one of them could be returned to the army, unless by purchase. With the exception of a subsequent slight brush between a party of militia and his advance-guard, in which a private of Captain Sherwood's Company was wounded in the thigh, nothing further occurred, during the day; and, at four in the afternoon, after a march of sixteen miles, the detachment encamped at Cambridge, from which place a full report of the operations of the day was despatched to General Burgoyne.

At an early hour in the morning of the fourteenth of August, Lieutenant-colonel Baume again moved forward; and, at eight o'clock, he reached Van Schaick's Mill, on a branch of the Walloomscoick, near North Hoosick. A small party, who had occupied the mill, after breaking down the bridge which spanned the Walloomscoick, near by, fled toward Bennington, leaving

behind them seventy-eight barrels of very fine flour, one thousand bushels of wheat, twenty barrels of salt, and one thousand pounds worth of pearl and potashes. Five prisoners were also taken at this place, from whom the enemy received information—as they had received it on the preceding day—that eighteen hundred men had assembled at Bennington, for the purpose of protecting the stores at that place; and he anxiously looked forward to the time when, as he supposed, these troops also would retire as he approached. With feelings of just pride in view of his exploit, he leaned over a barrel, and, on its head, he wrote a hasty note to General Burgoyne, recounting his success, and informing him of the reported strength of the guard at Bennington, of the constant addition to his own numbers of flocks of unarmed people, and of his determination to proceed so far, on that day, that he could fall on the Americans at an early hour on the following morning; and then, flushed with his successful adventure, in the midst of an intensely hot day, he again moved forward toward Bennington.

In the meantime, General Burgoyne had disposed his troops in such a manner that the expected success of Lieutenant-colonel Baume might be instantly improved, to the best advantage. A bridge of rafts was formed; and, on the thirteenth, General Fraser's corps crossed the Hudson, with orders, "upon the first news of Baume's success," to push forward and take possession of the heights near Stillwater, and to throw up entrenchments, occupying them until the army and the magazines could join him, by which means the whole country, on the West side of the river, to the banks of the Mohawk, would have been commanded by the enemy. On the same day, Lieutenant-colonel Breyman, with the Brunswick Grenadiers, Light Infantry, and Chasseurs, was moved forward to Fort Miller, and, on the following day, to Batten-kill, whence he could move to Baume's support, should that become necessary. On the fourteenth, so completely was General Burgoyne impressed with the idea of the success of the expedition, "in order to facilitate its operation and to be ready to take advantage of its success," the main-body of the army moved down to Fort Miller, and encamped at that place.

While General Burgoyne and Lieutenant-colonel Baume were thus busily engaged, General Stark had not been idle, in preparing the raw materials with which he was surrounded, for the important duty which was rapidly devolving upon them. On the thirteenth of August, while Lieutenant-colonel Baume was on his way to Cambridge, as I have already remarked, his advance-guard, which was mostly Indians, had

a slight brush with a small party of militia, who fled after a slight opposition. This party, without having seen the main-body of the detachment, which was a mile in the rear, hastened to Bennington; and Isaac Clark and Eleazer Edgerton, of that place, two of the party, reported that a party of Indians was at Cambridge, on its way to Bennington. Without knowing anything of the approach of Baume's command, and to check the progress of what he supposed to have been merely a marauding-party of savages, General Stark immediately detached Lieutenant-colonel Gregg, with two hundred men, to meet and stop it. During the evening of the same day, however, other intelligence, conveying a more particular description of the enemy's strength, was received; and, on the morning of the fourteenth, the General moved toward Cambridge, in person, with his own Brigade of New Hampshire troops and a portion of the Vermont militia. He had not proceeded more than four or five miles from Bennington, however, when he met Lieutenant-colonel Gregg, falling back before Lieutenant-colonel Baume, who, since his success at Van Schaick's Mill, earlier in the day, was pressing forward toward Bennington.

It then became the turn of the enemy to avoid an engagement and to provide for his own safety, until he could receive reinforcements; and, with that object, "he presently halted on a "very advantageous piece of ground;" while General Stark finally fell back about a mile, to the farm now owned by Paul M. Henry, Esq., and there, to the North-east of the dwelling, he encamped, keeping out, meanwhile, some skirmishing parties, who killed thirty of the enemy, and two Indian Chiefs.

While thus held in check by General Stark, Lieutenant-colonel Baume appears to have written a third letter to General Burgoyne, which reached Head-quarters during the night, or, at least, before the General had arisen, in the morning. As I have been unable to find a copy of this Despatch, I esteem it a privilege in being able to give the substance of it from the Manuscript Diary which was furnished to the Duke of Brunswick by General Riedesel, and which is still preserved in the archives of that Duchy. It related, in the words of the Diary, translated into our own language, "that while he [Baume] was on "his march to Bennington, yesterday, [Aug. 14] "his advance guard had been attacked by a "corps of rebels, about seven hundred in number, "who had retreated, however, on the first cannon-balls being thrown among them. He had ascertained, both from prisoners and from Royalists "who had escaped from Bennington, that the "strength of the rebels encamped at that place was "about eighteen hundred men; that reinforcements from the rebel Army were expected; and

"that they occupied a strong position, behind entrenchedments. They appeared willing to attack "him, in his position; and he solicited reinforcements, to enable him to defend himself and to "execute his Instructions." When this letter reached Head-quarters, at five o'clock in the morning of the fifteenth of August, General Burgoyne and his Staff were aroused from their slumbers; and the Earl of Harrington, a Volunteer Aide of the General, was sent to General Reidesel, with Orders for that officer to despatch Lieutenant-colonel Breyman, who was then in advance of the army, at Batten-kill, to support Baume. The gallant German had not forgotten what he considered the impropriety of General Burgoyne's conduct in changing the Instructions which had been prepared for Baume, however; and he did not hesitate to display that feeling, even in that crisis of their affairs. The Diary, from which I have cited already, thus describes the scene: "General von Riedesel felt very "anxious about the matter, and begged that General Burgoyne would, himself, give the necessary instructions to Lieutenant-colonel Breyman, which the General did, in a few words, "by his Adjutant-general, Sir Francis Clarke"—a statement which has been confirmed, in part, under oath, before the House of Commons, by the Earl of Harrington, as well as by the papers left by Sir Francis Clarke, at his decease. As the formalities of the service had to be observed; as the Lieutenant-colonel was considerably in advance of Head-quarters; and as the terrible heat of the preceding day had been followed by as severe a rain-storm, although the Despatch required prompt obedience, the Order for the movement did not reach Lieutenant-colonel Breyman, until eight o'clock. The Diary states, that when Breyman received the Order, "he departed with all haste, leaving behind him his "tents, baggage, and heavy ammunition;" and a private letter, written by an officer of the Brunswick troops, to which I have referred already, states that he also left his colors behind him, in his camp. The detachment embraced a Battalion of Brunswick Grenadiers, a Battalion of Chasseurs, a Company of Yagers, and a party of artilleryists, with two field-pieces—the latter commanded by Lieutenant C. D. Spangenberg of the Hesse-Hanau Regiment;—and it numbered twenty-two officers and six hundred and twenty effective men, all told.

It appears, also, that the scarcity of teams detained the party at the outset; and as it was obliged to ford the Batten-kill, considerable time was lost before the detachment was fully on its way. Nor did the troubles it experienced end here. "The number of hills, excessive bad "roads, and a continued rain," as Breyman subsequently reported to General Burgoyne, "im-

peded his march so much that he scarcely made half an English mile in an hour; each gun and ammunition-cart was obliged to be dragged up the hills, one after another; and an artillery carriage was overturned, and, with the greatest difficulty, was put into a situation to proceed." Beside these troubles, "his guide lost his way, and, after a long search for the right road, without success, Major Barner was obliged to look out for another, who put the party on the right road again." All these troubles, combined, prevented Breyman from reaching Cambridge, as he had designed; and, after a laborious and unsatisfactory march of nine miles, he encamped for the night, and despatched a messenger to Lieutenant-colonel Baume, to advise him of his approach.

I trust that I need not enter into any detailed argument to show to this Society, nor its friends now assembled with us, that this delay in Breyman's march, by preventing a junction with Baume, was productive of the most important results to America and to the world, at that time and for all future time. The failure to effect a junction of the two detachments, before the battle, in all probability saved the Americans from defeat; and, looking beyond the events of that day, it preserved the stores which were at Bennington; gave the local victory, with all its moral effects, to the Americans instead of the enemy; compelled the latter to look to Lake George, solely, for his supplies; and ratified the great victory which General Schuyler had already secured, before General Burgoyne left Skenesborough.

While Lieutenant-colonel Breyman was thus struggling with the elements and with an overruling Providence, through the entire day, on the fifteenth, the enemy's main body laid quietly in its camp at Fort Miller, awaiting the result of the expeditions, but under General Orders to "hold itself in readiness to march at a minute's warning;" while the opposing forces, under Baume and Stark, quietly prepared for an appeal to arms, whenever the elements and other circumstances should permit.

General Stark had remained in his encampment, awaiting the arrival of reinforcements, for the movement of which he had despatched messengers; and he contented himself with sending out small parties to beat up the enemy's position and to harass him. Lieutenant-colonel Baume, who had been advised of the approach of Breyman, proceeded, in the most deliberate manner, to entrench his position with timber which he procured from the ground on which he stood and from the log-houses in the vicinity, some of which he tore down for that purpose.

The position which Lieutenant-colonel Baume had selected was admirably adapted for defence;

and whatever faults, if any, he may have displayed, in the discharge of other parts of his duty, there can have been none in the choice of his position. The Walloomseick, a branch of the Hoosick-river, intersects the road which leads from Saratoga to Bennington and the railroad leading from North Bennington to Troy, at a point, in the North-east part of the town of Hoosick, Rensselaer-county, New York, which is about six miles from the village of Bennington, and in the midst of a defile which is formed by the near approach of two points of high ground, from the North-west and the South-east, respectively. The general course of the stream, in that vicinity, is to the North-west; but, as it approaches the most north-western of the high grounds referred to, it bends, almost at right angles, to the South; and, after flowing at the foot of the abrupt eastern slope of the most north-western hill, through the defile—where the road crosses it—and at the foot of the western slope of the south-eastern-most high ground, it bends again, almost at a right-angle, and passes down, toward the Hoosick, by Sancoick, in a westerly course, as before. It will be seen, therefore, that each of the two points of high ground, which, together, form this pass, commands the bridge over which the road crosses the creek; and that neither of them is more than three hundred yards distant from it, while one is less than one hundred. In the defile, on either bank of the stream, and close by the bridge, were, also, several log buildings, each of which afforded fine cover for light troops, of which the enemy had a large proportion. The hill which forms the north-western-most point of the pass rises abruptly, on three sides, to the height of about three hundred feet above the channel of the creek; while on the other—its north-western-most front—the slopes ascend with a more gradual rise. It will be seen, from what I have said, that it was protected on its front, and as well as on its left flank, by the two-fold course of the creek; while its right flank was entirely covered by the high-ground on the opposite side of the stream. On this ground, so favorable for defence, Lieutenant-colonel Baume posted his troops. It was correctly described by General Stark, when he called it "a very advantageous piece of ground;" and he also displayed his own good judgment, when he "marched back a mile, and there encamped," beyond the reach of the Hessian field-pieces, until the arrival of the reinforcements which he needed.

As I have stated already, Lieutenant-colonel Baume was busily employed, during the storm, on the fifteenth, in strengthening his position and in otherwise preparing for his defence. The northern, eastern, southern, and south-western

fronts of the principal, or north-western-most, hill, being steep, were naturally strong; and, for the purpose of securing the gentle north-western slope, a line of breastworks, forming two sides of a parallelogram, was thrown up, on the summit of the hill. Behind this breastwork, the citadel of his position, fronting towards the North and North-west, a portion of Captain Frazer's Rangers and the greater part of the Lieutenant-colonel's own Regiment of Dragoons were posted; the other portion of the Dragoons and the Chasseurs occupied positions on the eastern declivity of the same hill—the former near its summit; the latter near its base—for the defence of the abrupt eastern face of the hill, should the Americans attempt to ford the creek and assail it in front. The Dragoons, the Chasseurs, and part of the British Rangers, therefore, let it be remembered, formed the *garrison* of that hill, if the term may be allowed. At the same time, portions of the Tories, under Major Peters, and of the Brunswick Grenadiers, were sent farther to the rear, and about two hundred yards from it; and there they were posted, behind a fence, for the purpose of commanding the western approach to the hill. Nearly at the foot of the south-eastern angle of this hill, on the high bank of the creek, covering the bridge—which Baume considered the key of his position—and not more than seventy-five yards from it, a strong breastwork was thrown up; and, on it, was mounted one of the two field-pieces which he possessed, supported by the remainder of his Grenadiers. This bridge was further protected by two breastworks, at the foot of the hill—one on each side of the road which led from Saratoga—and close to the creek, behind which were posted the remainder of the Rangers which Captain Frazer commanded. At the same time, the Canadians who accompanied the expedition, were thrown into the log-houses in front of the bridge, where they would have been exceedingly useful, had the Americans approached the position according to European tactics. While these measures all prove the fore thought and bear silent testimony to the skill of the German commander—a monument more fitting to the memory of the gallant soldier, than a cenotaph in Westminster Abbey would have been—he did not neglect the high ground on the south-eastern side of the valley, which, as before stated, also commanded the bridge. On that point, also, but facing *from* the bridge—proving that it was intended for the purpose of *local* defence, in his independent occupation of that point, rather than for the direct support of those who opposed the passage of the bridge—he had erected an extended and well-designed breastwork, behind which the remainder of the Tories—under the command of Colonel Francis Pfister, formerly

of His Majesty's LX. (Royal American) Regiment of Infantry, but, at that time, on half-pay, and residing about half a mile West from Hoosick Four Corners—was posted. In brief, therefore, we find that the German troops, with small portions of the British Rangers and of the Tories, occupied the principal hill, North-west from the bridge; that the remainder of the Rangers, and the Canadians, separated from their associates, on either hand, were in the valley, defending the bridge; and that the great body of the Tories, also entirely separated from their associates, in the valley and on the opposite side of the stream, were on the opposite hill, South-east from the bridge. It is, at all times, a comparatively easy task, Mr. President, to criticise a military movement or disposition, after the enemy may have taken advantage of its defects, and after the final result may have proved its incorrectness. Without any improper censure of Lieutenant-colonel Baume, however, and without detracting from his real merits, let me suggest that if he had disposed of his detachment with greater compactness, so that every corps, in case of an emergency, could have been concentrated on any particular part of his position, the result might have been different; while, with his forces divided and without the means of communication, one with another, much less with any power to concentrate them on any particular spot, the story of his defeat will be more readily understood.

When the evening of the fifteenth, itself as stormy as the day had been, had closed the labors of that day, General Burgoyne was at his camp, near Fort Miller, looking anxiously for the messenger bearing good-tidings from Baume: Lieutenant-colonel Breyman, wearied with his eight miles march, had bivouacked—for you will remember that he had left his tents at Battenkill—seven miles from Cambridge and some fifteen from Lieutenant-colonel Baume, whom he had been sent out to support: and Baume and his command, wearied with their toil, and also without shelter from the peltings of the pitiless storm, had bivouacked behind the log-works which they had thrown up, and sought, in vain, for the repose which they needed. On the other hand, the Regiment of Continental troops commanded by Colonel Seth Warner—reduced, by its gallantry at Hubbardton, to one hundred and fifty men—was moving from Marchester toward Bennington, to support General Stark; while the latter, with his New Hampshire Battalions and the handful of Vermont militia which was with him—estimated by the enemy to number not more than seven hundred men—continued to occupy the position, two miles in front of Baume, to which he had fallen back on the preceding day.

During the stormy night of the fifteenth, General Stark was strengthened by the arrival of a party of volunteers from Berkshire, in Massachusetts, under the command of Colonel Symonds; one Company of which, from Pittsfield, is said to have been commanded by the first Pastor of the Church in that beautiful village, the Rev. Thomas Allen—one of the many political preachers of that day, who, shaping his politics by his religion and enforcing his precepts by his example, has sent down to succeeding generations, a name which will never be forgotten and a fame which will never be obscured. The General was also joined, during the night and early on the sixteenth, by several bodies of Vermont militia; when, finding himself at the head of about fifteen hundred men, he resolved to attack the enemy, in his entrenchments, without further delay.

Accordingly, at an early hour in the forenoon of the sixteenth, the General issued his orders for the disposition of his forces; and the men quietly occupied the positions to which they were assigned, without meeting any opposition from the enemy or, in fact, arousing the least suspicion of their true character or purposes. In the language of the Diary to which I have referred, "the Provincials who were with Lieutenant-colonel Baume asserted that these men were well-disposed Loyalists; and Baume was led, more readily, to believe this, because most of the little parties laid down in the rear of his position"—a movement which had not been described, nor provided for, in any system of European tactics; and the American improvements thereon had not then been put to press.

General Stark had divided his force into four portions, beside the reserve. The first, numbering two hundred and fifty men, New Hampshire troops, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Moses Nichols, of Amherst, N. H., was ordered "to the rear of the enemy's left wing," as General Stark called it—that is, in front of the breast-work, near the North-west angle of the principal hill, where the Regiment of dismounted Dragoons and the detachment from Frazer's Rangers had been posted. This party was afterwards strengthened, at the request of Lieutenant-colonel Nichols, before the commencement of the action, by the addition of a hundred men. The second party, numbering three hundred men, Rangers, so-called, belonging to Vermont, commanded by Colonels Herrick and Brush of Bennington, was sent to the rear of the enemy's left, opposite the South-west angle of the same hill, where, behind a fence, in an open field, the detachments from the Brunswick Grenadiers and from Peters's Tories had been posted. The third party, numbering two hundred men, New Hampshire troops, and commanded by Colonels Hub-

bard and Stickney, were sent in front of the the enemy's right, where, on the summit of the smaller hill, the remainder of Peters's Tories had thrown up a breastwork and taken a position. The fourth, consisting of one hundred men, was sent to the front of the enemy, to amuse him, there; while the reserve, or main-body of the army, under General Stark, in person, was held back, in its encampment—probably for the purpose of deceiving the enemy, as he was deceived—until the four detachments, which had been sent out, could occupy their respective positions and begin the action.

"Precisely at three o'clock in the afternoon," every man having reached the position to which he had been assigned, Lieutenant-colonel Nichols opened his fire on the Dragoons and Rangers, who occupied the breast-work on the principal hill; and it was immediately responded to, by the astonished and indignant troopers and light-troops, who had hitherto regarded their assailants only as Loyalists and friends, ready to become auxiliaries. At the same time, the other detachments, under Colonels Herrick, Hubbard, and Stickney, poured their fires into the ranks of those before whom they had seated themselves; while the main body, under its veteran commander, "pushed forward, with all speed," against the front of the enemy's lines.

The enemy has borne testimony to the gallantry of the several assaults, although the capture of his entrenchments, without artillery, would have proved it, without any collateral testimony. "The rebels fought desperately," said a Brunswick officer; "and, in order to secure a surer aim at the artillerymen who were serving the guns," he says, "they rushed up, within eight paces of the field-pieces loaded with grape-shot. But," as the same writer says, "Colonel Baume's resistance was equal to the attack;" and, with genuine German determination, and with the desperation which always attends a fratricidal war—victory or death being before the eyes of the Loyalists—the conflict raged incessantly. Three times the Germans beat back the determined rebels, and three times the latter returned to the assault, each time more resolutely than before; and the din of the battle, shut in by the woods with which the combatants were surrounded and by the hills which intercepted it, intensified the confusion, and rendered the scene more terrible. During two hours, each party fought without securing any permanent success; but the failure of his supply of ammunition, at that time, compelled Lieutenant-colonel Baume to seek safety in an attempt to retreat, in which the Indians, Canadians, and Loyalists also joined. Flinging their carbines over their shoulders and drawing their unwieldy sabres, the Dragoons rushed on

the Americans, sword in hand ; while the Grenadiers, the Chasseurs, and the Rangers, with clubbed muskets or with their trusty side-arms, gallantly seconded the movement of their associates. Thus, in their turn, thrown on the defensive, the Americans proved themselves to be quite as obstinate as the enemy had been ; and three several attempts to break through their lines were gallantly and effectually frustrated. Baume, battling nobly, fell, mortally wounded ; and, with him, as nobly fell his men—nine of the Germans (six Dragoons, a Grenadier, and two Light-infantry) having alone escaped. The British Rangers, under Captain Frazer, appear, also, to have suffered severely ; although the details have not been published. The Indians are said to have made good their retreat, as did many of the Canadians and Loyalists ; and the exact loss which they sustained is not known.

The action having terminated, the prisoners were speedily collected and removed from the field, under the escort of an ample guard ; and the remainder of the victors, flushed with their success and unconscious of the additional labor which was yet undone, rambled around the field of battle, in search of plunder or for the satisfaction of their curiosity. There is no doubt that every spot of the eventful field underwent a rigid scrutiny ; and it is reported that the head of a hogshhead of rum was knocked in, on the field, for the purpose of celebrating, in the most approved style of the times, the victory which had rewarded the bravery of the troops.

At this moment, intelligence was received of the near approach of another enemy ; and the utmost exertions of General Stark were necessary to reduce the scattered troops, or any considerable number of them, to any thing like order. Providentially, at that moment, the Regiment of Colonel Warner, one hundred and fifty in number, came on the field, and pushed forward to meet the unexpected enemy, followed by the two captured guns and as many of the victors as could be collected.

My bearers need not be told that this second enemy, who had obtruded himself upon the notice of the victors, was the detachment under Lieutenant-colonel Breyman, whose disastrous march from Batten-kill, on the preceding day, has been already noticed. He had moved from the spot where he had halted on the previous evening, at an early hour ; and, by means of pressed teams and a forced march, he had reached Van Schaick's mill, at half past four in the afternoon, finding it in possession of his advance guard, and the most perfect quiet prevailing in the vicinity. Not a single sound had been heard to indicate the obstinate conflict which was raging immediately in his front ; nor had a messenger, nor even a rumor,

from the field, disturbed the quiet repose of the rural valley.

Philip Skene—that "poor follower of the British Army," whose fortunes had been cast with these detachments, on the especial request of General Burgoyne—was at the mill ; and he accompanied Lieutenant-colonel Breyman, probably for the purpose of facilitating his progress, by acting as a guide to the position occupied by Lieutenant-colonel Baume. The column had not proceeded much more than half a mile from the mill, when considerable numbers of armed men, some in jackets, but many in their shirt-sleeves, were seen on the heights which skirted the left flank of the detachment ; and Skene assured Breyman—as Baume had been assured, in the morning—that they were Loyalists, and well-disposed to the Government. It is said, in the Diary to which I have referred, that "Lieutenant-colonel Breyman being cautious, he sent "on a reconnoitring party, which was received "with a heavy fire : " Lieutenant-colonel Breyman, in his Report of the affair, says "Colonel Skene rode towards them, and called out, but "received no other answer than a discharge of "firearms," without referring to the reconnoitring party ; and I leave, without settlement, whether the discovery of the real character of these militia-men may be more properly attributed to Breyman's caution or to Skene's reliance on the supposed loyalty of the people.

Be this as it may, the people who were on the hill fired on the detachment ; when the Battalion of Yagers, commanded by Major von Barner, was ordered to move up the heights against them, in front ; while, at the head of the Battalion of Grenadiers, the Lieutenant-colonel commanding took a position on the right. The two field-pieces were placed in the center ; and, as a party of the Americans had occupied a log-house, which commanded the road, their fire was thrown in that direction.

It is a matter of regret that there has been so little information, relating to this second affair, left on record. It is known that Colonel Warner and his Regiment, and those who accompanied him from the scene of the first struggle, joined the people—militia, and others—who had opened the second ; that the fresh troops, opening to the right and left of the people, fell in on their flanks, where the enemy was most successfully pushing forward ; and that a second severe action ensued, ending only when the close of the day compelled the combatants to desist. The Hessian accounts claim that the party who opened the battle "were driven from every "height" which they had occupied ; and I can readily imagine, considering the character and strength of the assailants, that such may have been the case. It is equally clear to me, how-

ever, that every height from which they had, previously, been driven, if any, was, soon afterwards, recovered, when the gallant one hundred and fifty men, led by Warner, came on the ground and added the weight of their blows to those which the militia had inflicted; and it is not less clear that, beside those heights from which the militia had been driven, others, also, which they had not before occupied, were, soon afterwards, found to be in the possession of the Americans.

The ammunition may have been expended, also, as alleged—the supply, in the beginning, had been very light—or a tumbril may have fallen to pieces, and scattered it, as General Burgoyne reported: these were contingencies which should have been provided for, before the detachment left Batten-kill, and furnish, as far as Lieutenant-colonel Breyman was concerned, no excuse for his defeat. He was defeated, as Lieutenant-colonel Baume had been, earlier in the day; and there is a reason for his abrupt retreat, in the very significant language of the Diary of which I have already spoken—"Lieutenant-colonel Breyman gathered his men," it says, "and held the rebels in check, until the night set in. *Being afraid to be cut off from the Bridge,*" [near Van Schaick's mill] it continues, "he thought it best to cross the river. The cannon, however, which were, all the time, exposed to the fire of the rebels, could not be removed, in spite of all the exertions which were made for that purpose; and Breyman, therefore, had no choice, other than to abandon them, in order to save his Corps, which, otherwise, would have been lost to the last man; and for the same reason the dead and wounded of the Corps were, also, left on the field."

This simple and unvarnished tale, furnished by General Riedesel to his Sovereign, tells the story of the narrow escape from annihilation which the second detachment secured by its precipitate retreat: and I can add nothing to its significance, were I to make the attempt.

As in the case of Lieutenant-colonel Baume's command, so I have been favored also with a copy of the Returns of the killed, wounded, and missing of this detachment, as communicated to the Duke, and under which, it is probable, he settled for the damage, with the British Government. Of killed, there were Captain Gottlob Deitrich von Shick, of the Grenadiers, and Lieutenant Carl A. L. Muhlenfeldt of the Yagers, and eighteen non-commissioned officers and privates; of wounded, there were Lieutenant-colonel Breyman, of the Grenadiers, Major Ferdinand A. von Barner, Captains Carl von Geyso and Gottlieb von Gliessenborg, and Lieutenants Johann Casper Hannemann, of the Yagers, and Spangenberg,

of the Hesse-Hanau Artillery, and sixty-three non-commissioned officers, drummers, and privates; and of missing, Captain Ernst August von Bartling, Lieutenants Theodor F. Gebhardt, Johann A. Meyer, and Carl F. d'Annier, of the Grenadiers, and Ensign Georg L. Hegemann, of the Yagers, and one hundred and thirty-seven non-commissioned officers, drummers, and privates—the whole forming an aggregate of thirteen officers and two hundred and eighteen men, out of twenty-two officers and six hundred and twenty rank and file who had gone into the action. This severe loss was increased by that of the artillery and baggage; and, discomfited and dispirited, the fragments of the detachment returned to Cambridge, and thence to Batten-kill, where they arrived on the afternoon of the following day.

The sad intelligence of the double disaster had preceded the remains of the party, arriving in the camp at three o'clock on the morning of the seventeenth, and arousing the Generals, as well as the more humble of their commands, from their welcome slumbers. Anxious to relieve the fugitives, General Burgoyne placed the army under the orders of General Riedesel, with instructions to move forward to Batten-kill; while, at the head of the Forty-seventh British Regiment, he pressed forward, in person, waded the Batten-kill, and advanced towards Cambridge, to cover the retreat of the exhausted and discouraged Brunswickers, then, more than ever before, sighing for their Fatherland.

Beside the loss of life and limb which the enemy sustained at their hands, the victors captured his baggage, four pieces of artillery, a thousand stands of arms, about two hundred and fifty Hessian swords, and eight brass-barrelled drums, beside a number of horses, carriages, etc.

The loss of the Americans, during the day, was "inconsiderable," as General Stark expressed it—"about thirty killed and forty wounded."

The Battle of Bennington was the harbinger of good tidings from the Northern Department—that scene of long-continued disaster and trouble. The army of the invader was thereby paralyzed; his prospect of a supply of provisions became more gloomy; the dissatisfaction of the British troops, because German forces had been employed in such an expedition, was more distinctly expressed; and the Indian auxiliaries abandoned the field. On the other hand, the spirits of the American army and those of the people were revived; the ability of militia to contend with regular troops, posted behind entrenchments and defended with artillery, was demonstrated; the movements of General Burgoyne and his ability to do mischief were checked; and new hopes and new resolutions were produced. Congress, disregarding the questions of insubordina--

tion which had occupied its attention, hastened to return its thanks to the troops who had refused to recognize its authority or to obey its officers; the gallant Stark, whom it had insulted, a short time before, and refused a hearing when he asked leave to remonstrate against its injustice, had a Brigadier-general's Commission thrust upon him, with only one dissenting voice; the General Court of Massachusetts, "as a testimony of the high sense it had of the great and important services rendered by that brave officer, to the United States of America," voted to present to him a complete suit of clothes becoming his rank, together with a piece of linen for shirts; and the country and the world, then and since, have determined that the "Battle of Bennington," unimportant as it may appear, was one of the most important actions, in its results, of the American Revolution.

The task which I had imposed upon myself, Mr. President, has been performed, as far as my humble abilities and the means at my command have allowed; and I would that the result had been more worthy of your acceptance. My own experience and my observation have taught me, however, that the reading-desk is not the place which is best adapted for the discussion of the nicer points, either of politics or of history: and I did not visit you with the expectation of settling any old disputes or of laying the foundation of any new one. I remembered that, despite the assertions and the efforts of many of our contemporaries, we still have *a country*, and that that country has *a history*, beside and beyond any which has yet been written. Our Colleges and our Universities, scattered profusely throughout the land, apparently forgetful of their duty, have taxed the ingenuity of their Trustees in searching for Chairs for Professors; and the young gentlemen whose education has been entrusted to their wisdom, have been led through the most varied and ornamental paths of Literature and Science. Line has been added to line, and precept upon precept, in all which relates to Grecian, or Roman, or European history; and the cold and unpromising mazes of the dark ages have not been left unexplored. The heavens above and the waters beneath, as well as the surface of the earth around us, have been examined and re-examined with commendable fidelity and perseverance; and Science and the Arts, Ethics and Divinity, Philosophy and the Belles-Lettres have been, properly and constantly, made the subjects of their care. In the meanwhile, *our country's* history has been passed, comparatively, without notice; and the names and the actions of its founders, the motives which actuated them, in their deeds of daring, and the imperishable results of their devotion to the cause of freedom, have been considered scarce-

ly worthy of even a passing thought. Washington and Greene, Schuyler and Wayne, Marion and Stark, are, comparatively, unknown in these our classic groves; and Roger Williams and the freedom of conscience, and John Peter Zenger and the freedom of the press, the Committees of Correspondence of 1764 and "the Battle of Golden Hill,"—the "massacre" at your own Westminster, even—have not been made the subjects of their refined attention. Upon such bodies as this therefore—upon the patient toiler over half-obliterated manuscripts; and upon those who grope into the dark recesses of ancient garrets and who explore the mysterious, and untold, and neglected lumber which accumulates in the store-rooms and pantries, in our older settlements—the sacred duty has, therefore, devolved to bring to light the hidden things of the past, in our own land, and to perpetuate the names and the worth of those village Hampdens by whom the foundations of the Republic were laid, and through whose energy and perseverance the cap-stone of the structure was also raised to its position. It may be true that the movements which may be raised through such feeble instrumentalities as those to which I have referred, may be unworthy of the objects which they may be intended to commemorate; that our predecessors and their services deserve testimonials which may be more elegant in their proportions, than any which we can rear. All this I grant; but when my brethren who have honored me with an invitation to meet with you, undertook to raise a humble cairn to keep in remembrance the bravery and the skill of Stark, and Warner, and Nichols, and their associates, I did not feel at liberty to withhold my pebble, as I passed, humble and unpolished as it is. That pebble is now in its place; and I shall look forward with interest to the time when the next passer-by—younger, or more skillful, or more fortunate than I have been—shall add his contribution to the heap, and thus increase the interest in the subject, while he will also add to the durability, if he does not improve the appearance, of the memorial.

II.—THE MORMONS.

INTERVIEW WITH THE FATHER OF JOSEPH SMITH,
THE MORMON PROPHET, FORTY YEARS AGO.
HIS ACCOUNT OF THE FINDING OF THE SACRED
PLATES.

By FAYETTE LAPHAM, ESQR.

I think it was in the year 1830, I heard that some ancient records had been discovered that would throw some new light upon the subject of religion: being deeply interested in the matter, I concluded to go to the place and learn for myself

the truth of the matter. Accompanied by a friend, Jacob Ramsdell, I set out to find the Smith family, then residing some three or four miles South of the village of Palmyra, Wayne-county, New York, and near the line of the town of Manchester. Joseph, Junior, afterwards so well known, not being at home, we applied to his father for the information we wanted. This Joseph Smith, Senior, we soon learned, from his own lips, was a firm believer in witchcraft and other supernatural things; and had brought up his family in the same belief. He also believed that there was a vast amount of money buried somewhere in the country; that it would some day be found; that he himself had spent both time and money searching for it, with divining rods, but had not succeeded in finding any, though sure that he eventually would.

In reply to our question, concerning the ancient records that had been found, he remarked that they had suffered a great deal of persecution on account of them; that many had been there for that purpose, and had made evil reports of them, intimating that perhaps we had come for a like purpose; but, becoming satisfied of our good intentions and that we only sought correct information, he gave us the following history, as near as I can repeat his words:

His son Joseph, whom he called the illiterate, when about fourteen years of age, happened to be where a man was looking into a dark stone and telling people, therefrom, where to dig for money and other things. Joseph requested the privilege of looking into the stone, which he did by putting his face into the hat where the stone was. It proved to be not the right stone for him; but he could see some things, and, among them, he saw the stone, and where it was, in which he could see whatever he wished to see. Smith claims and believes that there is a stone of this quality, somewhere, for every one. The place where he saw the stone was not far from their house; and, under pretence of digging a well, they found water and the stone at a depth of twenty or twenty-two feet. After this, Joseph spent about two years looking into this stone, telling fortunes, where to find lost things, and where to dig for money and other hidden treasure. About this time he became concerned as to his future state of existence, and was baptized, becoming thus a member of the Baptist Church. Soon after joining the Church, he had a very singular dream: but he did not tell his father of his dream, until about a year afterwards. He then told his father that, in his dream, a very large and tall man appeared to him, dressed in an ancient suit of clothes, and the clothes were bloody. And the man said to him that there was a valuable treasure, buried many years since, and not far from that place; and that he had now arriv-

ed for it to be brought to light, for the benefit of the world at large; and, if he would strictly follow his directions, he would direct him to the place where it was deposited, in such a manner that he could obtain it. He then said to him, that he would have to get a certain coverlid, which he described, and an old-fashioned suit of clothes, of the same color, and a napkin to put the treasure in; and go to a certain tree, not far distant, and when there, he would see other objects that he would take or keep in range and follow, until he was directed to stop, and there he would find the treasure that he was in pursuit of; and when he had obtained it, he must not lay it down until he placed it in the napkin. "And," says Smith, "in the course of a year, I succeeded in finding all the articles, as directed; and one dark night, Joseph mounted his horse, and, aided by some supernatural light, he succeeded in finding the starting point and the objects in range." Following these, as far as he could with the horse, without being directed to stop, he proceeded on foot, keeping the range in view, until he arrived at a large boulder, of several tons weight, when he was immediately impressed with the idea that the object of his pursuit was under that rock. Feeling around the edge, he found that the under side was flat. Being a stout man, and aided by some super-natural power, he succeeded in turning the rock upon its edge, and under it he found a square block of masonry, in the centre of which were the articles referred to by the man seen in the dream. Taking up the first article, he saw others below: laying down the first, he endeavored to secure the others; but, before he could get hold of them, the one he had taken up slid back to the place he had taken it from, and, to his great surprise and terror, the rock immediately fell back to its former place, nearly crushing him in its descent. His first thought was that he had not properly secured the rock when it was turned up, and accordingly he again tried to lift it, but in vain: he next tried with the aid of levers, but still without success. While thus engaged, he felt something strike him on the breast, which was repeated the third time, always with increased force, the last such as to lay him upon his back. As he lay there, he looked up and saw the same large man that had appeared in his dream, dressed in the same clothes. He said to him that, when the treasure was deposited there, he was sworn to take charge of and protect that property, until the time should arrive for it to be exhibited to the world of mankind; and, in order to prevent his making an improper disclosure, he was murdered or slain on the spot, and the treasure had been under his charge ever since. He said to him that he had not followed his directions; and, in consequence of laying the article down before

putting it in the napkin, he could not have the article now; but that if he would come again, one year from that time, he could then have them. The year passed over before Joseph was aware of it, so the time passed by; but he went to the place of deposit, where the same man appeared again, and said he had not been punctual in following his directions, and, in consequence, he could not have the article yet. Joseph asked when he could have them; and the answer was, "Come in one year from this time, and bring your oldest brother with you; then you may have them." During that year, it so happened that his oldest brother died; but, at the end of the year, Joseph repaired to the place again, and was told by the man who still guarded the treasure, that, inasmuch as he could not bring his oldest brother, he could not have the treasure yet; but there would be another person appointed to come with him in one year from that time, when he could have it. Joseph asked, "How shall I know the person?" and was told that the person would be known to him at sight. During that year, Joseph went to the town of Harmony, in the State of Pennsylvania, at the request of some one who wanted the assistance of his divining rod and stone in finding hidden treasure, supposed to have been deposited there by the Indians or others. While there, he fell in company with a young woman; and, when he first saw her, he was satisfied that she was the person appointed to go with him to get the treasure he had so often failed to secure. To insure success, he courted and married her. When his work was ended at Harmony, he returned with her to his father's, in Wayne-county; and, at the expiration of the year, he procured a horse and light wagon, with a small chest and a pillow-case, and proceeded, punctually, with his wife, to find the hidden treasure. When they had gone as far as they could with the wagon, Joseph took the pillow-case and started for the rock. Upon passing a fence, a host of devils began to screech and to scream, and made all sorts of hideous yells, for the purpose of terrifying him and preventing the attainment of his object; but Joseph was courageous, and pursued his way, in spite of them all. Arriving at the stone, he again lifted it, with the aid of superhuman power, as at first, and secured the first, or uppermost article, this time putting it carefully into the pillow-case, before laying it down. He now attempted to secure the remainder; but just then the same old man appeared, and said to him, that the time had not yet arrived for their exhibition to the world; but that when the proper time came he should have them, and exhibit them with the one he had now secured: until that time arrived, no one must be allowed to touch the one he had in his possession; for if they did, they would be

knocked down by some superhuman power. Joseph ascertained that the remaining articles were a gold hilt and chain, and a gold ball with two pointers. The hilt and chain had once been part of a sword of unusual size; but the blade had rusted away and become useless. Joseph then turned the rock back, took the article in the pillow-case, and returned to the wagon; the devils, with more hideous yells than before, followed him to the fence; as he was getting over the fence, one of the devils struck him a blow on his side, where a black and blue spot remained three or four days; but Joseph persevered and brought the article safely home. "I weighed it," said Mr. Smith, Senior, "and it weighed thirty pounds."

In answer to our question, as to what it was that Joseph had thus obtained, he said it consisted of a set of gold plates, about six inches wide, and nine or ten inches long. They were in the form of a book, half an inch thick, but were not bound at the back, like our books, but were held together by several gold rings, in such a way that the plates could be opened similar to a book. Under the first plate, or lid, he found a pair of spectacles, about one and a half inches longer than those used at the present day, the eyes not of glass, but of diamond. On the next page were representations of all the masonic implements, as used by masons at the present day. The remaining pages were closely written over in characters of some unknown tongue, the last containing the alphabet of this unknown language. Joseph, not being able to read the characters, made a copy of some of them, which he showed to some of the most learned men of the vicinity. All the clue he could obtain was from George Crane, who said he had seen a Pass that had been given to Luther Bradish, when traveling through the Turkish dominions; and he thought the characters resembled those of that Pass. Accordingly, Joseph went to Franklin-county, and saw Mr. Bradish, who could not read the strange characters, but advised him to return home and go into other business. But Joseph was not willing to give up the matter, without further trial; and from Franklin county he went to New York city, where the most learned man then in the city told him that, with few exceptions, the characters were Arabic, but not enough to make any thing out. Returning home, he one day tried the spectacles, and found that, by looking through them, he could see everything—past, present, and future—and could also read and understand the characters written on the plates. Before proceeding to translate the characters, Joseph was directed to choose twelve Apostles, who must be men who believed in the supernatural. He would not err in choosing them, as he would know the proper persons as soon as he saw them. One was to be

a Scribe. After much opposition, Joseph succeeded in finding the requisite number of believers, among them Martin Harris, who was chosen Scribe. After having made these necessary arrangements, Joseph was directed not to make the translation where there was so much opposition: hence, after procuring the necessary materials, he and Martin went to Harmony, in Pennsylvania, where they would be less persecuted, and where Joseph, with spectacles on, translated the characters on the gold plates, and Harris recorded the result.

After thus translating a number of plates, Harris wanted to return to Palmyra, taking a part of the writings with him; but the Lord objected, for fear that Harris would show them to unbelievers, who would make sport and derision of them. But Harris finally obtained leave to take them, on condition that he should let no one see them, except those who believed in them: in this he was indiscreet, and showed them to some one that he ought not to. When he next went to his drawer to get them, behold! they were not there; the Lord had taken them away.*

Joseph and Harris returned to Harmony, and found the plates missing—the Lord had taken them also. Then Joseph put on the spectacles, and saw where the Lord had hid them, among the rocks, in the mountains. Though not allowed to get them, he could, by the help of the spectacles, read them where they were, as well as if they were before him. They were directed not to re-translate the part already gone over, for fear the new work would not correspond, in every particular, with the old: their enemies might take advantage of that circumstance, and condemn the whole. But they could begin where they left off, and translate until they were directed to stop: for, in consequence of their indiscretion, they would not be allowed to translate the whole, at present. At some future time, they would be allowed to translate the whole; and then their translation, the gold plates, the gold hilt, ball and pointers could all be circulated together, each a witness of the others.

In answer to our question as to the subject of the translation, he said it was the record of a certain number of Jews, who, at the time of crossing the Red Sea, left the main body and went away by themselves; finally became a rich and prosperous nation; and, in the course of time, became so wicked that the Lord determined to destroy them from off the face of the earth. But there was one virtuous man among them, whom the Lord warned in a dream to take his family and depart, which he accordingly did; and, after traveling three days, he remembered that he had left some papers, in the office where

he had been an officer, which he thought would be of use to him in his journeyings. He sent his son back to the city to get them; and when his son arrived in the city, it was night, and he found the citizens had been having a great feast, and were all drunk. When he went to the office to get his father's papers he was told that the chief clerk was not in, and he must find him before he could have the papers. He then went into the street in search of him; but every body being drunk, he could get but little information of his whereabouts, but, after searching a long time, he found him lying in the street, dead drunk, clothed in his official habiliments, his sword having a gold hilt and chain, lying by his side—and this is the same that was found with the gold plates. Finding that he could do nothing with him in that situation, he drew the sword, cut off the officer's head, cast off his own outer garments and, assuming those of the officer, returned to the office where the papers were readily obtained, with which he returned to where his father was waiting for him. The family then moved on, for several days, when they were directed to stop and get materials to make brass plates upon which to keep a record of their journey; also to erect a tabernacle, wherein they could go and inquire whenever they became bewildered or at a loss what to do. After all things were ready, they started on their journey, in earnest; a gold ball went before them, having two pointers, one pointing steadily the way they should go, the other the way to where they could get provisions and other necessities. After traveling many days, they came to a mountain, from which they were directed to get gold plates to keep their records upon, and to transfer to them those already on the brass plates. Finishing these, they resumed their journey; and, after traveling many days, came to a wide water, where they were directed to build a vessel. When this was completed, they set sail, still directed by the gold ball. After sailing a long time, they came to land, went on shore, and thence they traveled through boundless forests, until, at length, they came to a country where there were a great many lakes; which country had once been settled by a very large race of men, who were very rich, having a great deal of money. From some unknown cause, this nation had become extinct; "but that money," said Smith, "is here, now, every dollar of it." When they, the Jews, first beheld this country, they sent out spies to see what manner of country it was, who reported that the country appeared to have been settled by a very large race of men, and had been, to all appearances, a very rich agricultural and manufacturing nation. They also found something of which they did not know the use, but when they went into the tabernacle, a voice said, "What have you got in your hand,

* It is rumored that Joseph whipped his wife for being concerned in this transaction.

"there?" They replied that they did not know, but had come to inquire; when the voice said, "Put it on your face, and put your face in a skin, and you will see what it is." They did so, and could see everything of the past, present, and future; and it was the same spectacles that Joseph found with the gold plates.

The gold ball stopped here and ceased to direct them any further; the family took possession of the country; their descendants became a great nation; among them were prophets who foretold the coming of Christ, and said that, as a sign of his coming, there would be three days in which there would be no night, for the light of day would continue during three days. In process of time the sign appeared as foretold by the prophets; and when Christ left Jerusalem he came to this nation; and, finding them much more perfect and harmonious in their religious views than the Jews were at Jerusalem, he was more particular in giving them instructions as to baptism, and said they must go down into the water, and be put under the water, and come up out of the water. But, after this, they became corrupt and wicked; enmity and discord prevailed among them, to such an extent, that they could no longer dwell together; hence they divided up into tribes, were scattered over the face of the earth, and their descendants are the American Indians.

At this point, the interview came to an end; and my friend and myself returned home, fully convinced that we had smelt a large mice.

III. —THE FITZ-ROYS IN NEW YORK.

BY COLONEL THEODORUS BAILEY MYERS.

EDITOR OF HISTORICAL MAGAZINE:

I enclose a newspaper cutting from the *Evening Post* of the third ult., which contains facts which appear to entitle it to a place in a more enduring record, as a well-written and entertaining historical waif.

It may interest some of your readers to know that the Lieutenant Fitz-Roy alluded to, is not the first member of his family who had visited New York, and perhaps stayed there. *The Boston Weekly News Letter*, of November 16, 1782, thus chronicles another Fitz-Roy arrival: "NEW YORK, November 6—The Mayor Aldermen and Assistants of this City of New York, being informed that the R^t Hon the Lord Augustus Fitz-Roy, son of his Grace Charles Duke of Grafton, was arrived at Fort George, on a visit to his Excellency our Governour,* his Lady and Family, they waited on his Lordship on Monday, being the 23^d of October last, in a full

body, attended by the principal officers of the City Regiment; and being introduced to his Lordship in the Council Chamber, the Recorder† addressed himself to him in the name of the Corporation, congratulating his Lordship's safe arrival, and returning the thanks of the City for the Honour they received by his Lordship's Presence, as also, for his Lordship's condescension in being pleased to become a Member thereof. Then the Worshipful the Mayor‡ presented his Lordship with the Copy of his Freedom, to which was annexed the City Seal, enclosed in a curious Gold Box, with the arms of this City thereon neatly engraved; which his Lordship was pleased to receive with the greatest Goodness and Complaisance and likewise to assure the Corporation, that he should always entertain the kindest Sentiments of this Expression of their Regard and esteem for him."

After this somewhat Japanese, yellow kid-glove ovation by a Common Council of the period, which would have formed a precedent, if it had been exhumed, for doing something, if not for our late visitor of that name, at least for his Royal companion, his Lordship seems to have tarried in this country, ‡ for, on the twenty-fourth of August, 1785, nearly three years later, the *New York Gazette* has the following notice of the decease of his son, another Fitz-Roy:

"NEW YORK, August 24. On the 10th of this instant died the Hon Charles Fitz Roy only son of Lord Augustus Fitz-Roy, and on the 12th he was decently interred. His Corps was attended by the Gentlemen of the Council and Assembly and the Corporation, the Merchants and Gentlemen of the Place. The Companies Marched before with Revers'd Arms and Minute Guns were fir'd during the performance of the Funeral Service." §

On the tenth of March, following, Governor William Cosby, who was Lord Fitz-Roy's entertainer, died of a violent "Pleurisie and Fever;" and, on Saturday following, was decently interred "in his Majestys Chappel in the Fort." He

* Hon. Francis Harrison, being Recorder.

† Colonel Robert Lurtling, being Mayor.

‡ Our respected contributor has evidently overlooked the curious record of the match-making abilities of Mrs. Cosby, the Governor's wife, through which this underling of royalty was secured as the son-in-law of that official. That event and the subsequent troubles which arose out of it are among the causes which, secretly and at a distance, affected the public affairs and interests of the Colony: and they deserve the attention of our readers.—ED. HIS. MAG.

§ When it shall be remembered that this deceased Fitz-Roy was a mere infant, not more than two years old, the reader will understand what, in her infantile days, New York did to secure the favor of those who wielded an influence over the Government which controlled her; and he may see, too, what, in the decline of her power, she may do, hereafter, to preserve the good-will of those, nearer home, who may sway imperial power in the name of Liberty.—ED. HIS. MAG.

* Colonel William Cosby, being Governor.

had arrived on the thirty-first of July, 1732, and spent less than four years in the Colony.

The climate of New York, or at least that of Fort George, at that time, must have been unwholesome. From the fact of so many deaths in quick succession amongst the early Governors, and because others of them preferred to reside outside the Fort. The history, and even the memory, of these Governors was wiped out in the upheaving of the Revolution; and no period of the history of the country has been left so barren as that of their administration.

The remains of those interred in this Chapel in the Fort, including many Governors and people of rank, were either removed to Trinity Churchyard or carried back to England; and few of those who are now doing business around the foot of the Bowling Green* are aware that they are located on soil which once contained the ashes of the rulers of old New York.

New York.

T. B. M.

THE EXTRACT REFERRED TO.

THE BAR SINISTER.

An English writer sends us the following: A member of Prince Arthur's suite, now in this city, is a young officer who, after his father, is heir presumptive to one of those dukedoms of which De foe observed that Charles the Second had, by his own exertions, contributed them to the British Peerage.

Although the most of the "merrie monarch's" very numerous and oftentimes disreputable additions to the House of Lords have long since become extinct, no less than four of the six dukedoms which he conferred on his illegitimate sons survive and flourish at this hour.

Perhaps the most remarkable feature about the families which have sprung from this source is,

* The location of the present Bowling Green, on which the Church fronted, and which was created a market by a Dutch Ordinance of 1652: "It was found good and resolved that for all fat cattle brought to the market (not slaughtered) posts shall be erected by the side of the Church where those who bring such cattle to market for sale shall present them. It is also resolved that shambles be built, a cover be made, and a block brought in, and that the key be given to Andries the baker who shall keep oversight of the same." And by an English Ordinance, of 1676, made a Fair Ground. "A Market Fair is ordered for three years ensuing, to be held in this City, at the Markett House and plaine afore the Forte to be held each Thursday Friday and Saturday." and by a map, printed in 1728, is set down as "The Parade;" and, in 1732, the year of Lord Fitz-Roy's visit, became, by an Ordinance of the Corporation, a Bowling Green, viz: "Resolved, That this Corporation will leave a piece of land lyeing at the lower end of Broadway, fronting the Fort, to some of the inhabitants, in order to be enclosed to make a Bowling Green there, with walks therein, for the beauty and ornament of said streets as well as for the delight of the inhabitants of the city." A lease for eleven years, at one pepper-corn per annum rental, was accordingly made, to John Chambers, Peter Bayard, and Peter Jay, three well-known citizens of the day; and, although the term of the lease has expired, the "Bowling Green" is still a land-mark on the city map.

that, in the course of two centuries, they had not, although possessed of every advantage that wealth and birth could give, produced a single really eminent man. It certainly was not the fault of Junius, if one descendant—the Duke of Grafton of his day—is not notorious; nor of Mr. Charles Lever, if another is not handed down to posterity as a specimen of rollicking conviviality, the "three-bottled" of three bottlers, who proved himself, when Viceroy of Ireland, so far as the consumption of claret was concerned, more Irish than the Irish themselves.

The royal papa adopted a simple but most effectual expedient for providing handsomely for his natural sons. He betrothed them, at a very tender age, to the great heiresses of the day, who were his own wards.

Thus Monmouth, his especial darling, became the child-husband of Ann, Countess of Buccleuch, in her own right, who is poetically described by Sir Walter Scott, in the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, as one who,

"In pride of youth, in beauty's bloom,
"Had wept o'er Monmouth's bloody tomb."

So far, however, as connubial happiness went, the lady had little reason to lament her lord, who lived openly and notoriously with Lady Henrietta Wentworth, daughter of Lord Strafford. The Duchess, like many ladies whose first husbands have come to a tragical end, consoled herself with a second, Lord Cornwallis.

Monmouth was Charles's son by Lucy Walters, said to have been the daughter of a Welsh gentleman. It was often asserted that Charles was privately married to this lady; and the support which he received in the western Counties, no doubt, was, in a considerable degree, owing to the prevalence of this idea among the populace. There was a rumor in London, not without foundation, some years ago, that certain papers had been discovered by those most interested in the matter, which gave credit to this story of a private marriage.

Probably, however, no one in the wide world has less desire to contest Victoria's right to the throne, than the Duke of Buccleuch, the lineal representative of the unhappy Monmouth.

The same Buccleuch property which, in Charles the Second's time, was worth five thousand pounds a year, is now probably rated at that sum multiplied by twenty. Besides this, the Duke—who is also Duke of Queensberry—has inherited the estates of the notorious "old Q.," the hero of those milkbaths which spread terror through London, some seventy years ago, when the report was rife that the very same milk in which he laved his corrupt old carcass was re-sold by the servants to the milkman and by him to the public.

With this dukedom of Queensberry, there came

to the present Duke of Buccleuch his magnificent seat, Drumlanrig Castle, in Dumfriesshire, with its seventy-five miles of drive, over closely mown velvet turf; and, by the marriage of the Duke's grandfather with the daughter and heiress of the last Duke of Montagu, the Duke of Buccleuch inherits Boughton Park, an enormous chateau, in the French style, in Northamptonshire, remarkable for being surrounded by miles and miles of avenues of trees.

Nor was this all. Beaulieu Abbey, a charming old place in the loveliest part of the New Forest, and Ditton Park, famous for its oaks, near Windsor, have also fallen to him, in right of heirship to the great house of Montagu.

The Duke of Buccleuch thus represents the four dukedoms of Monmouth, Montagu, Queensberry and Buccleuch, and is possessor of estates yielding an income of probably not less than three hundred thousand pounds a year, his property in Dumfriesshire alone being rated at upwards of ninety thousand pounds a year.

"This grand-father of mine is a great Prince," said Mr. Disraeli's Coningsby, as he drove, for the first time, into the court-yard of Monmouth House; and the observation really applies to the Duke of Buccleuch.

Fortunately, the owner of so much wealth and influence uses it worthily.

The other English dukedoms with the bar sinister, are Grafton, St. Albans and Richmond. The Duke of Grafton springs from Charles's *liaison* with Barbara Villiers, created Duchess of Cleveland. The first Duke was well provided for, by marriage with the only daughter and heiress of Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington. It will be remembered that Arlington was one of the celebrated Cabal. Some members of the Fitz-Roy family yet have an extraordinary resemblance to their royal progenitor; and it need scarcely be said that these are not remarkable for personal beauty.

Charles Beauclerc, created Duke of St. Albans, illegitimate son of Charles the Second, by the actress, Nell Gwyn, married Lady Diana de Vere, eldest daughter, and eventually sole heiress, of Aubrey, twentieth and last Earl of Oxford, of that family. The Duke was further enriched by the hereditary offices of Grand Falconer and Registrar of the Court of Chancery. Somehow, this family has not contrived to keep an eye to the main chance so well as the others; and the Duke of St. Albans is probably the poorest man of his rank in Great Britain.

The Duke of Richmond is descended from the first Duke, Charles's son by Louise de Querouaille, created Duchess d'Aubigny, in France, sent over to England, to influence the King, by Louis XIV.

The second Duke increased his estate very

much by marriage with the co-heiress of the Earl of Cardigan; but the grand-father of the present peer raised the fortunes of the family still more by marrying the heiress of the last Duke of Gordon. This was the lady who gave the celebrated ball, on the eve of Waterloo, which has been commemorated by Thackeray and Byron.

The Goodwood races are held in the park of the Duke's beautiful place, in Sussex, of that name. From the Gordons, he inherits Gordon Castle and an immense estate, in the North of Scotland. The present holder of the title, a man generally and deservedly respected, was a member of the last Tory Government, as President of the Board of Trade.

IV.—REMINISCENCES OF THE CAMPAIGN ON THE RIO GRANDE.—CONCLUDED, FROM PAGE 238.

BY MAJOR GEORGE DEAS, U. S. A.

The whole army marched from Marin, on the eighteenth of September, occupying, in the evening, a small town called San Francisco. On the following day, General Taylor with his Staff pushed on to the front, until he came in sight of the city, and within range of the guns in the exterior works. At the first view, not a living thing was to be seen. All was as still and quiet as the grave. The city lay in the distance, as if it had been deserted by its inhabitants. The Staff was permitted to carry up its reconnaissance to the ground covered by the fire of the citadel, or Black Fort, when, suddenly, as if by magic, the whole scene was changed. A thick smoke, bursting forth from the fortifications, followed by the report of a heavy piece of ordnance, announced to the General that he was observed. This shot was well directed; but the range was long, and the ball bounded over the heads of the Staff. At this signal, all seemed to spring to life in the silent city. Flags were run up; bugles blew; drums beat to arms; and sentries lined the works.

Satisfied now that the enemy was in force, the General retraced his steps, halted the army, and encamped at Walnut Springs, about three miles from the city. This is a most delightful spot, and will be remembered by all who have ever enjoyed its delicious water and its shady groves. The water gushes forth, in great volumes, from a number of fountains, and finds its way, by beautiful rivulets, to the stream which passes into Monterey. Large walnut trees, hundreds of years old, covering several acres of ground, afford most ample shelter from the rays of the sun, which, at times, are powerful. Other timber abounds, and the ground is, in every respect, admirably fitted for an encampment. Here was

the General's favorite dwelling-place; and here he had his Head-quarters, during all the time he stayed in that vicinity. During the afternoon of the nineteenth, the General was occupied in reconnaissance and forming his plan for attack. The heights, in rear of the town, which covered the road to Saltillo, were clearly visible; and the movement of troops upon them showed them to be fortified. To carry these heights, occupy the Saltillo road so as to cut off reinforcements coming from the interior, and to take the town in reverse was the resolution of the General, on the following day. For this service, the entire Division of General Worth, reinforced by the Texas Regiment of Light Cavalry, was selected. The Division was composed of the Fifth, Seventh, and Eighth Regiments of Infantry, the Artillery Battalion (eight Companies serving as Infantry) Duncan's and Mackall's Batteries of Light Artillery, and the Texas Light-horse, under Hays. Detailed from the several corps, was a light Battalion, under Captain C. F. Smith of the Second Artillery. While Worth was to attack the positions in the rear of the town, the General intending it to be the real attack, a diversion, or feint, was to be made in front. The sequel showed a different state of things. Worth moved out of Camp, on the afternoon of the twentieth of September, and, entering some cornfields to the right, made a detour of about six miles, which brought him, at the close of the day, to a position, near some ranchos, not far from the base of the hill upon which the Bishop's Palace is situated. The Saltillo road had not yet been reached. Some slight skirmishing took place in front; but was of no consequence. Bivouacking where they had halted, the troops moved, the next day, more to the front; and, passing under the fire from the heights of Obispado and Federacion, by which we experienced the loss of an officer, Captain McKavitt of the Eighth Infantry, and a few men, the road leading to Saltillo was gained. A gallant, but most absurd and ineffectual, charge was made, in the morning, upon the head of our column advancing, by a Regiment of Cavalry coming from the city. The Texans were in front; who, opening and dismounting, poured a deadly fire into the enemy, with their rifles, while, at the same time, they were received by the regular Light-infantry with such effect as to send them off the field, in complete confusion. Their gallant leader paid the forfeit of his life for the bold adventure; and some fifty of his men were killed. I think this Cavalry Regiment was from Jalisco. It is worth recording that, with the exception of the affair at Buena Vista, when Colonel Yell was killed, this is the only instance in the War where Mexican Cavalry charged or came to a hand-to-hand encounter with our troops.

The first object of Worth's movement being

now attained, immediate preparation for assaulting the first range of heights was made. The advance, on this occasion, was entrusted to Captain C. F. Smith's Light Battalion and the Texans dismounted. The river, which passes between the heights, and flows around the base of the most southern of them—which was now the object of attack—is here quite shallow. Crossing the stream, the Light troops advanced, and, shortly afterwards, were supported by the Seventh Infantry. From his point of observation—a distance of nearly a mile—Worth was unable to perceive the exact strength of the enemy. Skirmishing of a lively nature was going on, upon the hill-side; but our people did not seem to be gaining ground. Accordingly, the Fifth was sent in additional support. Fording the river, we pushed along, at double-quick, and soon reached the base of the hill. By this time, the summit had been carried by the Light troops, a piece of artillery captured, and the enemy driven along the heights to a field-work, called "Soldado," some few hundred yards towards the town. Brigadier-general Persifor F. Smith, who had come over with the Fifth, now ordered the Regiment to assault the work "Soldado." The altitude of these heights was about five hundred feet; they were rather steep, exceedingly rugged, and covered with a thin growth of rough bushes. Under cover of the inclination of the hill, the Fifth advanced, and, when within about three hundred yards of the work, came forward into line, in which formation they rushed to the attack. With wild hurrahs and bayonets fixed, undisturbed by a stinging fire from the enemy, they steadily pushed forward—the Seventh and some of the Texans in close support. The fire of the enemy was sharp, and caused some loss; but the rush of our men it was impossible to withstand. In ten minutes, the place was ours, and the Mexicans were driven over the valley, to take refuge with their comrades in the Bishop's Palace, opposite.

Here was now the first advantage gained. From this eminence, the future operations of the Division could be plainly traced. Opposite, at the distance of a half mile, with the river between, were the heights of Obispado, alive with soldiers, while, to the right, in the distance, lay the city, embowered in trees and orange groves, with its streets plainly exposed to view. Around us, at our feet, were rich valleys teeming with vegetation; while far away, on either side, arose the majestic ranges of the Sierra Madre. Leaving the Seventh in the captured work, the General immediately detached the Fifth to occupy the ridge, a mile further in advance, directly overlooking the town. Here strong pickets were thrown out, to guard the approach to our flank, in that direction. The Regiment passed the

night in the clouds, without food or water, exposed to a nasty drizzling rain, which wet us to the skin, and fires, of course, were prohibited. For upwards of two days, the Fifth never eat a mouthful—merely because the emergency and activity of the service they were upon, detached from the train of supplies, rendered it impossible to obtain and cook their rations.

Before the dawn of day, on the twenty-second, smart firing was heard from the opposite hill. This, we knew, was the assault upon the crest of the Obispado. The Eighth Infantry and some Companies of the Artillery Battalion, with a support of Texans, all under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Childs, formed the attacking force on this occasion. Some sharp fighting took place; but, in a few moments, the enemy retreated to the Bishop's Palace, carrying with them a piece of artillery that had annoyed us the day before. In the meantime, the Fifth was withdrawn from the position it had held during the night, and sent to reinforce the attack opposite. In less than an hour, they had joined the Eighth, at the crest of the height, having passed under the fire of the Bishop's Palace. From early in the morning until about mid-day, the operations here were confined to skirmishing, in front of the Bishop's Palace. This place was one of importance. Strongly fortified, and built of solid masonry, it presented itself as an object to be approached with care. Its capture would secure the complete command of the southern portion of the city. To avoid unnecessary loss of life, incident to an immediate assault, it was determined first to try the effect of artillery. Accordingly, General Worth sent over a howitzer from Duncan's Battery, under Lieutenant Roland, which being dragged, with some difficulty, up the nearly perpendicular ascent, was skillfully placed in battery, on the summit, behind a quantity of sand-bags left by the enemy. The fire of this piece was telling. The range was soon obtained; and shells were exploded directly in the interior of the Palace. The place became too hot to stay in. Out poured swarms of Mexicans; our skirmishers advanced; the reserves arose in a mass and, with a deafening shout, rushed down upon the devoted work. Some slight resistance was attempted, but of short duration; and, at about three o'clock, on the twenty-second, the Bishop's Palace was in our possession. This very pretty operation was witnessed by the troops of the First Division and the Volunteers, on the northern side of the city.

Worth, leaving a small detachment to watch the Saltillo road, now came up with the Headquarters and the regimental trains; and our weary soldiers satisfied their hunger. Spirits are not used in our army as a ration. They have long since been abandoned; and, in their stead, the sol-

diers are supplied with sugar and coffee—good substitutes, in many respects. On this occasion, however, a small allowance of brandy or rum would not have been amiss. But we were obliged to be tee-totalers—there was not a drop of spirits, nor even a bottle of wine, in the whole Division. It is a great mistake to give soldiers ardent spirits, just before going into action. It is said to inspire artificial courage, but if it does, it cannot last long; and then comes the reaction, which has a bad effect. The excitement of battle is enough without drinking; and men become pretty savage when fighting. It is not necessary to make them more so; and a little too much liquor might tend to make them insubordinate and disregarding of their officers. If I were to use spirits at all, I would reserve it for issue to the men, after the fatigue of battle or the march.

Worth was now firmly established at the Bishop's Palace, and in complete command of the southern part of the city. On the twenty-third, the Division began its approaches to the Plaza, distant a little more than a mile. Passing through gardens, picking through houses, and carefully feeling their way, avoiding the raking fire from the barricades, the troops found themselves in the heart of the city, early in the afternoon, occupying the smaller of the two plazas, or squares, called the Plazuela de C—. The Headquarters were still slightly to the rear, bringing up and placing in position, a ten-inch mortar, which had been sent around by General Taylor. The enemy was in great strength between the two Divisions of the American army, now distant from each other not quite half a mile—both making their way towards the main Plaza. During the evening, a message was received by Worth from General Taylor, by the hands of a Dragoon—a brave man whose name I regret to say I have forgotten—who, at the imminent risk of his life, had run the gauntlet, through the Mexican troops. Sharp skirmishing was kept up, during the afternoon, chiefly from the azoteas, or tops of the houses, the enemy always retiring before our men. The Texans, who had left their horses in the rear, and several Companies of the Fifth, Eighth, and Artillery Battalion had gained a position on either flank, well to the front; while the main body, with the Light Artillery, remained in the Plazuela and adjacent buildings. A piece of artillery, during the night, was taken up to the second story of a house, and placed in such a position as to command a direct fire upon the main Plaza. The ten-inch mortar had got its range. In this effective condition, General Worth found himself, on the morning of the twenty-fourth. But, before renewing the engagement, intelligence came that a parley was to take place. The result of

this was the formation of a Commission settling the terms upon which the city was surrendered to the American forces. The fighting was now over, and the troops were comfortably quartered in the spacious houses, near at hand.*

While thus the Second Division had been engaged, climbing mountains, fording rivers, and carrying everything before it, almost at the point of the bayonet and with trifling loss, bloody work had taken place on the other side of the town. As I have before observed, it was intended by General Taylor to make a diversion in front, while the Second Division attacked in reverse; and, for this purpose, on the morning of the twenty-first, he displayed his troops, both Regulars and Volunteers, in considerable numbers, on the plain. A close reconnoissance was now undertaken by the Engineers, with a small Infantry escort. These soon required support, and another Company was sent; soon after, additional troops were required, until, gradually, whole Battalions and Regiments became engaged; and the movement, instead of a diversion, resolved itself into a general action, of the most determined and fearful nature. Ignorant of their ground, and uncertain as to the point to be assailed, the American commanders were at a loss to give directions to their troops. Crowded into narrow streets and lanes, and exposed to a tremendous fire of small arms and artillery, which shot them down by scores, it was impossible to advance. Every part of that portion of the town swarmed with the enemy, whose fire was delivered with deadly effect from behind their ramparts and defences. The fire from the *tete-de-pont* swept the approach to that quarter; while, from the Black Fort, the enemy commanded all the approaches to the exterior works. While the troops under Garland were thus exposed to this terrible suffering, the Brigade of Volunteers under Quitman—composed of the Regiments from Tennessee and Mississippi, both ably commanded,—was led by that gallant officer to assault the exterior advanced work called "Teneria." This was a sort of a redan, with an open gorge, garnished with three pieces of artillery, and well filled with men. Quitman attacked directly to the front,

exposed to the whole fire from the enemy. His Volunteers rushed madly on: there was a little hesitation; a speedy rally; again the charge; and then the work was carried by these brave men, who left upon the field, behind them, nearly one-third of their number. It must here be mentioned, that Captain Backus, of the First Infantry, had succeeded in reaching the roof of a house, just in rear of "El Teneria," with about twenty men of his Company, whose fire being delivered with effect into the gorge of the work, shot down some gunners, and materially assisted in the fall of the place.* The enemy now retired from their advanced works, and left the Americans on the ground which they had won by such brave conduct, but with such melancholy loss. The flower of our troops fell on this bloody day; and many an intimate friend I lost.

During the twenty-second, nothing of importance was undertaken on this side of the town; but, on the twenty-third, the troops began to make lodgments in the suburbs, and some strong positions were attained. The Grand Plaza was approached; and the evening of that day found the troops well up to the point of attack. The two portions of the American army were now, in a measure, masters of the city—the only place of defence remaining for Ampudia being the central Plaza, which was completely commanded. To avoid a disastrous defeat, which must have necessarily ensued, and to save the honor of his army, the Mexican General now proposed the armistice which resulted in the surrender of the city. The first proposal for a suspension of hostilities was sent by Ampudia to General Taylor, on the night of the twenty-third. The Second Division had no news of it, until the morning of the twenty-fourth. The terms were liberal—so much so, indeed, that the American commander was blamed for this exercise of generosity to a foe so completely in his power. Let us examine the facts in the case. General Taylor, on the morning of the twenty-fourth of September, had under his command less than six thousand men. This force was entirely inadequate to a complete investment of the city. Notwithstanding that

* We have before us, the Letter Books, Order Books, and other professional papers of the distinguished commander of this detachment, General WORTH, which have been entrusted to us by his respected widow; and we shall avail ourselves of an early opportunity to lay before our readers a more minute and more precisely accurate record of the part taken by the General, in the Mexican War, than has yet been published.

The custom of awarding all the honors of a Campaign to the General in chief, has led to an undue appreciation of the merits actually belonging to Generals Taylor and Scott, in the matter of this War with Mexico; and we are disposed to let the records determine who were and who were not entitled to the honors, before the world, which belonged only to the *real* captor of "the Halls of the Montezumas."—ED. HIS. MAG.

* The part taken by Captain Backus and his command, in the capture of Fort El Teneria, is not generally understood.

It was our privilege to enjoy the intimate friendship of that gallant officer, when he was the Colonel of the Fourth Infantry; and he honored us, shortly before his death, by entrusting to us his professional papers, in order that we might the more intelligently defend his reputation as a soldier, especially on this particular subject, concerning which he was not insensible of the injustice which he had experienced.

The Diary of Captain Backus, extending over a very long period, and many other papers illustrative of the military operations of our armies, in Florida and Mexico, are yet in our possession; and those who are interested in the particular subject now before us, will find a portion of the documentary evidence concerning it, in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, First Series, Volume X.—ED. HIS. MAG.

we held possession of the Saltillo road, yet the Mexicans had another road and paths over the mountains by which they could have retreated, if too hard pressed. The egress by the eastern side of the city was, and had been, always open to them. Supposing, then, that General Taylor had continued the assault, disregardful of Ampudia's proposition, the consequence would necessarily have been the evacuation of the city. But, if forced to this extreme alternative, the Mexican commander, before retreating, would have destroyed all his artillery and public property, and blown up his magazines. We should have found nothing in the city but ruin, and desolation, and some miserable prisoners. Other considerations also weighed upon the mind of the General. Ampudia had assured him that Santa Anna desired to treat for Peace. Our Government was always ready to entertain this proposition. - If this assertion was true, would it not be good policy to grant honorable terms to the garrison of Monterey? These considerations, together with sentiments of humanity which prompted General Taylor to spare the loss of life which must have attended the storming of the place, induced him to accede to the terms drawn up by the Commissioners. On the part of the Americans, there were Generals Worth and Henderson, and Colonel Jefferson Davis; and on that of the Mexicans, Generals Llano, Ortega, and Requena. The terms were as follows: The Mexican army to march out with its arms, and six pieces of artillery, and the honors of war, and to retire beyond the limits of the Rinconada, Linares, and San Fernando de Presa. All the fortifications, cannon, munitions of war, and public property to be turned over to the American forces; and hostilities to be suspended for eight weeks.

The evacuation of the citadel took place at ten o'clock, on the morning of the twenty-fifth. The Mexican flag was saluted by a salvo of artillery; and the troops marched out with banners flying and music playing. For the first time, we now had an opportunity of a close observation of the Mexican Regiments. As a general thing, they were a remarkably fine looking swarthy set of fellows, well dressed, and martial in appearance. They wore a light blue uniform, with white trousers, and a leathern shako of the French pattern. For the feet, they had the sandal—in some respects, much better than shoes. The Company officers had a very shabby look—far from soldierlike, either in appearance, dress, or carriage.

During the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh, the remainder of the Mexican force left the city. It was then occupied, at every point, by the American army. Due care was taken to prevent collisions; and no disturbance took

place. In spite of every vigilance, however, some assassinations, in the suburbs, were perpetrated, of a most disgraceful nature—not, however, by the regular soldiers, but by the wild Texas Volunteers, who really seemed to think that "a Greaser," as they called a Mexican, was no better than a beast. Such occurrences could not fail to give annoyance to the General. Courts Martial were of no avail to punish the offenders; and he, therefore, disbanded the corps, and sent them home. It was not until General Scott had issued his decree, from Tampico, declaring martial law in force with the American army abroad, that offences of a nature such as murder and theft, not cognizable by Courts Martial, could be investigated. Subsequent to the promulgation of that very able paper, Military Commissions were established, before which all offences not strictly of a military character were brought to trial. Citizens of Mexico, charged with crimes or misdemeanors against any persons attached to the army, in Mexico, were also tried by these Commissions.

The Mexican army having now been driven beyond the Sierra Madre, retired gradually to San Luis de Potosi, where Santa Anna was already beginning to assemble the active forces of the Republic. There is reason to believe that Ampudia's declaration to General Taylor, in respect to Santa Anna's desire for Peace, was a pure fabrication of his own. Certainly the Mexican chief had given no evidence of such a wish on his part—on the contrary, all his energies were directed to War. The Government of the United States, however, seemed constantly to be grasping at any chance to patch up a Peace. It seemed to be alarmed at the magnitude of the enterprise in which it had embarked. Hoping, perhaps, that Santa Anna might form a Government with which to treat for a cessation of hostilities, it permitted that wiley chieftain to return from exile: pass our blockading fleet in the Gulf; and enter his own country. No sooner had he landed, than he began his preparations, not to make a Peace with the North Americans, but to declare himself President and to carry on, with redoubled vigor, the War against the invaders of his country. On the fourth of August, 1846, he proclaimed himself the chief of the nation. San Luis de Potosi, a central strategic point, was selected for the formation of his Camp; and here, in a few months, he assembled an army of upwards of twenty thousand men. The Government at Washington having disapproved of the armistice of eight weeks, granted by General Taylor, announced the same to be at an end.

Attention was now given to the occupation of the country farther towards the interior, with the view to penetrating in the direction of San Luis

de Potosi. To take possession of Saltillo, the capital of Coahuila, was the first step. General Taylor, selecting Worth's Division for that service, marched, on the thirteenth of November, from Monterey. The distance is about seventy miles, ascending gradually to the table-lands, which here begin their formation in the North. Passing between spurs of the Sierra Madre, the road winds through a continuous valley, in many places of great beauty, the mountains rising high on either side. At two points—the Rinconada and Paso de los Muertos—is afforded excellent ground for obstructing the passage of an army. At the latter place, some fortifications had been thrown up, but were abandoned.

Saltillo had no garrison; and, of course, it was occupied without resistance. The General having satisfied himself as to the capacity of the country to afford supplies, leaving General Worth in command, returned to Monterey. The garrison consisted of the Fifth and Eighth Infantry, the Artillery Battalion, two Squadrons of Dragoons, and Duncan's and Mackall's Batteries of Light Artillery. Beyond Saltillo, about seven miles, is the celebrated Angostura, where the great battle, called BUENA VISTA, was fought on the twenty-second and twenty-third of February, 1847. General Worth, a day or two after entering Saltillo, taking with him his Staff, commanders of corps, and Adjutants, proceeded to reconnoitre this ground. It is so admirably fitted for a defensive position, with a small army against a large force, that every one was struck with its advantage, in this respect; and here we would have met the Mexican army, had they advanced during our stay at Saltillo. The natural strength of Angostura strikes the eye of a military man, at once; indeed, it is the only place in that immediate neighborhood, where a good defensive position can be taken. It may be observed, also, taking a more extended scope in regard to the general defence of the American advanced lines, that the formation of the mountains is such, that it cuts off all approach to Saltillo, except through this pass; and, therefore, excluded the enemy from the possession of the fertile valleys, extending westward, depriving them of the means of supply. Between the Angostura and San Luis de Potosi is a barren waste, where no army can support itself. Thus, it will be perceived, the pass had the double advantage of being not only a *tactical*, but, also, a *strategic* point. Subsequently, when General Taylor defeated Santa Anna, on that ground, the latter was forced to retreat to San Luis. He could make no diversions, either to the right or left. The mountains cut him off, thus proving the excellence of the position.

It has been supposed, by some writers, that the occupation of Saltillo was the ultimate object of

the military operations in that quarter. This is an error. The idea of penetrating the country by the northern Provinces was always seriously entertained, and would certainly have been carried out, had not insurmountable obstacles prevented it. It is safe to assert, that, with a determined resistance on the part of the enemy, an invading army could never have been marched to San Luis de Potosi. The simple reason is, that there is no living water on the road. Tanks, alone, furnished a meagre supply for Santa Anna; and these being destructible could not be depended upon by us. The enemy could easily have destroyed them. So anxious was the General to proceed, that the question of transporting a supply of water was even entertained. But this could hardly be said to be feasible. Subsequent events, which changed the whole character of the War and shifted the scene of operations to the other extremity of the Republic, rendered unnecessary the advance of the American army in the North. No occupation of the country, therefore, beyond the line of Mendoza and Buena Vista, took place. These protected, completely, the valley of the Rio Grande and the borders of Texas.

The Government of the United States, in the commencement of hostilities, had determined upon seizing the exterior Provinces, or States, of the Mexican Republic. Chihuahua, an important city in the North-west, seemed to be the principal point of attention, as having a direct bearing upon New Mexico and California. To reach the city, it was supposed that a force could march from the frontiers of Texas. No information in respect to the surface of the country was in the possession of the authorities at Washington. Here, again, an old map of Mexico seemed to form the only guide for military operations, and, with this imperfect knowledge before it, the initiatory steps were taken by the Government to concentrate an army at San Antonio de Bexar, the chief city of Texas, one hundred and forty miles from the Gulf of Mexico, and one hundred and sixty from the Mexican borders. The organization and concentration of this force was entrusted to that very able and energetic officer, Brigadier-general Wool. Receiving his orders at Troy, in the State of New York, on the fifteenth of May, 1846, the General proceeded at once, by way of Washington, to the western States, from which his force was to be recruited. The President had issued his Proclamation * *

[*The Major did not complete his Sketches; and we leave the subject where he left it.*—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.]

V.—MOOSE-ISLAND AND ITS DEPENDENCIES, FOUR YEARS UNDER MARTIAL LAW.—CONCLUDED, FROM PAGE 229.

BY HON. LORENZO SABINE.

We pass to other topics. It will be remembered, that, by the terms of capitulation, *all* the public property on the island was to be surrendered to the captors. This property consisted of Fort Sullivan and its arms and munitions of war, provisions for the troops, duty-bonds amounting to sixty-four thousand, five hundred, and eight dollars and twenty-seven cents, Treasury notes to the amount of nine thousand dollars, the Custom-house furniture, several lots of merchandise which had been seized, the revenue-boats, and parcels of real estate which had been set off to the United States, to satisfy debts against individuals. Colonel Lemuel Trescott,* the Collector of the Customs, was not consulted by Major Putnam, when the demand for the surrender of Fort Sullivan was made, and endeavored to effect his escape, with the bonds, notes, and other valuable papers in his charge; but the ship-of-war, already mentioned, as stationed between Lubec and Tuttle's-ferry, cut off all communication. Finding that he must become a prisoner, he concealed his papers, and returned to town.

A few days previously, he had seized a vessel and cargo belonging to a man who lived on the Penobscot, who was still at Eastport, and who was much enraged at the detention of his property. This man seems to have watched the movements of the Collector, for purposes of revenge; and presenting himself to Sir Thomas Hardy, while Colonel Trescott was before him, answering his enquiries, gave information where these papers were secreted. By this means, the bonds and notes fell into the enemy's hands. But, as the Treasury-notes were specially endorsed to the Collector, and as he steadily refused to negotiate them, they were without value. The obligors of the bonds were, however, placed in an unpleasant dilemma. The British claimed payment, as being entitled, under the capitulation, and as having the originals; while the United States insisted upon the right to recover on the copies which the Collector had previously taken and sent to a place of security, to provide against emergencies.

As many as one hundred packages of the goods on which the duties had been secured by these bonds, were still in the warehouses of the importers, and were subject, by might or right, to such disposition only, as the Military Governor would permit; and, though the merchants had

the proper certificates, dated before the surrender, the Collector refused to allow the validity of his own documents and to suffer the goods to leave the island, for transportation to the markets for which they were intended. After some delay, an arrangement was concluded with both Governments, to the effect, that the duties* on a certain part should be secured a second time, when the goods were to be allowed to go into the United States, under sufficient protections from the Collector to prevent seizure elsewhere; and that the obligors of the first bonds should abide the issue of suits to be commenced against them, in the British Courts. In these Courts, the decision was that payment should be made to the British Government; and the Marshal of Nova Scotia came to Eastport, very privately, in the Spring of 1815, to enforce the Decree. His arrival was the signal for the obligors to depart; and, with one exception, all of them escaped. They had friends among the British officers, at the garrison, who felt the injustice of the steps to be taken and gave them a timely hint of their danger, and who were not a little amused at the preparations made, at the Fort, by the commander, for their confinement, as soon as the Marshal should have succeeded in arresting them. The officer particularly charged with the duty of fitting up apartments for their accommodation, significantly asked the Marshal, who busied himself in forming plans to ensure success, whether he "had ever heard how the Yankees cook a dolphin?" "No." "Well, then, I'll tell you: they always catch him first; and so do you catch these fellows, before I turn every thing topsy-turvy, to make a place to keep-em."

These obligors were twelve in number, of whom six belonged to Eastport. Of the Eastport merchants, five went to Lubec, where they built stores and wharves, at the "Point," and commenced business. Lubec "Point," at this time, was a forest; and the only houses within a mile of the "Narrows," were those owned by Mr. Delesdernier† and his son-in-law, Mr. Small.

This attempt of five ‡ citizens of Eastport, to avoid the payment of these duty-bonds to the

* The amount of duties thus paid twice, was \$ 23,981.26.

† Louis Frederic Delesdernier, an Acadian Frenchman who espoused the Whig cause in the Revolution, and, for a time, was associated with Albert Gallatin in the military service, at Machias. His father was a native of Geneva, and sheltered Gallatin, when, friendless, he arrived in America. Mr Delesdernier was the first Collector of the Customs of the District of Passamaquoddy, and was succeeded by Colonel Trescott. After Mr. Gallatin became eminent, Mr. Delesdernier used to speak of him as he was in 1780, to almost every one who had leisure to listen. As concerns myself, I was never weary of hearing him.

‡ The writer of this paper, when he went to Eastport, in 1821, was first employed by William, son of the above named Louis Frederic Delesdernier; and was subsequently educated to business in the counting-room of Jonathan Bartlett, one of the five founders of Lubec.

* A Major in the Army of the Revolution, and much with Lafayette: and, in the troubles with France, during the administration of John Adams, selected by Washington, as a Colonel in the Provisional Army, then raised. Colonel Trescott is mentioned frequently, in *Thacher's Journal*.

British, was the sole cause of founding the present village of Lubec. These gentlemen had a large interest at stake, in the eastern section of Maine, which they were unwilling to abandon; and, uncertain what would be the final decision of the question of jurisdiction, they determined to remain in the neighborhood, until it should be known whether the ancient "Moose-island," or Eastport, was to be retained by Great Britain or restored to Massachusetts and to the United States.

The settlement which they commenced grew up rapidly: and, in 1818, when the Island was formally acknowledged to belong to the United States, it had become so large and important, as to compete with Eastport, for the trade of the Passamaquoddy. Lubec, was, indeed, highly prosperous: buildings which cost five hundred dollars, were rented for one hundred and fifty dollars, per annum; and it was the point of attraction for many persons of enterprise, who came to it, from various parts of the country, to establish themselves in business. The competition between the two towns was injurious to both; and it has been said by many persons of good judgment, that money would have been saved, if the whole capital invested in real estate, on the mainland, at the "Point," had been abandoned, and the combined operations of the commercial community been concentrated on the Island.

After retiring to Lubec, one attempt was made to secure the persons of the obligors, but without success. A party of soldiers was dispatched, at night, to make prisoner of one of them; * but, as the moon shone, he was apprised of their approach, and escaped. As the story is told, he rose from bed, and seeking the lady † with whom he boarded, asked her to secrete him. With woman's ready wit, she opened a trap-door, over the oven, bade him hide himself there; and calling up her hired girl, put her in his bed, to pass in the search, for its regular occupant.

Another of the obligors ‡ came to the Island, occasionally, but cautiously. On one of his visits here, it is related that he wore female apparel; that the friends who knew of his intended visit, and who met him in the beach, to show him the attentions due to a lady, were sorely tasked to preserve their gravity as they accompanied him through the streets, since "he stepped off so 'long," and, in other respects, demeaned himself with so little grace and propriety, *as a woman*, that both he and they, in spite of all hints and lessons, were objects of attention in passing persons by whom they did not wish to be recognized. But, after the return of the Marshal to Hali-

fax, there seems to have been little or no motive for further concealment, since a third refugee * returned openly, and, in fact, was known by the British officers to occupy his house. He was not disturbed in his pursuits, though an officer would sometimes say, as he passed his dwelling,—“Well, Wheeler, I think I *must* come ‘after you to-night—you’ll be at home, I suppose.’”

While the obligors, *who were always willing to pay these bonds once*, fled, to escape the double payment of the duties on the merchandise which they imported in 1814, previous to the capture; they were still induced, or compelled, to make partial satisfaction to their enemies; and, during the time in which the subject was in controversy, they actually liquidated, a second time, about half of the amount of their indebtedness.

To terminate a matter so vexatious to them, they finally petitioned their own Government for relief; and, in 1816, Congress passed an Act, granting them full discharge, on payment to the United States of the amount which had not been extorted from them by the British; while the latter, solicited to be content with the part which they had received, discontinued further proceedings, consented to this compromise, and thus relieved them from all further apprehension and liability.

We have now to speak of the importations of goods in vessels, which, in the language of the time, were called "neutral." Soon after the capture, a British Deputy Collector of the Customs was appointed; and liberal terms of commercial intercourse were arranged, both to promote trade and to supply the post with articles of subsistence. Thus invited, people from various parts of Maine attempted to avail themselves of the high prices and ready sale of beef-cattle and agricultural produce, at Eastport; and those who succeeded in eluding the officers of the United States, who, to prevent supplies from reaching the frontier, were stationed at different points on the roads, carried on a profitable business. Pork, at one time, was as high as fifty dollars the barrel; and several other articles of food bore a corresponding price.

The surrounding country was poor, and in the rudest state of cultivation; and not only the troops, but the inhabitants were dependent on distant places, for fresh provisions and vegetables. Persons were sometimes despatched to Machias, a distance of fifty miles, as the road then was, to procure small lots of butter, eggs, and poultry. The traveling was exceedingly rough and wearisome, and the transportation of such articles, expensive and precarious. By water, the communication was far easier and safer. The

* My old master, Jonathan Bartlett.

† The late Mrs. Stearns, a beautiful woman, and as good as she was beautiful.

‡ The late Jabez Mowry.

* The late Samuel Wheeler.

British were in undisputed possession of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, and had cruisers in the waters of both Colonies; and as Castine, at the mouth of the Penobscot, was soon added to their conquests, the trade between that port and Halifax was free, and attended with but little hazard. In fact, merchant vessels, bound to the Penobscot, frequently sailed under convoy of ships of war. As was the case, prior to the capture, "neutral" bottoms were speedily made, to meet the wants of the American merchants who flocked to the frontier, to purchase and introduce British manufactures into the country, under the *forms* of law.

Among the vessels which they employed, was the sloop *Abo*. It was well understood that she was owned by a native of New Brunswick, who lived at Eastport; that she was registered at a British Custom-house; and that, provided with registers of various other kinds, and with masters to correspond, she changed her nationality or flag, as often as circumstances required. Loaded to the water's edge, and propelled with oars, she was yet so fast a sailer *that two voyages to Sweden or Spain, in a single day*, were among the extraordinary feats which she accomplished.

There was still another device, which consisted in the capture of British vessels: and a person who was concerned in these enterprizes, relates the following instance. A British vessel, loaded with goods and cleared at the *English* Custom-house at Eastport, for Halifax, set sail professedly for that port, towards evening; but, when off Allan's Island, was boarded by a band of men who jabbered in imitation of a foreign tongue. By some strange coincidence, the leader of these men had a Swedish register, which recited the dimensions and name of this vessel with entire accuracy. Assuming command, he compelled her crew to abandon her, and proceeded to Lubec, a distance of only three miles, where he entered the goods at the *American* Custom-house. The original crew spent the night at Rice's Island, drinking shrub and playing cards; and, in the morning, made a protest, in *which their capture by pirates—who were in truth their own townsmen in disguise, speaking as above mentioned—was set forth with due and grave particularity*. The trade, conducted in these and other ways equally ingenious, was very large. The duties secured to the United States, on the merchandise—as appears in the Custom-house records—amounted, in less than one month, to the sum of one hundred and twenty-seven thousand, two hundred and sixty-one dollars, and fifty-one cents. The common method and route of transportation was, by land, to Southbay; thence, by water, to Whiting; thence, by land and across the lakes, to East Machias; and thence, in horse-wagons, to Boston. The "neutral" ves-

sels earned money something as it is coined at the mint; and the compensation to agents, boatmen and others, was liberal; but yet, few persons retained the property which they acquired, and many of them spent as fast as they received.

Additional conquests, soon after the capture, caused a change in the course of this commerce. Castine was captured on Thursday, the first of September, 1814, and Hampden, on the Saturday morning following. The Penobscot was declared the boundary between Maine and the territory now conquered; and the country East of that river, was erected into a British Colony. The "neutral trade," at Eastport, came at once to an end. Large quantities of goods were, however, shipped from Eastport and St. John to Castine, and thence found their way into the United States. Hampden, on the westerly, or American, side of the Penobscot, became what Eastport was before its capture, and what Lubec was, for two months after it. Josiah Hook, the Collector of the Customs at Castine, opened an office at Hampden, and entered vessels with British merchandise under the Swedish flag. Though a young boy, I well remember the occurrences there. Peleg Tallman, of Bath, appeared as Swedish Consul; and a brisk business was prosecuted, until the close of the river. The amount of duties secured at Hampden, in five weeks, is said to have been one hundred and fifty thousand dollars. During the Winter, there was much smuggling; and collisions on the ice, at Hampden and elsewhere in the river, were frequent, and sometimes serious.

The traffic by land experienced interruptions, and several droves of cattle were seized. The officer in command of the fortification at Machias had sixty or seventy oxen in charge, which had been detained on their way to the frontier, when the approach of the British force compelled him to evacuate the post. But he left the cattle behind; and a British officer, on examining the works, wittily said, that it was "the first fort he ever saw manned with bullocks."

After the Peace, commercial adventures took a new turn. In 1815, the trade in gypsum, or plaster of Paris, was prosecuted with great spirit. In 1816, vast quantities of salt came out from England; and, as that article in the United States was high, as, too, the Revenue-cutters on the eastern coasts of Maine were small, and could only pursue smugglers in calm weather, it was freely introduced. Yet, the records of the seizures of vessels, boats, salt, fish, rum, and woolen and cotton goods—which I have examined—show that the contraband traders were not always successful.

The situation of Colonel Trescott, the Collector, as appears by his correspondence,—which is before me as I write—was unpleasant and, to use

his own expression, even "hazardous." Novel questions of law were continually coming up for decision; and instructions from the Treasury Department were indispensable. But he could only communicate with the Secretary through the post-office at Dennysville, a distance of nineteen miles from his own office, at Lubec, and by a road often impassable in vehicles or on horseback. He was in constant apprehension of the seizure of his person; and, to provide against incursions from the enemy, he regularly transmitted the bonds, which he received for duties, to Boston, by special messengers. One of the persons thus employed went to Portland, a distance of two hundred and fifty miles, on foot; True Bradbury, another, equally to prevent suspicion of his errand, passed through the wilderness, and across the Schoodic Lakes. The bonds which he transmitted for safe-keeping, to the State Bank, by three messengers, in September, 1814,—only about two months after the capture—amounted to upwards of one hundred and twenty-seven thousand dollars.

His officers, stationed at Calais, Robbinston, Whiting, and other places, to detect smugglers, were often in collision with persons who claimed that the goods which were taken from them had been entered; and the schemes and plans of the "neutrals" kept them excited, and tasked his patience. His opinion of the importation of goods, in the manner which I have mentioned, was often and freely expressed. He allowed it, he said, because "the law overruled" him. In August, 1814, he wrote to the District-attorney, that "notwithstanding" his "advice, the merchants, (and the country," said he, "is full of them,) will persist in bringing in merchandize in neutral vessels, and I am obliged to submit." "The neutrals," he remarks in another letter, "insist upon bringing in British manufactured goods, and I see no law I can avail myself of, to prevent them. Five cargoes have been brought over; since the capture of Moose-island; the one which arrived last night, is a large sloop, crowded full." These five cargoes consisted of six hundred and sixty-nine packages. Again, he wrote to the Collector, at Penobscot, "I cannot prevent the neutral deal, though to allow it is much against my wish, under existing circumstances." In a letter to the Comptroller of the Treasury, dated in October, he said that as "the enemy had possession of every port, from the Passamaquoddy to the Penobscot, he had no authority to act in his official capacity, and should retire to Portland, or some town East of it, and there wait the orders of the Secretary." He accordingly departed the district in the course of that month, but returned in March, 1815, reopened his office, and continued at his post. He came back much against his

will, it would seem, since, in a letter to General Dearborn, at Boston, he said "God knows I have wished to avoid doing business at my office." His official papers were scattered over a line of four hundred miles, and were to be searched for, in by-places, and in the custody of the many people to whom their removal, from time to time, had been entrusted.

War introduces strange distinctions. It sets up startling definitions of right and wrong. It regulates human actions by a monstrous code of morals; all of which are illustrated by the terms of intercourse allowed and forbidden, with the frontier. The "neutral trade" was clearly open to severe censure. We have seen that the Collector, though it was for his personal interest to countenance it, remonstrated against it. The Government obtained the duties on the merchandise imported, it is true: but, in *principle*, in what respect did the trade differ from that which the Government interdicted as treasonable?

The words "treason" and "traitor" are easily spoken, at any time: and parrots can be taught to repeat them. There are human bipeds, who are ever ready to cast them at those who do not bow the knee, and doff the cap, and shout for blood—more blood. But the cry of "treason" is raised, sometimes, to cover the guilt of those who utter it. Who does not feel, that "a mother with an infant in her arms, has nature's passport through the world." And yet, when the mothers of Eastport, with babes at the breast, were held in unwilling subjection to a foreign power, it was called "treason" to feed them!

No article of the first necessity for children, for the suffering, and the sick, could go to "Moose-island," without guilt: but *every* article of luxury and fashion could be carried, innocently, from it! The wagon of the farmer who, perhaps, was a relative of some sufferer, laden with the surplus produce of his own land, just across Tuttle's-ferry, was an object of suspicion, of detention, and of confiscation; but the four-horse teams which thronged the rough and difficult high-ways between Lubec and the Penobscot, loaded with British manufactures, for sale in Boston, New York, and elsewhere, were furnished with Government passports? Men affected to be shocked, when they heard that the officers of the Customs had seized an ox, a lamb, or a gallon of milk, on the way to the frontier; but they smiled and chuckled at the skill displayed by adventurers, in changing the national character of vessels, seamen, and fabrics, at Lubec and at Hampden, the war ports of entry, for goods called *neutral*, but known to every body to be British. To punish the "treason" of those who came to Eastport, with provisions, an Act of Congress was hinted at, and the employment of troops suggested, by an American functionary:

but I have no where found that the commercial adventurers who went to it, from the great cities of the United States, were threatened with the loss of liberty, or life, for *their* practises. Nay: *they* enjoyed the express sanction of the Secretary of the Treasury. "Neutral vessels and cargoes," said that officer, "coming from any port of the British dominions, may be admitted to enter in every port of the United States." And, he added that "whether the port from which they cleared be *real or colorable, friendly or hostile*, can make no difference in the case."

As in the Embargo, the odium of the reprehensible transactions of which I have spoken was cast upon the inhabitants of the island. The public sentiment, to a very great degree, was unjust. The projectors, the great movers in these enterprises, came from abroad. There was not then a merchant, at Eastport, who had the experience, the capital, or the correspondence with persons in business, elsewhere, necessary to plan or execute extensive importations; and their participation in the "neutral" trade was, therefore, limited and confined, principally, to storing, shipping, and forwarding the merchandise of others, after the *legal* entry at the Custom-house. Enough has been said, to show that the people of Eastport endured many privations and were denied many of the privileges to which they had been accustomed. True, they were allowed to manage their private concerns, at pleasure, according to certain prescribed rules, and some of their civil rights were expressly permitted or enjoyed, by the inattention of their captors; but yet, there were many things to render their situation irksome and extremely unpleasant. If they desired to pursue their maritime avocations and applied to the Collector at Lubec, for leave, the question arose, whether, being in subjection to the enemy, they could appear as owners or masters of American vessels. If, in the business in which they might engage, they purchased fish and oil of the neighboring islanders, they were not suffered to introduce these commodities into the United States, which were the only markets for them. If fuel or fresh provisions were sent to them, from the mainland, their own former townsmen—the revenue officers—were in readiness to seize whatever should come within their grasp. If they attempted to revive their trade on "*the lines*," they were met with the declaration, that, as the boundary was not yet determined, as provided in the Treaty at Ghent; that, as Moose-island was held as a foreign place, and Dudley and Frederic Islands, though less important, were still claimed by the British; that, as the *old lines*, established long before, by the Collectors of the Customs of the two Governments, for official purposes of their own, were now abolished, usages and prescrip-

tions, in this state of affairs, were at an end; and that, no indulgences could be allowed. If they endeavored to communicate with their countrymen. West of the frontier, the nearest post-offices, until 1816, were at Robbinston and Dennysville, both of which, at times, in the Winter, were inaccessible for weeks; while letters addressed *to* them were stopped on the Penobscot, by order of the Government, and reached them only after delay, and by surreptitious and circuitous routes.

In a word—*claimed by England, and claimed by the United States, they were partially disowned by both*. When the subject of allowing them the full privileges of British subjects was considered in the Cabinet Council of New Brunswick, the boon was denied, and the official decision was sent to town, to be posted on the corners of the streets; so, on the other hand, when their Senator appeared in the Legislature of Massachusetts, it was gravely urged that, as he came from a *conquered* district, he could not hold his seat. *Yet, the Commonwealth levied the State tax, as usual, and actually sued to recover it*.

Peace removed some of these disabilities; but others continued during the entire period of British rule. That event caused every hostile foot, elsewhere, to leave our soil. The absurd claim to the territory, from the Penobscot, Eastward to the St. Croix, was abandoned; but the Islands in the Passamaquoddy were left, by the Treaty, in dispute. To these Islands, the British Commissioners clung with almost invincible tenacity. "After commencing the negotiations "with the loftiest pretensions of conquest," says John Quincy Adams, "they finally settled down "into the determination merely to keep Moose-island and the Fisheries to themselves. This "was the object of their deepest solicitude. Their "efforts to obtain our acquiescence to their pretension that the fishing liberties had been forfeited "by the War, were unwearied. They presented "it to us in every form that ingenuity could devise. It was the first stumbling-block and "the last obstacle to the conclusion of the "Treaty."

Mr. Adams and his associate Commissioners, at Ghent, insisted upon the *immediate* restitution of Moose-island and its dependencies, until they had reason to believe that further perseverance would have prevented the termination of the War: when they consented that the possession of England might be continued, until Commissioners, to be appointed under the Treaty, should decide the question of title, finally. Nearly three years elapsed before the Commissioners came to a determination; and six months were suffered to pass, after their decision was made, before martial law ceased to be enforced on territory acknowledged, after so much de-

lay, to belong to the United States, and entitled, therefore, to all the immunities guaranteed by the Constitution.

How few now remember that a part of Maine was under the rule of officers in the British Army, from the eleventh of July, 1814, to the thirtieth of June, 1818.

Finally: Brigadier-general James Miller, of the United States Army, was designated by the President, and Colonel Henry Sargent, by the Governor of Massachusetts, to receive from Captain R. Gibbon, the British officer in command, the formal restoration of Moose-island and its dependencies: and the last day of June, 1818, was fixed upon for the exchange of national flags.

Captain Gibbon was entitled to the respect of the inhabitants: and, on taking leave of him, they prepared and presented the following letter—

“EASTPORT, 27th June, 1818.

“TO CAPT. R. GIBBON,

“Commandant, &c., &c.

“SIR: The time being near at hand when this Island will revert to the United States and our separation being about to take place, we, the undersigned citizens of Eastport, beg leave to express to you our high respect and esteem for the disposition you have, at all times, evinced during your command, to conserve the interests of the inhabitants: to unite moderation with firmness: and prudence with decision.

“We congratulate you and ourselves, that the circumstances under which we are about to separate are so widely different from those which brought us together. The happy return of Peace between the two countries to which we are respectively attached must ever be a subject of congratulation to the people of both nations.

“The causes of war having passed away, we sincerely hope the passions and resentments of the contest have passed away with them: and it is with pleasure we reflect, that it is far from being the characteristic of the enlightened people of either country, to suffer the bitterness of animosity to mingle with their joy: but rather to consider each other *enemies, in War—in Peace, friends.*

“While, from an ardent attachment to the Government of our own country, we felicitate ourselves that its laws are again to be restored to us, which must ever be more congenial to our feelings, as American citizens, than the laws of any other: we should do injustice to our own feelings, were we to be unmindful of the tribute of respect, so justly due to yourself and other officers who have presided over

us; and who, in the discharge of their official duties, have had the magnanimity and uprightness to refrain from all oppression, and to overcome the temptation *‘to feel power and for-get right.’*

“We would also avail ourselves of this opportunity to express, through you, our high consideration and esteem for Major Gallagher, whose prompt and friendly attention to the interests of the inhabitants will ever be justly appreciated.

“To Doctor Bett, also, we would offer the sentiments of our sincere regard and esteem: his many charitable and kind offices towards many of the inhabitants of this place, will durably impress his name upon the tablet of grateful recollection.

“To the other officers of the garrison, whose habits have been but little detached from the community, and who, in the character of the soldier, have not lost the feelings of the citizen, we would present our best and most sincere wishes for their future welfare and prosperity.

“Wishing you health and happiness, we have the honor to be, Sir, with great respect,

“Your most obedient servants.”

Signed by JOHN BURZIN, and by forty-two of the respectable resident inhabitants, in the name of the whole.]

Captain Gibbon, replied thus:

“MOOSE ISLAND, June 28th, 1818.

“GENTLEMEN:

“I have received an Address, to which the names of you, the principal inhabitants of Moose Island, is attached.

“It gives me much pleasure and satisfaction to learn that my conduct, as well as that of the officers of the detachment of his Majesty’s troops placed under my command, have met your expressed approbation.

“I beg you will accept, Gentlemen, from myself and those officers, our united thanks for such a flattering testimonial of your regard. With best wishes for your future welfare and happiness, we sincerely hope that the amity and good understanding so happily re-established between nations of the same origin, the same language and feelings, may be so strongly cemented by a reciprocity of interests and advantages, as never to meet with interruption or disunion.

“I have the honor to be, Gentlemen,

“Your very obedient humble servant,

“R. GIBBON, Capt. 98th, Commandant.

“JOHN BURZIN, Esq, Moose Island.”

Sergeant Crook, though of humble rank as a military man, had been the Commandant’s Sher-

iff or High-constable, and, therefore, a personage of power and consequence. He could have given the citizens much trouble. But he had executed the mandates of his superior with due regard for the feelings of the citizens; and had so far won their confidence that they had made him their own officer of police. In the hour of leaving, he was not to be forgotten.

"EASTPORT, June 25, 1818.

"TO SERGEANT PETER CROOK,

"1st Battalion Royal Artillery.

"SIR: As the time has nearly arrived when you will leave this place, we, the undersigned, citizens of Eastport, cannot forbear giving you some parting testimony of our respect and esteem.

"The prudence with which you have discharged your various duties among the citizens, and the delicacy with which you have executed the commands of the Commandant, relating to them, deserve our best acknowledgements: and we would be doing injustice to our feelings, did we not, in this public manner, assure you of our best and most sincere wishes for your future welfare and prosperity."

[Signed by the most respectable inhabitants.]

The Sergeant thus replied to this letter:

"EASTPORT, June 27th, 1818.

"TO THE CITIZENS OF MOOSE ISLAND.

"GENTLEMEN: I beg leave to acknowledge the receipt of your note, dated the 25th inst, and must confess my inability to express myself sufficiently on this occasion; but gratitude for your friendly and civil conduct towards me, as well as this mark of your approbation and esteem, demands my most sincere thanks; and that you may long enjoy health, happiness, and prosperity, is the sincere wish of.

"Gentlemen, Yours, &c.

"P. CROOK,

"Sergeant Royal Artillery."

Early in the morning of the thirtieth, agreeably to the plan of arrangements, the British and American troops exchanged salutes, when the former evacuated Fort Sullivan and the latter took possession of it. A national salute of twenty guns; "Yankee Doodle," by the band; the lowering of the British, and the hoisting of the American, colors; and six hearty cheers, by the throng of spectators, completed the ceremonies and rejoicings of the occasion. On the first of July, a public dinner was given to General Miller, by the citizens, in a spacious awning erected for the purpose, on the spot subsequently occupied by the houses of Daniel Kilby and Joseph H. Claridge. The first sentiment at table, was—"the President of the United States;" the second—"the Governor of the

"Commonwealth;" the third—"Brigadier-general Miller."

On the annunciation of the last, Ichabod J. Chadbourne arose, in behalf of his townsmen, and addressed their distinguished guest, thus:

"GENERAL: It is with no ordinary sensations of pleasure that we again see the National Standard waving over our heads. Four years deprivation of our civil rights have given to them an increased value. The pleasure we feel on again receiving the privileges and protection of our country is in no wise diminished in having them restored to us by one who has so bravely fought in their defence.

"The world has heard of the gallant deeds done at Erie, Bridgewater, and Brownstown. We tender our admiration and respect to the man who sought danger, and won for himself and country, glory and renown."

To this terse and happy speech, the General made the following reply:

"SIR: It is impossible, at this time, to do justice to my own feelings in answer to your very flattering Address. Permit me, however, to return to you, and through you, to the inhabitants of Eastport, my grateful acknowledgements for the very liberal expressions of approbation contained in it, and be assured it will ever be a source of gratification to me. to be instrumental in promoting your future prosperity and happiness."

Volunteer sentiments were then given, of which some have been preserved.

BY GENERAL MILLER:—"The Citizens of Eastport—May their future prosperity equal their present hospitality."

BY LIEUTENANT ALLANSON, *Aide to General Miller*:—"Major-general Jackson, of the United States Army. He would not flatter Neptune for his trident, nor Jove for his power to thunder."

BY COLONEL HENRY SARGENT:—"May we never despise our enemy, nor from him fly—But, like Miller, boldly forward march, and say, 'We'll try.'"

BY DR. BENJAMIN WATERHOUSE:—"Those three bright stars, yet visible in the American horizon—Adams, Jefferson, and Madison."

BY LIEUTENANT MERCHANT, of the United States Army:—"The young Ladies of Moose-island—May they each catch a *Deer* of their own choosing."

BY JONATHAN BARTLETT:—"The Commissioners under the Fourth Article of the Treaty of Ghent—They have cast our lines in pleasant places."

BY JONATHAN D. WESTON:—"The thirtieth of June, 1818,—which not only restored to the

inhabitants of Eastport their personal and civil rights, but the right of exercising them."

By GEORGE NORTON:—"May the war-whoop and tomahawk of destruction pursue the incorrigible enemies of our country, until they accept the wampum belt of reformation."

By SOLOMON RICE:—"The Commissioners of Ghent—The enlightened guardians of the honor and rights of their country."

The same day (*July 1*) Colonel Sargent, in a pertinent note, communicated to the citizens "the pleasure which the Supreme Authority of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts receives from their restoration to the full enjoyment of all the rights and benefits of our Constitution and Laws;" and announced that the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, by the termination of the disputes relative to the Boundary, was "now perfect and complete." The Selectmen of the town—Abel Stevens, Ezra T. Buchnam, and Ethel Olmstead—in behalf of the citizens, made a suitable reply, in which they breathed the wish that those who were restored to their former share of interest in the State Government, would "ever be good citizens; faithful to their country; and ambitious for the exalted character and honor of" Massachusetts.

The restoration of the island was the beginning of a new era in its annals. A spirit of enterprise prevailed immediately, and additions were made to the wharves and stores, in anticipation of an increase of business; while several gentlemen of Portland and other parts of Maine removed there, who soon gave a high tone to the moral, social, and literary character of the town and the neighborhood.

BOSTON, MASS.

L. S.

VI.—A NAVAL HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND.—CONTINUED, FROM PAGE 231.

By HON. JOHN RUSSELL BARTLETT.

VII.

THE FRENCH PIRATES APPEAR OFF BLOCK-ISLAND. SUCCESSFUL TRICK TO DECEIVE THE ISLANDERS. THEIR FRIENDLY RECEPTION. THEIR DESIGNS AGAINST NEWPORT FRUSTRATED. THEY TAKE BLOCK-ISLAND WITHOUT RESISTANCE. THE ISLAND PLUNDERED. ALARM ON THE MAIN LAND. VESSEL CAPTURED BY THE PIRATES. SLAVES KILLED AND THE INHABITANTS ABUSED.

We now retrace our steps, a few years, to give the details of the taking of Block-island by pirates, the materials of which were not in our possession when we reached this period in our history.

Some time during the month of July, in the

year 1689, the French privateer vessels, consisting of a large bark, a small bark, two sloops, and some smaller vessels, appeared off Block-island, which greatly alarmed the inhabitants, who knew not whether they were friends or enemies. These vessels came to, near the island, when a boat, or periauger, as it was then called, put off and came to the shore. The islanders, in large numbers, attracted by the novelty of their visitors, met them as they landed, first providing themselves with fire-arms, uncertain, as they were, whether the strangers were friends or foes. They made eager enquiry of them, who they were, whence they came, whither they were bound, and what was the name of their Captain or Commodore.

They were answered by an Englishman, whose name was William Trimming, who seemed to be the sole spokesman of the company. This man said their Commodore was George Asten, a man who was well known to the islanders as a privateersman, whose great exploits among the French and Spaniards had rendered him famous among seafaring men. Trimming further said that they were Englishmen, but that their crews consisted of French and Spaniards: that their Captain's name was *Pekar*, [probably *Picor* or *Piquard*]; that they came from Jamaica, and were then bound for Newport, on Rhode Island. They further added, that they were in want of a pilot to take them into that harbor, where they wished to purchase a supply of wood, water, and fresh provisions. This relation was so plausible, that the honest islanders believed it. Their belief was strengthened, too, by a stranger who happened to be on the island, who claimed an acquaintance with Captain Asten, and who sent his compliments to him.

Trimming, finding his story believed, took his departure and joined his vessel, when the fleet made sail towards Newport. They had not proceeded far, when, discovering a pilot-boat at a distance, they made signal, which soon brought her to their aid. No sooner, however, had the pilot and his crew got on board the vessel, than they were made prisoners, driven into the hold, and then questioned as to the strength of Newport and Block-island. Their true character now became known, as well as their designs, which were to take and sack the town. But, finding the town stronger than they had anticipated, and believing they had quieted the fears of the Block-islanders, they resolved to return, take possession of the island, and plunder it. With this object in view, they manned three periaugers, with about fifty men each, who, placing their guns in the bottom of the boats, out of sight, pushed boldly for the shore.

The islanders, as on their first visit, collected on the shore to receive them, although, says the

narrator, "they were something amused at their "great number." Nevertheless, believing they were Englishmen and, consequently, friends, they directed their visitors to the most convenient landing-place. But, no sooner had they reached this spot, than every man sprang from his seat, suddenly seized his gun, and presenting it at the people, told them if they stirred from the place or made any resistance, they would shoot them. Thus were the islanders, to their great surprise, made prisoners of war, by a party whom they had welcomed as friends.

Having now become masters of the island, the pirates, as they now proved themselves to be, at once disarmed the islanders, broke their guns in pieces on the rocks, and led them prisoners to the large house of Captain James Sands, which stood near the landing-place. Here they confined them; and, after placing a guard over them, set to work in plundering the houses. They also killed numbers of cattle, sheep, and hogs, not only to feed upon, but to impoverish the people and lay the island waste.

The people now learned the secret of the deception which had been practiced on them by Trimming. This man, it seems, was the only Englishman in the party, and was used by the pirates as a decoy, when they wished to board an English vessel. On these occasions, he was sent on board of them, in order to deceive them as to the nationality of their vessels. By the same means, he deceived the people of Block-island.

News was at once sent to the main land, that the island had fallen into the hands of the French. Beacon-fires were lit all along the coast, from Pawcatuck Point to Seaconnet: and the whole country was aroused. For a week, the piratical crews remained in quiet possession of the island, plundering houses, and despoiling it of every moveable thing. They even ripped up beds, scattered the feathers to the winds, and carried away the ticking. Our narrator states that they committed great abuses upon Simon Ray, an aged gentleman, and one of the most prominent men on the island. Mr. Ray and his son, on seeing the enemy approach, and while yet at a distance, took their money and valuable effects out of the house, and concealed them. The pirates having ascertained that chests and other articles had been suddenly removed, demanded their restoration, together with the Rays' money. On his refusal to give these up, they became enraged, and beat him over the head with a rail, and would have killed him on the spot but for the interference of his wife. Indeed, so covered with blood was her husband, as he lay senseless on the floor, that she believed him dead. But he finally recovered, and lived many years. The pirates also abused John Rathbun, who, they were told, had money; and,

mistaking the son for the father, they tied him up, and whipped him unmercifully, in the vain endeavor to extort from him the place where they supposed he had concealed his money.

Among other atrocities of the pirates, was the killing of two negro men, one belonging to Mr. Ray, before mentioned, the other to Captain John Sands. Two of the servants of Doctor John Rodman ran away from him, and joined the French. This Doctor Rodman, writes the narrator, the Reverend Samuel Niles, "was a gentleman of great ingenuity, and of an affable, engaging behaviour, of the profession of them called Quakers. He also kept a Meeting in his house, on the Sabbaths, with exhortations unto good works, after the manner of teachers of that Society, but more agreeably than I suppose is common with them, judging from the meetings I had often attended in my younger time." When the Frenchmen came to Doctor Rodman's, "one of them essayed to lead his wife, a very desirable gentlewoman, into a private room; but the Doctor stepped into the doorway, and prevented him." Upon this, the ruffian cocked his pistol, and threatened to shoot him; whereupon the Doctor opened his clothes on his breast, and said: "Thou mayest do it if thou pleasest, but thou shalt not abuse my wife."

While the piratical fleet lay riding at anchor off the island, they took two vessels, bound up the Sound, one of which, being laden chiefly with steel, they sunk; the other had a cargo of wine and other liquors.

VIII.

THE PIRATES MAKE AN ATTACK ON NEW LONDON. ARE DRIVEN OFF. THEY LAND ON FISHER'S ISLAND. ENCOUNTER WITH A PARTY FROM STONINGTON. DEATH OF THEIR LEADER. EXPEDITION UNDER CAPTAIN PAINE SENT FROM NEWPORT AGAINST THE PIRATES. THEY MEET NEAR BLOCK ISLAND. A SHARPLY CONTESTED FIGHT. DEFEAT AND ESCAPE OF THE PIRATES. A FEW MONTHS LATER, THEY AGAIN ATTACK AND PLUNDER THE ISLAND. THIRD VISIT OF THE PIRATES. THEY ARE PURSUED AND CAPTURED BY AN ENGLISH MAN-OF-WAR. THE PRISONERS SENT TO BOSTON, AND THE VESSELS BROUGHT TO NEWPORT, AND CONDEMNED.

The great bonfires, before spoken of, along the coast of the main-land, very naturally led the pirates to believe that the country had taken alarm, and might send out a force against them; at any rate, they became satisfied, from all they could learn, that it would be useless for them to make any attempt on Newport, which was a populous town, and was protected by fortifications. They therefore determined to make an attack on New London, which they imagined would be

less prepared for them. For this port they accordingly sailed, and entered its harbor; but the country having been warned of their approach, large numbers of men, from the bordering towns, had come to New London for its relief. This place, like Newport, had its well-built fort, and protection from the neighboring Indians, as well as from any foreign enemy that might assail it. The piratical fleet had scarcely reached its harbor, when a volley from the great guns on the fort was discharged at them, with good effect. This being a reception for which they were not at all prepared, they hastily drew off, and made sail, intending to return to Block-island, there to renew their work of plunder.

As the fleet was passing out to sea, some of the company landed on Fisher's-island, upon which there was then but a single house. Trimming, the Englishman before spoken of, who was one of the party, having mentioned his intention to stop there, the people of Stonington got wind of it, when a party of seventeen men determined to intercept him. They accordingly set off, and by landing on another part of the island, approached the house spoken of, before they were discovered by the pirates, who had already arrived. Trimming now came out in an apparently friendly manner, with his gun concealed behind his back, to receive them; whereupon the Stonington party demanded whence they came. Trimming replied that they had been shipwrecked. One of the Englishmen from Stonington then said, "If you are friends, lay down your guns, and come behind us." Upon this, Stephen Richardson, fearing an attack of the pirates, levelled his gun, and shot Trimming dead on the spot, an act for which he was much blamed. "Thus," writes the honest Niles, "he that delighted in falsehood, in his life, died with a lie in his mouth; and received, it seems, the just reward of his perfidious, villainous, and multiplied treacheries."

While the French privateers were engaged in their futile attempt upon New London, the people of Newport were busily engaged in fitting out an armed force of volunteers, with two sloops, with which to attack them; and, supposing they were still at Block-island, they sailed thither. The expedition was under the command of Captain, or Commodore, Paine, as he was sometimes called, a daring fellow, who had, some years before, "followed the privateering design," a very mild term for a freebooter, and who, notwithstanding his occupation, still enjoyed the confidence of his fellow-citizens, at Newport. The second in command was Captain John Godfrey, a brave and energetic officer, who had also seen active service, and was eager to try his hand with the piratical crew. Arriving at Block-island, they found the Frenchmen had taken their departure, and learning that, when they

sailed, they had taken a North-westerly course, in the direction of New London, they stood off to the westward, in the hope of intercepting them, in case they should be beaten off. The Block-island vessels had not proceeded far, when they discovered a small fleet standing eastward, which proved to be the piratical vessels. Preparations were now hastily made to receive the enemy—the crews prepared their small arms, and their great guns were all brought to bear on one side, that their first discharge might be the more effectual. The Frenchmen discovered the approaching sloops, which they imagined to be unarmed merchant vessels, and made all sail, expecting soon to secure them as prizes. As they approached, a periauger, full of men, was sent by the pirates to demand the surrender of the sloops. Captain Paine's gunner urged him to fire on them at once: but the Captain proposed waiting for their nearer approach. He at length sent a shot at them, which was seen to skip over the water and strike the bank, as they were not far from the shore. This unexpected shot alarmed the pirates, and brought them to a stand, when they pulled off as fast as possible, to await the coming up of their ships.

As the Frenchmen approached, they bore down upon the Rhode-island vessels, the great bark leading the way, and poured into them a broadside, with small arms. They were quickly answered with the same, followed with shouts and huzzas from our vessels: and the action now became general. The larger sloop now followed, the Captain of which was a most violent and daring fellow. "He took a glass of wine," says the narrator, "and wished it might be his 'damnation if he did not board the English 'immediately.'" While drinking, a bullet struck him in the neck, when he fell dead, as they afterwards learned from the prisoners. The other vessels now passed in course, each discharging a broadside, then tacked, and brought their opposite guns to bear. In this manner, the fight was kept up on both sides, until darkness came on, and put an end to the conflict. The piratical Captain and several of his men were killed, and some of them driven on shore. "In this action," says the narrator, "the fire was so sharp and 'violent, that the echo in the woods made a 'noise as though the limbs of the trees were 'rent and torn from their bodies;" yet, on the part of the English, but one man, an Indian, was killed, and six white men wounded. It seems that the enemy aimed too high, as numbers of their cannon and musket-balls were picked up on the adjacent shore.

A second encounter was expected on the following morning, as the French lay at anchor, all night, at a short distance; but the fight was not renewed. But, either because their ammunition

had become short, or they had found the English too much for them, and did not desire another contest, which, even if they triumphed, would not give them much booty, they wisely raised their anchors, hoisted sail, and stood out to sea. Another reason current in Newport, why the Frenchmen did not renew the combat, was, that Peckar, their Captain, had been informed that, in encountering the English or Rhode-island vessels, he had been fighting with Captain Paine; and that he had said he "would as soon fight 'the devil as Paine.'" It was understood, too, that Paine and Peckar had sailed together in privateering expeditions in some former wars, the former as Captain, and the latter as Lieutenant, which is quite probable.

The piratical fleet now stood off to sea, pursued by the two Rhode Island sloops, under Paine and Godfrey; but the Frenchmen, being more expert sailors, left them far astern. The prize vessel, loaded with wines, which the latter had taken while they were in possession of Block-island, not being so good a sailer as the fleet, fell behind; and, fearing the English would come up with and take her, her captors fired a cannon-ball through her bottom. When the English came up with her, they found her sinking, and merely secured, as a trophy of their victory, the long-boat at her stern.

But Block-island, with the departure of the privateers, was not entirely forgotten by them, as it appears that, before the end of the year, some of the same company, with others, landed one night, surprised the inhabitants in their beds, and proceeded in the same manner as they had before. They plundered houses, destroyed the cattle, and committed other depredations, but killed no one. The Reverend Samuel Niles, who has left us the fullest account of the visits of these privateers, was one of the sufferers on the occasion of this second visit. This gentleman was surprised in his bed, by one of the company, who rushed into his chamber. After questioning Mr. Niles, he suddenly said to him: "Get down, you dog." To which he replied, "As soon as I have put on my shoes and stockings." The pirate then, with a violent thrust of his gun, threw Niles backward on his bed, and struck him several times with his cutlass. He afterwards bound his hands tightly behind him, with a cord, and then left him. How long they remained in possession of the island, at this time, does not appear. On the first visit of the pirates, Mr. Niles, with many others, took refuge in the great swamp, in the centre of the island, where they found a small piece of upland, upon which they encamped and remained until the enemy left.

During the continuance of the War with France, the pirates made a third visit to Block-

island; but at what precise time, it does not appear, and met with no opposition. Mr. James Sands and his family, whose house they had on previous occasions made their headquarters, on seeing the pirates approach, betook themselves to the woods, to avoid a repetition of the outrages to which they had before been subjected. Mr. Niles, who was the grandson of Mr. Sands, accompanied his family, and was followed by others. The pirates landed on a Sunday morning, and forming a long train, in two files, with colors flying and trumpets sounding, marched up and took possession of the island. "Thus they came," says Mr. Niles, "in triumph, and 'as absolute lords of the soil and all belonging thereto, as indeed they were, for the time.'" They then set up their standard or flag, on the hill, after which they set to work killing geese, pigs, etc., and fired several shots at particular houses.

But the piratical crews had not long carried on their work of pillage when their proceedings were suddenly arrested by the appearance of a large English man-of-war, which proved to be the *Nonisuch*, Captain Dobbins. This ship lay at anchor, about a league distance, where she had been concealed from view by a dense fog, in which she had doubtless approached the coast. Hence, neither the pirates nor the islanders discovered her, till the fog broke away.

As soon as the Frenchmen discovered the great English ship bearing up towards them, they hastened on board their vessels, and, after sending on shore a number of English prisoners whom they had taken in their cruise, made sail. Among these prisoners was a Captain Rodney, with his lady. This gentleman, who was from the West Indies, possessed a large fortune, most of which he had with him, in money, but which was taken from him by the pirates. He was coming to take up his residence in the Northern Colonies.

Soon after leaving the island, both the piratical vessels and the English man-of-war, which was in pursuit, disappeared in the fog; nevertheless, both took the same course, to the Northeast, and the latter finally came up with the former in Buzzard's-bay, where the pirates had gone in the hope of concealing themselves. Finding there was no chance to escape by sea, about forty of them landed, in the vain hope of concealing themselves, or escaping by land; but they were soon seized and disarmed by the people who dwelt near, and who may have heard of their acts on the coast. They were sent prisoners to Boston. The remainder, with their vessels, fell into the hands of Captain Dobbins. The prizes, which proved to be very rich, were sent to Newport, where they were condemned.

A fourth time, certain pirates, but whether the

French or some others, we do not know, made an attempt upon Block-island; but the people on this occasion took courage, and, encountering them in an open pitched battle, drove them off, without loss of life to the English. The date of these latter events is not given by the witness and narrator, the Reverend Samuel Niles, who merely says that they occurred while he lived on the island. Our colonial records show that several French privateers appeared on the coast, in 1708. The particulars connected with their visit will be related with the events of that period; and, as Mr. Niles did not take up his residence at Braintree, Massachusetts, till 1711, it is presumed that he resided on Block-island until that year; and that the fourth visit of the pirates, mentioned by him, is that referred to on the record.

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VIII.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.]

ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S RELIGION.*

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., February 18, 1870.

MR. ABBOT :

Some time since, I promised you that I would send a letter in relation to Mr. Lincoln's religion. I do so now. Before entering on that question, one or two preliminary remarks will help us to understand why he disagreed with the Christian world, in its principles as well as in its theology. In the first place, Lincoln's mind was a purely logical mind; secondly, Lincoln was purely a practical man. He had no fancy or imagination, and not much emotion. He was a realist as opposed to an idealist. As a general rule, it is true that a purely logical mind has not much hope, if it ever has *faith in the unseen and unknown*. Mr. Lincoln had not much hope and no faith in things outside of the domain of demonstration; he was so constituted—so organized—that he could believe nothing unless his sense of logic could reach it. I have often read to him a law point, a decision, or something I fancied; he could not understand it till he took the book out of my hand, and read the thing for himself. He was terribly, vexatiously skeptical. He could scarcely understand anything, unless he had time and place fixed in his mind.

I became acquainted with Mr. Lincoln in 1824; and I think I knew him well to the day of his death. His mind, when a boy, in Kentucky, showed a certain gloom, an unsocial nature, a peculiar abstractedness, a bold and daring skepticism. In Indiana, from 1817 to 1830, it manifested the same qualities or attributes as in Kentucky; it only intensified, developed itself, along those lines, in Indiana. He came to Illinois in 1830, and, after some little roving, settled in New Salem, now in Menard-county, Illinois. This village lies about twenty miles North-west of this city. It was here that Mr. Lincoln became acquainted with a class of men the world never saw the like of, before or since. *They were large men—large in body and large in mind*; hard to whip; and never to be fooled. They were a bold, daring, and reckless set of men; they were men of their own minds—believed what was demonstrable—were men of

great common sense. With these, Mr. Lincoln was thrown; with them, he lived; and, with them, he moved and almost had his being. They were skeptics, all—scoffers, some.

These scoffers were good men, and their scoffs were protests against theology—loud protests against the follies of Christianity: they had never heard of Theism and the new and better religious thoughts of this age. Hence, being natural skeptics, and being bold, brave men, they uttered their thoughts, freely. They declared that Jesus was an illegitimate child. I knew these men well, and have felt for them—have done my little best, when occasion offered, to educate them up to higher thoughts. These men could not conceive it possible that three could be one, nor one in three Gods; they *could not believe that the Father ruined one of his own lovely children*. This was monstrous to them. They were, on all occasions, when opportunity offered, debating the various questions of Christianity among themselves: they took their stand on common sense and their own souls: and, though their arguments were rude and rough, no man could overthrow their homely logic. They riddled all divines, and not unfrequently made them skeptics—disbelievers as bad as themselves. They were a jovial, healthful, generous, social, true, and manly set of people.

It was here, and among these people, that Lincoln was thrown. About the year 1834, he chanced to come across Volney's *Ruins* and some of Paine's theological works. He, at once, seized hold of them and assimilated them into his own being. Volney and Paine became a part of Mr. Lincoln, from 1834 to the end of his life. In 1835, he wrote out a small work on "Infidelity," and intended to have it published. It was an attack upon the whole grounds of Christianity, and, especially, was it an attack upon the idea that Jesus was *the Christ*, the true and only begotten Son of God, as the Christian world contends. Mr. Lincoln was, at the time, at New Salem, keeping store for Mr. Samuel Hill, a merchant and postmaster of that place. Lincoln and Hill were very friendly. Hill, I think, was a skeptic at that time. Lincoln, one day, after the book was finished, read it to Mr. Hill, his good friend.

Hill tried to persuade him not to make it public—not to publish it. Hill, at that time, saw in Lincoln a rising man, and wished him success. Lincoln refused to destroy it—said it should be published. Hill swore it should never see the light of day. He had an eye to Lincoln's popularity—his present and future success; and, believing that, if the book were published, it would kill Lincoln, forever, he snatched it from Lincoln's hand, when he was not expecting it, and ran it into an old-fashioned ten-plate stove.

* This letter appeared, originally, we believe, in the *Toledo Index*; was copied by Colonel Forney's *Washington Chronicle*; and was taken, for this purpose, from *The Albany Argus*.—En. His. Mag.

heated as hot as a furnace: and so Lincoln's look went up to the clouds, in smoke. It is confessed, by all who heard parts of it, that it was at once able and eloquent; and, if I may judge of it from Lincoln's subsequent ideas and opinions, often expressed to me and to others, in my presence, it was able, strong, plain and fair. His argument was grounded on the internal mistakes of the Old and New Testaments, and on reason, and on the experiences and observations of men. The criticisms from internal defects were sharp, strong, and manly.

Mr. Lincoln moved to this city, in 1837, and here he became acquainted with various men, of his own way of thinking. At that time, they called themselves *free-thinkers*, or *free-thinking men*. I remember all these, distinctly, for I was with them, heard them, and was one of them. Mr. Lincoln, here, found other works—Hume, Gibbon, and others—and drank them in. He made no secret of his views, no concealment of his religion. He boldly avowed himself an infidel. When Lincoln was a candidate for our Legislature, he was accused of being an infidel and of having said that Jesus Christ was an illegitimate child. He never denied his opinions, nor flinched from his religious views: he was a true man; and yet it may be truthfully said that, in 1839, his religion was low indeed. In his moments of gloom, he would doubt, *if he did not, sometimes, deny, God*. He made me once erase the name of God from a speech I was about to make, in 1854; and he did this, in the City of Washington, to one of his friends. I cannot now name the man, nor the place he occupied in Washington: it will be known some time. I have the evidence, and intend to keep it.

Mr. Lincoln ran for Congress against the Rev. Peter Cartwright, in the year 1847 or 1848. In that contest, he was accused of being an infidel, if not an atheist: he never denied the charge—would not—"would die first:" in the first place, because he knew it could and would be proved on him; and, in the second place, he was too true to his own convictions, to his own soul, to deny it. From what I knew of Mr. Lincoln, and from what I have heard and verily believe, I can say: first—that he did not believe in a special creation, his idea being that all creation was an evolution, under law; secondly, he did not believe that the Bible was a revelation from God, as the Christian world contends; thirdly, he did not believe in miracles, as understood by the Christian world; fourthly, he believed in universal inspiration and miracles, under law; fifthly, he did not believe that Jesus was the Christ, the Son of God, as the Christian world contends; sixthly, he believed that all things, both matter and mind, were governed by laws, universal, absolute, and eter-

nal. All his speeches and remarks, in Washington, conclusively prove this. Law was to Lincoln, everything—and special interferences, shams and delusions. I know whereof I speak. I used to loan him Theodore Parker's works: I loaned him Emerson, sometimes, and other writers; and he would sometimes read and sometimes would not, I suppose—nay, know.

When Mr. Lincoln left this city for Washington, I knew he had undergone no change in his religious opinions and views. He held many of the Christian ideas in abhorrence, and among them was this one, namely, that God would forgive the sinner for a violation of His laws. Lincoln maintained that God could not forgive: that punishment would follow the sin; that Christianity was wrong in teaching forgiveness: that it tended to make man sin, in the hope that God would excuse; and so forth. Lincoln contended that the minister should teach that God has affixed punishment to sin; and that no repentance could bribe him to remit it. In one sense of the word, Mr. Lincoln was a Universalist, and, in another sense, he was a Unitarian: but he was a Theist, as we now understand that word: he was so, fully, freely, unequivocally, boldly, and openly, when asked for his views. Mr. Lincoln was supposed, by many people in this city, to be an Atheist: and some still believe it. I can put that supposition at rest, forever. I hold a letter of Mr. Lincoln in my hand, addressed to his step-brother, John D. Johnson, and dated the twelfth of January, 1851. He had heard from Johnson, that his father, Thomas Lincoln, was sick; and that no hopes of his recovery were entertained. Mr. Lincoln wrote back to Mr. Johnson, these words:

"I sincerely hope that father may yet recover his health; but, at all events, tell him to remember to call upon and confide in One great, and good, and merciful, Maker, who will not turn away from him in any extremity. He notes the fall of the sparrow and numbers the hairs of our heads; and He will not forget the dying man who puts his trust in Him. Say to him that, if we could meet now, it is doubtful whether it would not be more painful than pleasant; but that if it be his lot to go now, he will soon have a joyous meeting with many loved ones, gone before, and where the rest of us, through the help of God, hope ere long to join them.

"A. LINCOLN."

So it seems that Mr. Lincoln believed in God and immortality, as well as heaven—a place. He believed in no hell and no punishment, in the future world. It has been said to me, that Mr. Lincoln wrote the above letter to an old man, simply to cheer him up in his last moments; and

that the writer did not believe what he said. The question is, Was Mr. Lincoln an honest and truthful man? If he was, he wrote that letter honestly—believing it; it has to me the sound, the ring of an honest utterance. I admit that Mr. Lincoln, in his moments of melancholy and terrible gloom, was living on the border land of Theism and Atheism—sometimes quite wholly dwelling in Atheism. In his happy moments, he would swing back to Theism, and dwell lovingly there. It is possible that Mr. Lincoln was not always responsible for what he said or thought, so deep, so intense, so terrible was his melancholy. I send you a lecture of mine, which will help you to see what I mean. I maintain that Mr. Lincoln was a deeply religious man, at all times and places, in spite of his *transient doubts*.

Soon after Mr. Lincoln was assassinated, Mr. Holland came into my office, and made some inquiries about him, stating to me his purpose of writing his life. I freely told him what he asked, and much more. He then asked me what I thought about Mr. Lincoln's religion, meaning his views of Christianity. I replied: "*The less said, the better.*" Mr. Holland has recorded my expression to him, (see Holland's *Life of Lincoln*, page 241). I cannot say what Mr. Holland said to me, as that was private. It appears that he then went and saw Mr. Newton Bateman, Superintendent of Public Instruction in this State. It appears that Mr. Bateman told Mr. Holland many things, if he is correctly represented in Holland's *Life of Lincoln*, pp. 236 to 241, inclusive. I doubt whether Mr. Bateman said, in full, what is recorded there. I doubt a great deal of it. I know the whole story is untrue—untrue in substance—untrue in fact and spirit. As soon as the *Life of Lincoln* was out, on reading that part, here referred to, I instantly sought Mr. Bateman, and found him in his office. I spoke to him, politely and kindly, and he spoke to me in the same manner.

I said substantially to him that Holland, in order to make Lincoln a technical Christian, made him a hypocrite; and so his *Life of Lincoln* quite plainly says. I loved Lincoln, and was mortified, if not angry, to see him made a hypocrite. I cannot now detail what Bateman said, as it was a private conversation, and I am forbidden to make use of it in public. If some good gentleman can only get the seal of secrecy removed, I can show what was said and done. On my word, the world may take it for granted that Holland is wrong—that he does not state Lincoln's views correctly. Bateman, if correctly represented in Holland's *Life of Lincoln*, is the only man, the sole and only man, who dare say that Lincoln believed in Jesus as the *Christ of God*, as the Christian world represents. This is not a pleasant situation for Bateman. I have

notes and dates of our conversation, and the world will sometime know who is truthful and who otherwise. I doubt whether Bateman is correctly represented by Holland. My notes bear date the third, twelfth, and twenty-eighth of December, 1866. Some of our conversations were in the Spring of 1864 and the Fall of 1865.

I do not remember ever seeing the words *Jesus* or *Christ*, in print, as uttered by Mr. Lincoln. If he has used these words, they can be found. He uses the word *God* but seldom. I never heard him use the name of Christ or Jesus but to confute the idea that He was *the Christ*, the only and truly begotten son of God, as the Christian world understands it. The idea that Mr. Lincoln carried the New Testament or Bible in his bosom or boots, to draw on his opponent in debate, is ridiculous. If Christianity cannot live without falsehood, the sooner it dies the better for mankind. Every great man that dies—infidel, pantheist, theist, or atheist—is instantly dragged into the folds of the Church, and transformed, through falsehood, into the great defender of the faith, unless his opinions are too well known to allow it. Is Christianity in dread or fear? What is the matter with it? Is it sick, and does it dream of its doom? Would that it would shake itself free from its follies, and still live till all mankind outgrow it!

My dear sir, I now have given you my knowledge, speaking from my own remembrance of my own experience, of Mr. Lincoln's religious views. I speak likewise from the evidences, carefully gathered, of his religious opinions. I likewise speak from the ears and mouths of many in this city; and, after all careful examination, I declare to your numerous readers, that Mr. Lincoln is correctly represented here, so far as I know what truth is and how it should be investigated.

Yours, truly,

W. H. HERNDON.

BATTLE OF BULL RUN.—Mr. Stephens's first volume, entitled *The War between the States*, is a contribution to history which has added more lustre to his name than all else he has accomplished. As an enquiry into the nature of the Government of the United States, or of the nature of the Union which was established by its original framers, it is invaluable. No amount of special pleading can overturn the historical truths he has cited and the deductions that logically follow them, and which place the entire responsibility of the rupture which occurred between the States upon the party in the Northern States which, having repeatedly violated fundamental conditions of the compact, finally succeeded in obtaining power by a strictly sectional vote for

the accomplishment of all their schemes against the minority section.

In the second volume, as we learn by a review of some advance sheets sketched in the *Augusta Constitutionalist*, this investigation is still further prosecuted, and the facts of history unfolded so as to constitute a complete vindication of the Southern States, for the part they have acted. This contribution is all the more valuable because it is from the pen of a statesman who was never classed as a "Southern extremist," but the reverse.

Judging from the glimpse the *Constitutionalist* has afforded the public of the contents of the second volume, it would have been well for the fame of Mr Stephens and his reliability as an impartial historian if he had stopped here. He has been less accurate in stating the details of the Confederate States Government and describing the conduct of the War, than in tracing the responsibility of the conflict to its true source. He has committed several errors of fact which are scarcely excusable in one occupying his position, and who has undertaken to write for posterity. One of these errors has rendered necessary the publication of the following correspondence. It is the statement that President Davis "was responsible for the failure of the Confederate troops to advance after the victory of Manassas." The original of this correspondence has been in the possession of the writer since it occurred, and would probably have remained among the secret, hidden things of the Confederacy, if the story, often repeated by ambitious penny-a-liners and venal scribblers, had not found an enduring place in so imposing a work as the history of the War, by the Confederate States Vice-president.

Upon the point raised by Mr. Stephens, the following correspondence is conclusive. On the testimony of General J. E. Johnston, it is established that if the victory at Manassas was succeeded by a fatal blunder, as the historian intimates his belief, it was not attributable to President Davis.

The historical value of the correspondence is enhanced by its revelation of the real cause that prevented an advance of the Confederates, after their success at Manassas:—

CORRESPONDENCE.

"RICHMOND, VA., Nov. 3, 1861.

"General J. E. JOHNSTON,

"Commanding Department of the Potomac.

"SIR: Reports have been, and are being, widely circulated to the effect that I prevented General Beauregard from pursuing the enemy after the Battle of Manassas, and had subsequently restrained him from advancing upon Washington City. Though such statements

"may have been made merely for my injury, and, in that view, their notice might be postponed to a more convenient season, they have acquired importance from the fact that they have served to create distrust, to excite disappointment, and must embarrass the administration, in its further efforts to reinforce the Armies of the Potomac and generally to provide for the public defence. For these public considerations, I call upon you, as the Commanding General and as a party to all the conferences held by me, on the twenty-first and twenty-second of July, to say whether I obstructed the pursuit of the enemy, after the victory at Manassas, or have ever objected to an advance or other active operation which it was feasible for the Army to undertake?

"Very respectfully, Yours, &c.,

"JEFFERSON DAVIS."

"HEADQUARTERS, CENTREVILLE,

"Nov. 10, 1861.

"TO HIS EXCELLENCY, THE PRESIDENT:

"SIR: I have had the honor to receive your letter of the third, in which you call upon me as the Commanding General and as a party to all the conferences held by you, on the twenty-first and twenty-second of July, to say:

"Whether you obstructed the pursuit, after the victory of Manassas?

"Or have ever objected to an advance or other active operations which it was feasible for the Army to undertake?"

"To the first question I reply: No. The pursuit was 'obstructed' by the enemy's troops at Centreville, as I have stated in my official Report. In that Report, I have also said why no advance was made upon the enemy's Capital (for reasons) as follows:

"The apparent freshness of the United States troops, at Centreville, which checked our pursuit; the strong forces occupying the works, near Georgetown, Arlington and Alexandria; the certainty, too, that General Patterson, if needed, would reach Washington, with his Army of more than thirty thousand, sooner than we could; and the condition and inadequate means of the Army, in ammunition, provisions, and transportation, prevented any serious thoughts of advancing against the Capital.

"To the second question, I reply that it has never been feasible for the Army to advance further than it has done—to the line of Fairfax Court-house, with its advanced posts at Upton's, Munson's and Mason's-hills. After a conference, at Fairfax Court-house, with the three senior general officers, you announced it to be impracticable to give this Army the strength which those officers considered neces-

"sary to enable it to assume the offensive; upon which I drew it back to its present position.

"Most respectfully,

"Your obedient servant,

"J. E. JOHNSTON.

"A true copy—G. W. C. LEE,

"Col. and A. D. C."

MR. WEBSTER'S LAST LETTER.—The last letter Mr. Webster wrote was to President Fillmore, and is as follows:

"MONDAY MORNING, October 18, 1852.

"TO THE PRESIDENT.

"MY DEAR SIR: By the blessing of Providence, I have had another comparatively good night, the afternoon attack coming later and not lasting so long, and then an excellent sleep. At this hour (ten o'clock), I feel easy and strong, as if I could go into the Senate and make a speech! At one, I shall sink away: be obliged to go to bed at three: and go thro' the evening spasms. What all this is to come to, God only knows! My dear sir, I should love to pass my last moments of your administration with you, and around your council board. Let not this embarrass you. Consider my resignation as always before you, to be accepted any moment you please. I hope God, in his mercy, may preserve me: but his will be done! I have every thing right about me, and the weather is glorious. I do not read the newspapers; but my wife sometimes reads to me the contents of some of them. I fear things do not look very well for our side.

"Yours always truly.

"DANIEL WEBSTER."

REVOLUTIONARY SCRAP, 1778.—The following interesting document explains itself and indicates the spirit of the times. It was sent to General Sullivan; but whether the offer was accepted, we cannot say. That the spirit of "Young America" was rampant, in those days, in Exeter, and indeed New Hampshire, is evident from the history of the times; and if the same warm blood courses in the veins of the present generation, we have little to dread from the power of the oppressor.

"HAMPTON FALLS, April 12th, 1778.

"We severally Ingage if call'd by the Hon'ble Maj'r Gen'l Sullivan before the Close of the Ensuing Campaign, we will Immediately Repair to the quarters properly Equip'd for Battle, as volunteers from Exeter in New Hampshire.

"SAM'L FOLSON,

"JOSEPH PEARSON,

"JAMES HACKETT,
"CALEB SANBORN,
"PETER COFFIN,
"NATH'L GIDDINGS,
"THOS. ODIORNE,
"JAMES THURSTON,
"ELIP'T GIDDINGS,
"JAMES MCCLURE,

"BENJ. LAMPSON,
"I swear I will go or
"send a better man.
"ESQ'R PARKER, goes
"himself, or send a
"hand.
"WARD C. DEAN,
"SAM'L GILMAN."

—*Olive Branch*, Feb. 11, 1854.

NEWPORT IN 1765—HOW THE SONS OF LIBERTY TREATED THE STAMP-MASTER.—I send you herewith a historic relic, consisting of a letter published by W. Almy, Esq., to Dr. Elisha Story, of Boston, and the song therein referred to, for publication. Dr. Story was then twenty-two years of age, prominent among the "Sons of Liberty," and a member of the "Diamond Club," which, in secret conclave, instituted and carried into effect the political movements of those days, on the part of the Colonies, in favor of their rights and liberties. He was one of the band selected to take possession of the tea ships and destroy the tea.

"NEWPORT, Thursday, August 29, 1765.

"MY WORTHY FRIEND.

"In my last, I promised to give you the particulars of our transactions here, concerning the Stamp affair, which I shall now endeavor to do. In the first place, I'll just inform you concerning Mr. Martin Howard, Jr., and Dr. Moffatt, who was hung in effigy with the Stamp Master. Mr. Howard and the Doctor, you must know, have made themselves busy with their pen (by all accounts) in writing against the Colonies and in favor of the Stamp Act, etc.

"On the morning of the twenty-seventh instant, between five and six, a mob assembled and erected a gallows, near the Town House, and then dispersed. and about ten o'clock re-assembled and took the effigies of the above men and the Stamp Master, and carried them up Thames street, and then up King-street, to the said gallows, where they were hung up by the neck, and suspended near fifteen feet in the air—and on the breast of the Stamp Master was this inscription: 'The Stamp Man,' and holding in his right hand the Stamp Act; and upon the breast of the Doctor was wrote, 'That infamous, miscreated, leering Jacobite, Dr. Moffatt'—in his left hand, was a folded letter, with this direction: 'To that Magazine of Knowledge, Dr. Moffatt, in Rhode Island,' and on the arm was wrote: 'If I had but received this letter from the Earl of Bute but one week sooner;' and upon a strip of paper, hanging out of his mouth, was wrote: 'It is too late, Martinus, to retract, for we are all

“ ‘aground.’ And upon Dr. Howard’s breast was
 “ wrote: ‘That Fawning, Insidious, Infamous
 “ ‘Miscreant and Parricide, Martinus Scribler-
 “ ‘ius’—and upon his right arm was wrote ‘The
 “ ‘Only Filial Pen’—upon his left arm was
 “ wrote: ‘Cursed Ambition and your cursed clan
 “ ‘has ruined me’—and on the same arm, a little
 “ ‘below, was this: ‘What tho’ I boast of Inde-
 “ ‘pendence, Posterity will curse my memory;’
 “ and upon one of the posts of the gallows was
 “ wrote: ‘We have an hereditary, indefeasible
 “ ‘right to a halter, you know;’ and underneath
 “ that was a new song (made upon the occasion)
 “ which I have here enclosed—and upon the oth-
 “ ‘er post was wrote: ‘That person who shall de-
 “ ‘face this public mark of resentment will be
 “ ‘deemed an enemy to Liberty, and accordingly
 “ ‘meet with proper chastisement.’ About five
 “ o’clock, in the afternoon, they made a fire under
 “ the gallows, which consumed the effigies, gal-
 “ lows, and all, to ashes. I forgot to tell you
 “ that a boot hung over the Doctor’s shoulder,
 “ with the devil peeping out of it, etc. After
 “ the effigies were burnt, the mob dispersed, and
 “ we thought it was all over; but, last night, they
 “ all mustered again, and first they went to Mar-
 “ tin Howard’s house, and broke every window in
 “ his house and everything they could come
 “ across; they also sawed down two trees that
 “ stood before the door, and brought them and
 “ stuck them up in two great guns which have
 “ been fixed at the bottom of the Parade, some
 “ years, as posts. When they found they had en-
 “ tirely demolished all the furniture and done
 “ what damage they could, they left the house and
 “ proceeded to Dr. Moffatt’s, where they behaved
 “ much in the same manner. I can’t say which
 “ came off the worst, for all the furniture of both
 “ houses were destroyed, partitions of both houses
 “ taken down, fences leveled with the ground,
 “ and all the liquors which were in both houses
 “ entirely lost.

“ I must let you know that the Stamp Master
 “ has resigned.

“ Yours, forever,
 “ W. ALMY.”

IX.—NOTES.

“MADE THEMSELVES SCARCE.”—This slang
 phrase has generally been considered of recent
 origin; but it is found in a letter of John Thur-
 man, Jr., of New York, of the third of Septem-
 ber, 1760. See HISTORICAL MAGAZINE for De-
 cember, 1868, New Series, volume iv., page 284.
 BOSTON. DELTA.

ROBERT HARLEY, EARL OF OXFORD.—Hutch-
 inson, in his *History of Massachusetts*, in a

Note to the statement that Sir Richard Onslow
 and Mr. Harley were competitors, in 1701, for
 the office of Speaker of the English House of
 Commons, says: “We have a tradition that Mr.
 “Harley had some New England blood in him,
 “his mother being a grand-daughter of Sir
 “Richard Saltonstall.”

By a reference to Bond’s *Waterloona*, p. 921,
 it will be seen that it was Harley’s uncle, Thomas,
 and not his father, Sir Richard, who married
 Abigail, daughter of Richard Saltonstall, and
 grand-daughter of Sir Richard Saltonstall.

BOSTON.

DELTA.

THE TENTH MUSE.—In the title-page of the
 first edition of the poems of Mrs. Anne Brad-
 street, the New England poetess, published at
 London, in 1650, she is called “*The Tenth*
 “*Muse.*” This title had before been given to a
 contemporary of Mrs. Bradstreet, who bore the
 same Christian name. In Book xi, Letter xvi.,
 of “*Epistola Ho-Eliana*, or Familiar Letters,
 “Domestic and Foreign,” by James Howell, will
 be found some lines with this caption: “For
 “the Admitting of Mrs. Ann King to be the
 “Tenth Muse.” Ann King was a daughter of
 Doctor John King, Bishop of London, and a
 sister of Bishop Henry King, the poet, an ex-
 tract from whose poems, remarkable for contain-
 ing one of the most beautiful images in Long-
 fellow’s *Psalm of Life*, is printed in the HIS-
 TORICAL MAGAZINE, First Series, volume ii., p. 89.

BOSTON.

DELTA.

STATESVILLE, N. C., IN 1802.

In the Journal of Lorenzo Dow, we find that
 his horse got disabled in Cumberland-county,
 Virginia; he came on to Danville, and fell in
 with a man leading a lame horse, which he was
 permitted to ride sixty miles; and he says:
 “So I came to Statesville, Iredell-county, North
 “Carolina. My money being nearly all gone, I
 “wanted to sell my watch; I got the watch
 “low, at eighteen dollars, and wanted to sell it
 “for nine dollars, if I could get supper and
 “lodging, and breakfast. A watchmaker came
 “in, and said it was a good one; so the inn-
 “keeper offered me nine dollars for it, or eight
 “dollars and fifty cents, with supper, etc. I took
 “the latter, and while I was asleep, the mistress
 “of the house was so good or bad as to send all
 “round the neighborhood, as I was informed, to
 “notify the people that a horse-thief was at her
 “house; and if they did not lock up their
 “horses, must expect one to be gone before
 “morning. Next day * * * I got a few to-
 “gether in the Court-house, and spoke—likewise
 “at a Methodist-house, where I was thought an

“impostor. Having a letter, I went to where it was directed, and the man of the house happened not to be at home, which was well for me; so I got a meeting, and the people were so well satisfied, that I got liberty and an invitation to speak again.

“About the same time, Philip Bruce, an old preacher and Presiding Elder, came home from Virginia— * * * he heard of me, and charged his friends to beware of me; but, on hearing of my having related some of my past experience, he recollected of having heard of me before, and retracted his first charge and wished them to receive me if I came to their house, which was a means of opening my way. A day or two after, I fell in with him, and he treated me as I would wish to be received. *

“Here lived some who were called Presbyterians, which I called Presbyterian Methodists, or Methodist Presbyterians. *They had the life and power of religion.* They gave me thirty-three dollars, of their own accord, and eleven more were subscribed. James Sharpe took the money, and let me have a horse, and trusted me for the remainder, though he had no written obligation, and some said he would lose it. An opportunity presenting by a traveller, I sent on a chain of appointments towards Georgia. After holding several other meetings, in Iredell, I set off, and had meeting at Major McClaray's, Spartanburg, Enore, Abbeville C. H.; so to Petersburg, in Georgia, where I arrived on the second of February, 1803.”

This erratic man came through here again, from the East, by Raleigh, where he says he spoke twice in the State House, about the first of February, 1804. “and proceeded to Iredell-county, to the house of the man of whom I bought a horse when on my way from New England to Georgia. Some people mocked him for giving me credit, saying, ‘You have lost your horse;’ but now their mouths were shut, as I paid him his demand, although he had only my word.”

The family to which Philip Bruce belonged, was a family that came from Virginia, about 1790, and settled above Liberty Hill, on the Cove Gap-road to Wilkesboro, near where Thomas M. Hill lives: the Claywell family came about the same time. This Philip Bruce was the first Methodist Minister in this part of the country; and the first Circuit Preacher was a Mr. Fletcher. In 1802, Reverend L. F. Wilson was Pastor of the Presbyterian-church, in Statesville; there was a great revival that year; and, in February, a great Camp-meeting was held, about three miles from Statesville, near the present Railroad to Salisbury, at a place called the “Matthews’ Camp Ground,” at which five thousand people were present.

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James Sharpe, who trusted Mr. Dow for the horse, was the son of Lawyer William Sharpe, and uncle of the late Hon. J. P. Caldwell: he lived in the house afterwards owned by the late Theophilus Falls; and stood on a part of the ground now occupied by the Simonton House.

It appears from Mr. Dow's preaching at the Court-house and at a Methodist house, that that denomination had no Church here, at that time.

STATESVILLE, N. C.

E. F. R.

GEORGE EVANS.—The following letter, sent to us by Hon. J. W. Bradbury, was read at a recent meeting of the Maine Historical Society.

The writer is the venerable ex-Chief Justice Weston, who will be eighty-eight years old next July. We have examined the letter with interest apart from the facts it contains, respecting the early struggles for education of one of the ablest men New England has ever produced, the Hon. George Evans, for the letter is a beautiful specimen of chirography for any one, and more remarkable when we recall the fact that it was written by a gentleman at the age of eighty-seven, without the aid of glasses. To this day, Judge Weston's eyesight is perfectly unimpaired: and, though a constant reader, he has never called in the aid of glasses to help his perfect vision.

“HON. JAMES W. BRADBURY,

“DEAR SIR: In a conversation with you, some time ago, but since the decease of the Hon. George Evans, I communicated to you some facts in relation to that gentleman, which you recently desired me to furnish to you in writing.

“In consequence of this request, I now state, that, in October, 1811, I was appointed Chief-justice of the Circuit Court of Common Pleas, for the Second Eastern Circuit of Massachusetts.

“It becoming known that it had devolved on me to appoint a Crier for that Court, for the County of Kennebec, and the compensation to that officer being understood to be liberal, for the time and labor required, many candidates solicited the appointment.

“Among others, was Daniel Evans, the father of George. He stated to me that his son had been made ready for college; that he could not command the means necessary for his education there, but if appointed Crier, he should be enabled to effect the object. I knew the father to be a competent man for the office; and I knew the son to be a promising and hopeful youth. This decided me, and I appointed the father. The son was at once sent to Bowdoin College, where he graduated in 1815.

“I noticed his course with interest. He became distinguished, professionally, as a lawyer,

"and politically, as a Senator of the United States. His brilliant career gratified me. My patronage, in his behalf, was thus abundantly rewarded."

"Augusta, Me."

NATHAN WILSON."

X.—QUERIES.

GENERAL BRADSTREET'S EXPEDITION.—Where can a copy of the Official Report of the expedition to Detroit, under General Bradstreet, in 1764, be found, or any account of the expedition in the newspapers of that day? A portion of the expedition was wrecked on Lake Erie, but at what point is not well settled; a field-piece and other war material have been recovered from an old wreck, some ten miles West of this place, which is supposed to be a part of Bradstreet's expedition.

Any information touching the expedition, is solicited by *The Western Reserve Historical Society*.

CLEVELAND.

M. B. SCOTT, Vice-Pres't.

WATTS'S LYRIC POEMS.—I have an edition of *Horæ Lyricæ: Poems chiefly of the Lyric Kind*, by Isaac Watts, D.D., printed by James Parker, at New York, in 1750, which contains two poems of interest to Americans, namely: a poem by Doctor Watts, "To His Excellency Jonathan Belcher, Esq., in London, appointed by His Majesty King George II. to the Government of New England, and now returning Home," dated the thirty-first of March, 1730; and some complimentary lines by the Reverend Mather Byles, "To the Reverend Doctor Watts, on his 'Divine Poems,' dated 'New England, Boston, March 15, 1727.'" Are they in any other edition of his Poems? I have seen the following editions of *Horæ Lyricæ*, namely: London, 1743; Philadelphia, 1781; Boston, 1790; Haverhill, Massachusetts, 1792; Windham, Connecticut, 1798; Newburyport, Massachusetts, 1803; and some later ones; but do not find either poem in any of them.

BOSTON.

DELTA.

NATHANIEL MORS, ENGRAVER.—The *Boston Weekly News-Letter*, for Thursday, the twenty-third of June, 1748, contains the following item:

"Last Friday died here Mr. Nathaniel Mors, 'an ingenious Engraver of this town, whose corpse was decently inter'd last Lord's-Day.'"

The same newspaper, for the fourteenth of July, following, contains the advertisement of

Sarah Mors, the widow and administratrix of Nathaniel.

What is known about this engraver?

BOSTON.

DELTA.

WAS MRS. ROBINSON A RELATIVE OF DOCTOR FRANKLIN? An edition of *The Poetical Works of the late Mrs. Mary Robinson*, was published at London, in 1806, in three volumes. On page vi. of the preface, the following statement is made, which is worthy of preservation in the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE:

"Mrs. Robinson is descended from a respectable and ancient Irish family. Her father, Mr. Darby, was nephew of the celebrated American, Doctor Franklin, by the marriage of Miss Hester Franklin with the grandfather of Mrs. Robinson."

This is evidently a mistake. Mr. Sparks, in the pedigree of the Franklin Family, printed on page 346 of his *Life of Benjamin Franklin*, gives the names of all the sisters of Doctor Franklin, and these agree with the pedigree from the Doctor's own manuscript, contributed by William Bache, Esq., of Bristol, Pennsylvania, to *The Historical and Genealogical Register* for January, 1857. None of the sisters is named Hester, and none married a Mr. Darby.

Was there any relationship between Mrs. Robinson and Doctor Franklin?

BOSTON.

S. A. G.

THE COMPROMISE ACT OF 1832.—What is known of the origin of this Act and its real author?

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

W. H. P.

STOBO.—In THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, I., i., 158, it is stated, on the authority of Rev. J. B. Ferland of Quebec, that "the whole proceedings in Stobo's case, have been recently found in Canada, with the intercepted letters containing his plans of the French forts and details of their garrisons, etc., as well as the investigation into his escape, which he effected by winning the good graces of the jailor's daughter. Washington's capitulation at Fort Mifflin was found at the same time. All these papers are to be published by the Canadian Government." Were these papers published either by the Canadian Government or any other? If so, when, where, by whom, and under what title?

BRONXVILLE, N. Y.

DICK.

XI.—REPLIES.

MINOR PUBLICATIONS OF THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. (H. M. H. vi., 251.) We have waited for replies from our correspondents concerning the issues of the Maryland Society, about which, especially, there seems to be a great interest among Collectors, at the present time. Several have assured us that their collections are *complete*, and Mr. Boone recently sold a set as *complete*, none of which seem to be as full as our own. In order, therefore, to draw out the facts, we submit a list of the Society's publications which we have in our own library; and invite those who can add any titles to the list to do so.

1.—*Publications by the Society, itself, bearing its imprint or seal.*

- 1844. *Constitution, By-Laws, Charter, etc.*
.. C. F. Mayer's *First Discourse*.
- 1845. Latrobe's *Memoir of Benjamin Bannaker*.
.. *Journal of Charles Carroll of Carrollton*.
.. Kennedy's *Discourse on the Life and Character of George Calvert*.
- 1846. Harris's *Discourse on the Life and Character of Sir Walter Raleigh*.
- 1847. Wynne's *Memoir of Major Samuel Ringgold*.
.. A *Relation of the Colony of the Lord Baron of Baltimore, etc.* Translated by N. C. Brooks.
- 1848. B. Mayer's *Discourse on Commerce, Literature and Art*.^{*}
.. *Catalogue of Paintings, Engravings, etc. First Annual Exhibition*.
- 1849. Harris's *Paper upon California*.
.. Donaldson's *Address on American Colonial History*.
.. *Catalogue of Paintings, Engravings, etc., etc. Second Annual Exhibition*.
- 1850. Brown's *Discourse on the Origin and Growth of Civil Liberty in Maryland*.
.. *Catalogue of Paintings, Engravings, etc., etc. Third Annual Exhibition*.
.. *Annual Report of the President and Committee of Fine Arts*.
- 1851. Tiffany's *Sketch of the Life and Services of Gen. Otto Holland Williams*.
.. Dodge's *Memorials of Columbus*.
.. B. Mayer's *Tuh-gah-jute or Logan and Captain Michael Cresap*.
- 1852. Streeter's *Maryland, two hundred years ago*.
- 1853. Burnap's *Origin and Causes of Democracy in America*.

^{*} Published, jointly, by the Maryland Historical Society, the Library Company, and the Mercantile Library Association.

- .. *Catalogue of Paintings, Engravings, etc. Fourth Exhibition*.
 - 1854. Norris's *Sketch of the Life of Benjamin Bannaker*.
.. *African Slave-trade in Jamaica*.
.. *Catalogue of the Manuscripts, Maps, Medals, Coins, etc.*
.. *Annual Report of the President*.
 - 1855. Morris's *Martin Behaim*.
 - 1856. *Catalogue of Paintings, Engravings, etc., etc.*
 - 1858. Smith's *Memoir of the Baron de Kalb*.
.. *Catalogue of Paintings, Engravings, etc., etc. Sixth Annual Exhibition*.
.. *Annual Report of the President*.
 - 1862. Norris's *Early Friends (or Quakers) in Maryland*.
 - 1866. *The Maryland Historical Society and the Peabody Institute Trustees. A Report*.
.. Giles's *Annual Address*.
 - 1867. Mayer's *Memoir of Jared Sparks, LL.D.*
.. *Constitution and By-laws*.
.. Mayer's *History, Possessions, and Prospects of the Maryland Historical Society. FUND-PUBLICATION, No. 1.*^{*}
 - 1867. Pinkney's *Memoir of John H. Alexander, LL.D.*
 - 1868. *Catalogue of Paintings. Seventh Exhibition*.
.. Streeter's *First Commander of Kent Island. FUND-PUBLICATION, No. 2*.
 - 1870. *Peabody Memorial. FUND-PUBLICATION, No. 3.*
- 2.—*Not bearing the Society's imprint or seal, and evidently not published by the Society.*
- 1848. Varnum's *Paper on The Seat of Government of the United States*.
 - 1853. ^{*}Buchanan's *Poem on Baltimore: or long, long time ago*.
 - 1857. ^{*}Davis's *Paper upon the origin of the Japan Expedition. Published in 1860.*

^{*} This tract contains what purports to be a *List of Publications of the Maryland Historical Society, commencing 20th June, 1844, and ending 1st June, 1867*; but, notwithstanding the official form of the publication, we are disposed to doubt its accuracy. Thus, the *Relation of the Colony of the Lord Baron of Baltimore*, published in 1847, was copied from a manuscript in the Society's archives; translated by one of its members, *as such*; and printed with no other imprint than the Society's official vignette; yet Colonel Mayer has not included it in his published list of the Society's publications. Nor has he included in that list, Mr. Varnum's very able paper, read before the Society, on *The Seat of Government of the United States*; although he has included therein, as "publications of the Maryland Historical Society," Mr. Buchanan's poem, entitled *Baltimore, long, long ago*, Mr. Davis's *Paper upon the origin of the Japan Expedition*, and Doctor Allen's *Who were the Early Settlers of Maryland*, all of which, like Mr. Varnum's tract, severally bear on their face the evidence that they were not published by the Society nor under its direction, but as individual ventures, by the gentlemen who respectively wrote them.

1865. *Allen's Paper on *Who were the Early Settlers of Maryland?* Published in 1866.

As we have elsewhere stated, the three tracts which we have distinguished by asterisks appear to have been erroneously designated, by the President of the Society, as publications of the Society, while he has excluded from his list the first-named, which is quite as much so as the others. As none of them were printed either by the Society's order or with its imprint or vignette, we exclude all, in like manner as the first of them was excluded by the distinguished President.

We notice, too, that the paper of Mr. Streeter, on the Argentine Republic, which was published in *The North American Review*, is particularly noticed by the President: if it was not agreeable to him to mention the additional fact that THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE for March, 1857, contains Mr. Streeter's paper on *The Fall of the Susquehannocks*, and that for February, 1858, contains the same gentleman's *Sketch of the Early Currency of Maryland and Virginia*, both of them having been read before the Society, we will relieve him of that unpleasant duty by mentioning it ourself. Those who desire to see them will find them, there.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.

H. B. D.

RISE OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN MARYLAND. [*H. M. H.*, iii, 82.]—I had an opportunity, to-day, of looking into some of the past numbers of your very interesting HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. Turning to the numbers relating to Maryland, the first that attracted my attention was that relating to the forming of the early Church there, in early times, in the February number of 1868 (p. 82), by E. D. N. It speaks of the Reverend John Yeo. Will you allow me to add that, after the accusation brought against him, in Delaware, in 1680, and his clearing himself, he removed to Baltimore-county, Maryland, as the papers in the State Archives show us, and settled near Joppa, the then County-seat of that County, having charge of three Congregations—at Back-river, at the Gunpowder, and at Bush-river? There he died, in 1686, leaving a son, who was sent to England, for his education; one daughter, who married a Gibson; and another, who married a Garretson—names very prominent in that neighborhood, and still are so.

Mr. N. states, apparently on the authority of Mrs. Taney, that there was neither Church nor regular Clergyman of the Church of England, in the Province, when Mr. Yeo left. How does this agree with Mr. Yeo's statement, in his letter, that there were three besides himself, and Lord Balti-

more's, that there were then four, well provided for? See Anderson's *Colonial History*.

BALTIMORE, MD.

E. A.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, (*H. M. H.* vi, 251).—"Dick" asks to be favored "with a Bibliography of the Minor Issues of the several Historical Societies."

As this information, in regard to *all the issues* of the different Historical Societies, will be of interest, if not of value, to collectors of books in this line, I propose to make a contribution to your pages, in reference to the Virginia Historical Society, the publications of which, though very meagre, yet possess an interest unsurpassed by any other similar publications.

The Virginia Historical and Philosophical Society was organized on the twenty-ninth of December, 1831. In consequence of the prevalence of Asiatic Cholera, in 1832, the efforts to effect a permanent organization were not very successful; and the first Anniversary Meeting was not held until the fourth of February, 1833, on which occasion an Address was delivered by Jonathan P. Cushing, A. M., President of Hampden Sydney College; and the first publication had for its title, *Collections of the Virginia Historical and Philosophical Society, Volume I. Richmond: 1833*. This is an octavo pamphlet, containing a Preface; the Constitution of the Society; Mr. Cushing's Address; Memoir of Indian Names, by Colonel Stuart, of Greenbrier-county; Record of Grace Sherwood's Trial for Witchcraft, in 1705, in Princess Anne-county, Virginia; List of Donations; and Roll of Members. pp. 87.

Under its first organization, the Society did not achieve much success. It was granted a Charter by the Legislature of Virginia, in 1834; but we have no printed record of its proceedings for thirteen years. A reorganization was perfected in 1847; and arrangements were made for an annual meeting and the publication of a volume, to be the first of a series, to be called the *Annals of Virginia*.

In January, 1848, the first number of a quarterly journal, styled the *Virginia Historical Register and Literary Advertiser*, was published by William Maxwell, the "Secretary and General Agent of the Society." This was accepted as the organ of the Society; and the first number contains an account of the Annual Meeting of the Society, on the sixteenth of December, 1847.

The work was continued for six years. Each volume contains about two hundred and twenty-two pages, besides reprints of the proceedings of the Historical Society. There is a great deal of interesting information, invaluable to the historian and antiquarian, and not to be found

anywhere else. The first two volumes, for 1848 and '9, have on their title-pages, *The Virginia Historical Register and Literary Advertiser*, edited by William Maxwell; those for 1850 and '51 have the same title, save that the word "Advertiser" is omitted and "Note-Book" inserted; and those for 1852 and '53 have the word "Companion" instead of "Note Book."

These volumes, however, although containing full accounts of the Proceedings and Donations, and much of the Collections, do not represent all that was done by the Society. In August, 1848, the first volume of the *Annals* was published. The title reads: *An account of Discoveries in the West, until 1519, and of Voyages to and along the Atlantic Coast of North America, from 1520 to 1573, prepared for the Virginia Historical and Philosophical Society, by Conway Robinson, Chairman of its Executive Committee, and Published by the Society. Richmond: Printed by Sheppard and Colin, 1848. Octavo, pp. xv and 491. This volume was prepared with great care; and forms a valuable contribution to American history. In 1851, the Society published *An Address on the Life and Character of the late Benjamin Watkins Leigh*, by William H. Macfarland, pp. 12; and, in 1852, *The Virginia Constitution of 1776: A Discourse delivered before the Virginia Historical Society, by H. A. Washington.**

After the publication of the *Register* terminated, as above stated, with the year 1853, the Executive Committee of the Society issued a pamphlet called the *Virginia Historical Reporter*. Volume I., 1854, contains the proceedings of the Society, at its seventh annual meeting, with Reports of the Committee and an Address, by Hugh Blair Grigsby, Esq., on *The Virginia Convention of 1829-30*; and other matters. Pp. 116. The next issue was by the same title, Vol. I. Part II. 1855. It contained the proceedings of the eighth annual meeting and an Address by Honorable R. M. T. Hunter—*Observations on the History of Virginia*. 48. pp. Vol. I, Part III., 1856, of the same, contains proceedings of the ninth annual meeting, Constitution of the Society, and an Address by James P. Holcombe, sketches of the Writings issued and containing the Resolutions. Pp. 63. There is then an interval in the series for several years, the next issue being the *Reporter*, Vol. II., Part I. 1860, which contains the tenth, eleventh and twelfth Annual Meetings, 1857, '58 and '59, with an Address on *The Virginia Colony*, by George F. Holmes, and a paper on *The Date of the Marriage of Pocahontas*, which was read at a Called Meeting of the Society, on the nineteenth of January, 1860, by Wyndham Robertson. Pp. 87.

This is the last publication made by the So-

ciety; but by an arrangement made with Mr. Charles B. Richardson, of New York, he was allowed the use of the MS. Diaries of General Washington, for publication, upon condition of furnishing the Society with one hundred copies; and the work was issued, the copies for the Society having on their title-page, *The Diary of George Washington from 1789 to 1791, embracing the opening of the first Congress and his Tours through New England, Long Island, and the Southern States, together with his Journal of a Tour to the Ohio, in 1753. Edited by Benson J. Lossing. Richmond: Press of the Historical Society, 1861. Pp. 248.*

The symptoms of the approaching struggle between the North and South, monopolizing the thoughts of our people, to the exclusion of every thing else, the Society suffered the neglect which befell all similar institutions in the South; and nothing more was done until recently. Efforts are now being made to revive the Society; and we may hope soon to see a resumption of its publications.

The above includes a complete list of everything published by or under the auspices of the Virginia Historical Society. For some reason that cannot be ascertained now, but few numbers of the *Reporter* was issued in form above named. The Addresses of Messrs. Grigsby, Hunter, Holcomb and Holmes were published in separate pamphlets, without any other matter, or anything to indicate their connection with the *Reporter*. There is considerable uniformity in the size of the whole of these works, but not sufficient to gratify the fastidious book collector. The *Early Voyages* and *Washington Diary* are bound in cloth; and the former is a quarter of an inch taller than the latter. Some few copies of the *Register* are a little shorter than the *Diary*; but a majority were cut much smaller before being issued. The *Collections*, of 1833, Washington's Address, and *Reporter* Vol. I, Part I, and Vol. I, Part II, are full size; but the rest of them are much smaller, one more than an inch in height and half an inch in width—there are no exceptions to the last named. The members of the Society being scattered over the area of a large State, and the organization for the management of details not being very complete, the distribution of the *Register* and *Reporter* was not made to a great many members; and of the large number left in the hands of the Librarian, nearly the whole were destroyed by fire, at the evacuation of Richmond, and they are thus rendered quite scarce, and are not so well known as they should be. The readers of any historical works relating to Virginia, issued since 1853, will find constant reference to the pages of the *Register*;

and it would be an acceptable addition to the historical literature of the day, if some one would republish them.

RICHMOND, VA.

T. H. W.

XII.—BOOKS.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

[Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HENRY B. DAWSON, MORRISANIA, N. Y.," or to MESSRS. CHARLES SCRIBNER & Co., Booksellers, 654 Broadway, New York City, as shall be most convenient for them.]

A.—PRIVATELY PRINTED BOOKS.

1.—*Grammar of the Choctaw Language*, by the Rev. CYRUS BYINGTON. Edited from the original MSS. in the Library of the American Philosophical Society. By D. G. Brinton, M.D. Philadelphia: 1870. Octavo, pp. 56.

The author of this Grammar was a native of Berkshire, in Massachusetts; a missionary, of nearly fifty years standing, among the Choctaws; and one of the most accomplished scholars in the limited literature of that Nation.

In 1834, after a careful survey and study of the subject, Mr. Byington wrote a Grammar of the language, which has remained unpublished to this day; and five times that Grammar has been carefully revised, and a sixth revision was in progress when, in 1868, death arrested his labors.

The difficulties which the author necessarily encountered, in breaking this new ground in aboriginal philology and in reducing it into a system, will be clearly understood by every one who has worked in a similar field and encountered the tangled and stubborn results of an hitherto undisturbed reign of nature, in that vicinity; and if there are some imperfections in the work, it will nevertheless be valued as "one of the most valuable, original, and instructive of any ever written of an American language."

The copy before us is taken from the MSS. in the Library of the American Philosophical Society; and it has been carried through the press by Doctor Brinton, whose qualifications for the discharge of such a duty are too well known and too widely recognized to need any description in this place.

To the philologist, the ethnologist, and the student of aboriginal literature, this tract will be very welcome; while its typographical beauty and its novelty will secure for it, every where, a curious interest, beyond that enjoyed by many others, of the same class of publications.

2.—*Biographical Notice of Peter Wrasall, Secretary of Indian Affairs for the Province of New York, and of the First Provincial Congress, held in Albany, in 1754; Aid-*

de-Camp to Sir William Johnson during the Crown Point Expedition of 1755; etc. [Communicated to the Albany Institute, April 16, 1866, and May 31, 1870.] By DANIEL J. PRATT. *Sine loco, sine anno.* Octavo, pp. 7.

Peter Wrasall was one of those officers whom the King of Great Britain saddled on the Colonists in New York, and against whose intrusion those Colonists, through their chosen representatives, solemnly "declared," in their concurrence with the *Declaration* of the other twelve Colonies, on the ninth of July, 1776; and pretty much all that the diligence of the zealous author of this tract has discovered concerning him is, that, about 1746, he appeared in New York, as a retainer of the Government; that he obtained leave to return to England, in 1747, probably to seek promotion; that, five years after, he appeared a second time, with a Royal Mandamus, securing to him the office of Secretary of Indian Affairs in New York, and three other local offices in Albany; that he did not secure the latter; that he was the Secretary of the Provincial Congress of 1754—the result, it may be, of his peculiar ability to render "the very best service in that capacity," if not of his peculiar willingness to secure the advantages of that position, in securing the favor of the controlling men of the several Colonies—that, as an *attache* of Sir William Johnson, in the Indian Department, he naturally became an *attache* of that gentleman, when he became a soldier; that he married Miss Stillwell; and that he died, leaving the draft of an undated and unsigned Will, a widow, and a small property.

Mr. Wrasall was fortunate in having secured so energetic and so excellent a biographer, especially in view of the fact that so little is known concerning either him or his services.

There is nothing remarkable in the typography of the tract.

3.—*An Address delivered before the Worcester Lyceum and Natural History Association, May 17th, 1870.* By NATHANIEL PAINE, President of the Association. Worcester: 1870. Small octavo, pp. 22.

The City of Worcester is favored, as Boston and New Bedford are, with an excellent Public Library; and in this little volume we have the history of the separate beginnings which, when united, resulted in the establishment of that well-managed and useful institution and of this Lyceum.

We have read this narrative—which seems to be the Inaugural Address of our friend, the President of the Lyceum—with great pleasure; and, inasmuch as it traces the rise, and progress, and end of several of the institutions in that Town and County, which were successively organized for the intellectual improvement

of the inhabitants—the Public Library and the Lyceum alone remaining to afford evidence of their temporary existence and of their short-lived usefulness, each in its turn—we cannot regard this little volume otherwise than as a most important contribution to the local history of Worcester.

It is a "private-print," twenty-five copies only having been struck off, for the use of its author—the copy before us being "No. 14," of the edition.

4.—*Third Re-union of the Society of the Army of the Cumberland, held at Indianapolis, 1869.* Published by Order of the Society. Cincinnati: 1870. Octavo, pp. viii, unpagged, 188.

We have been favored by our excellent friends, Messrs. Robert Clarke & Co., of Cincinnati, with a copy of this elegant volume, which will most appropriately serve as a memorial of the third of the re-unions of the veterans of the noble Army of the Cumberland.

Such a volume, intended for such a purpose, must not be expected to afford much material for history; yet there is one little speech of General Rosecrans—"old Rosey"—which is packed with such material. There is no one, unless General Rosecrans himself, who can safely write of General Thomas, either as a soldier or a "white man," nor of the Army of the Cumberland and its exploits, without consulting that little speech; and we have pleasure, therefore, in calling attention to it.

It is always refreshing to see the beautiful specimens of the handiwork of Messrs. Clarke and Co's workmen and of that firm's liberality as employing printers, which are so often laid before us. Such books are an honor to those who make them; and if they cannot work an improvement in the taste of Western book-buyers, the West is past improvement.

This volume was "not printed for sale."

5.—*Historic and Antiquarian Scenes in Brooklyn and Its Vicinity, with illustrations of some of its antiquities.* By T. W. Field. Brooklyn: 1868. Quarto, pp. viii, 96.

In this handsome volume, the first of a promised series on the same general subject, Mr. Field has presented thirteen distinct historical papers, illustrated with eleven lithographic prints and a map. These papers, we believe, are entirely from the pen of Mr. Field; and he tells his readers, with commendable snap, that all except three of the illustrations were engraved from sketches made by himself; loaned by him to the Park Commissioners and Common Council, for the illustration of volumes issued by those bodies; evidently used by them without due credit; and now "reclaimed" by

their author and owner.

We are not prepared to admit *all* that our friend, Mr. Field, has said in all these papers—indeed, we are disposed to doubt their accuracy, in some instances—yet there is enough in them to entitle them to the respect of every antiquary and their author to the earnest thanks of his readers. We hope he will be mindful of his promise to continue his labors, in this field, in order that every fragment may be saved, and not a particle lost, of all that has come down to us, traditionally, from the Past. We have no fear of the evils of traditional annals, while the truth is left untrammelled, in the hands of honest and earnest men, to oppose them.

Mr. Field has very much to say, very confidently, concerning General Woodhull's last days and concerning the movements of the Royal troops, immediately preceding the Battle of Long Island: yet, we fancy it would require very little trouble to overthrow the greater part of it, by comparing those statements with the unquestionable authorities, in our adjoining room, which every student willingly honors. So, too, about the De Sille house, at New Utrecht, to which the first paper in this volume is devoted—how does Mr. Field know that De Sille ever built the house which is herein described, or even ever saw it? We have an original sketch of the Yellow Mill, drawn from the Mill itself, by one of New York's best-known artists of that period, which is as unlike Mr. Field's picture as it is unlike the City Mills, at the Ferry—shall we credit Mr. Field's or our own? So, too, if our memory serves us faithfully—and we write from memory only, without turning to our books—the Letferts house has other chronicles than those which Mr. Field has presented. But we need go no further.

The volume is a very handsome one, except in size—it is too large—and was printed for private circulation only. The verso of the title-page indicates the edition as one of one hundred and ten copies; but Mr. Field informs us that only ninety-nine were really perfected.

B.—PUBLICATIONS BY SOCIETIES.

6.—*Franklin Society Publications. II. Early Newspapers in Illinois: Read before the Franklin Society of the City of Chicago.* By Henry R. Boss. January 20, 1870. Chicago: The Franklin Society. 1870. Quarto, pp. 48.

We have already referred to the first of the Society's publications; and the second is before us—as good-looking as the last, and not less valuable.

Our old time friend, Mr. Boss, has certainly discharged an important duty in the prepara-

tion of this work—a history of the early days of the Newspaper press of Illinois—and we trust he will live, many years, to enjoy the honor to which he is justly entitled, for having conceived and carried out so useful a work.

Commencing with a careful examination of the already vexed question of the establishment of the first newspaper within the limits of the present State of Illinois, he proceeds to notice, successively, the origin and history of the first three of the pioneer sheets which appeared there; and then, County by County, he glances at the subsequent crops of newspapers, each playing its little part in the great drama of "life in the West," which have risen, and flourished, and passed away, in that important member of the sisterhood of States. All this he does, too, without any parade of flashy rhetoric or questionable philosophy; dealing in facts and figures only; and indicating clearly, not only his sense of the high character of his undertaking, but his views concerning the way in which he should carry it out, within the limits assigned to him by the Society.

We do not see wherein, under the circumstances, the work could have been better done; and we earnestly congratulate our friend on having secured so great a success in so useful a service.

The typography of the work is very beautiful; but the size of the paper makes it inconvenient for preservation.

7.—*The Fire Lands Pioneer*: Published by the Fire Lands Historical Society, at their Rooms in Whittlesey Building, Norwalk, Ohio. Vol. X. June, 1870. Sandusky, Ohio: Register Office. 1870. Octavo, pp. 119 Price 50 cents.

This is another excellent work of the same class as that, by Mr. Boss, which we have just noticed—a record of the early history of a portion of the mighty West—and as it has quietly taken its place on our book shelves, year after year, for ten years past, we have learned its importance, as material for future workmen in that ripening field of labor, and treasured it.

The West has been engaged, hitherto, in other occupations than writing history: it has not, until very recently, even cared about the preservation of its own records. It is to be considered, therefore, even to-day, in connection with historical literature, as a mere wilderness, with here and there an opening, where some hardy pioneer, such as, among others, Doctor Drake, and Lyman C. Draper, and I. H. Lapham, and Charles I. Cist, and Robert Clarke, and Henry R. Boss, and Isaac Smucker, and E. D. Mansfield, each in his own field of labor, has let in, through its dense overgrowth, the sun-shine and the shower; and, for this reason, such works as this may

reasonably be welcomed by every thoughtful man who can understand their importance to those who shall follow us. They preserve, indeed, the principal, very often the only, records of the details of the westward march of empire and the establishment of its power, beyond the mountains; and the preparation and publication of them are among the first-fruits of the progress of another civilization, differing in character from that which, in the persons and doings of the generation which is now rapidly disappearing from the homes which they reared and the Commonwealths which they constituted in that portion of our country, preceded and prepared the way for it.

The volume before us opens with the record of the Society's meetings at Norwalk, Groton, Sandusky, Monroeville, and New London, all in Ohio; and these are followed by biographical sketches of early settlers in that State, historical addresses, devoted to "pioneer history," personal reminiscences of those who led the way in western settlement, obituary notices of those who have recently deceased, etc.; and it closes with indices of the contents of the last three volumes of the work, which are intended to be bound together.

It makes no pretension to beauty of typography; but the importance of its contents will ensure it a welcome in many a library and household.

8.—*A discourse on the Life, Character, and Writings of Gulian Crommelin Verplanck*, delivered before the New-York Historical Society, May 17th, 1870, by William Cullen Bryant. New York: Printed for the Society. MDCCCLXX. Octavo, pp. 60.

In this beautiful pamphlet, Mr. Bryant has presented to the world his recollections of the venerable Gulian C. Verplanck—the friend of Paulding, Irving, Sands, and Kemble; the accomplished belles lettres scholar, acute lawyer, and genial gentleman; the earnest free-trader, the intelligent Democrat, the honest "Copper-head."

It is more than ordinarily historical in its character; and, scattered throughout its pages, are some very interesting statements, which, if true, are historically and politically important. These will cause the tract to be referred to, as an authority, more than is usual in such cases; and, while, in the absence of competent testimony, we are not prepared either to admit or deny much that Mr. Bryant has said therein, our own incredulity is strengthened, generally, by his unwarranted assertion that, in 1786, when Verplanck was born, "a little beyond Wall-street, a few rods only, lay the island of New York in all its original beauty, so that it was but a step from Wall-street to the country;" and if he had

specified just *where* and *when* that celebrated thoroughfare, during Verplanck's boyhood, could truly have been said to be "full of dwelling-houses, with *here and there a church*, which "has long since disappeared," we might have looked on some other statements, made therein, with more confidence than we can now look on them.

Mr. Bryant is said to an excellent poet, and he is said to edit *The Evening Post* with ability; but when he addresses a Historical Society, on matters of History, he should employ facts rather than rhetoric; and his editorial carelessness, too often employed in the *sanctum*, should never have thus disfigured such an address, on such a subject, before such an audience.

As we have said, the pamphlet is a handsome one.

9.—*Memorial Address on the Life and Services of Rev. Pliny H. White*, pronounced before the Vermont Historical Society, in the Representatives' Hall, Montpelier, Tuesday Eve., Oct. 19, 1869, by Henry Clarke, Rutland. Montpelier: 1869. Octavo, pp. 15.

In our February number, we alluded to this Address, while we were noticing the published record of the Society's proceedings, of which it formed a part; and we have only, therefore, in this place, to allude to its publication in this form, in order that Collectors, who are interested in such matters, may be made aware of its appearance.

10.—*Review of Annual Report of the Shepherd's Fold, by the test of truth.* New York: 1870. Duodecimo, pp. 46.

One side of a quarrel, among some who profess to be Christians, concerning the management, by those who profess to be Christians, of an institution which seeks to be considered as Christian in its character.

From such Christians, "Good Lord deliver us."

11.—*Proceedings at the Installation of the Rev. John Murray Forbes, D.D., as Dean of the General Theological Seminary*, at the Church of the Transfiguration, on the Feast of St. Matthias, Thursday, February 24, 1870. Published by order of the Standing Committee. New York: 1870. Octavo, pp. 46.

We remember Mr. Forbes when he was the respected Rector of the *Episcopalian* Church of St. Luke, in Hudson-street: we remember him when he was the Parish Priest, or its equivalent, in the *Roman Catholic* Church of St. Ann, opposite La Fayette Place, in Eighth-street: we meet him, in this pamphlet, as the Dean, controlling the destinies, of the *Protestant Episcopalian* Seminary and giving tone to its teachings.

His Address indicates, very clearly, what Mr.

Forbes is, to-day: it indicates, too, what, without much change, he may be, to-morrow: it does not indicate what, with equal facility and as little regret, he may or may not be, next week. The call of such a man, to such a situation, with the control of such an influence, it seems to us, is a dangerous experiment; but it concerns others more than it concerns us.

The pamphlet is a handsome one.

12.—*Annual Register Massachusetts Commandery Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States.* Compiled by James H. Bell, Recorder. City of Boston: May, 1870. Duodecimo, pp. 29.

The latest publication of the Massachusetts branch of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States—a body which, if we understand its character correctly, is as much more anti-republican in its teachings and tendencies than was the Order of the Cincinnati, of which General Washington was the head, as that Society was more so than the great body of the inhabitants of the several States, in the day when its ribbons and badges were displayed in the streets, on the coats of its members. The Cincinnati was so far obnoxious, in the best days of the Republic, because of its anti-republican tendencies, that it was promptly abandoned by its best members; and, with a shadowy exception, here and there, it has ceased to exist: how much more obnoxious to the spirit of the Constitution and to the institutions of the Republic, is this body, with its extreme anti-republicanism and its ridiculous display of ignorance of the fundamental laws which demand obedience both to the Commonwealth and the Confederacy?

We beg to suggest, respectfully, to the honest and earnest men whose names are enrolled in this organization, to read the frame of Government of the venerable Commonwealth of which they are generally members,—a document which was written by John Adams—and to compare that instrument and its teachings with the little volume before us and its teachings, and to answer to their own consciences, as honest men, which of the two demands their first homage and to which of the two they will render it.

The tract is fairly printed.

C.—OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS.

13.—*Seventh Biennial Report of the Board of Curators of the Iowa State Historical Society* for the biennial period ending December 1, 1869, to the Governor of Iowa. Des Moines: F. M. Mills, State Printer. 1870. Octavo, pp. 14.

In several of the Western States, the Historical Societies are State Institutions, nearly, if not wholly, disregarding the Voluntary Princi-

ple, and levying a support on the productive energies of the Peoples among whom they rest, through the tax-gatherer. They are, therefore, dependents on legislative good-will; subject to legislative caprice; and, sometimes, held in check by legislative and executive caution or prejudices.

The Iowa Society is one of that class; and the Report before us is the biennial Report which, as a State Institution, it is required to make to the Executive.

The receipts of the Society, during the two years, were about seventy-three hundred dollars, of which seven thousand were from the State Treasurer; it has two thousand volumes and thirty-six hundred tracts on its shelves, exclusive of nearly eleven hundred volumes of newspapers—by far the most important part of its collection; and its exchanges of State Documents are far and wide—indeed, it does not seem to have expended a dollar for books, during the past two years; and so has done little for the encouragement of historical literature.

We have grave doubts concerning this line of polity. We recognize the usefulness of the Society's service as a collector of newspapers; and there our knowledge of its usefulness ends—indeed, we are not quite sure that even that service might not be done quite as well by the State Librarian, directly, as by a nominal Society which is, in fact, only a bureau of the Executive Department.

As a distributor of State publications and as a publisher of a quarterly periodical, it seems to be unnecessary, as a State Institution, supported by State tax, since its machinery is too costly for such a purpose; and we do not believe that among the legitimate purposes of taxation, even in Iowa, is the expense of editing and printing a quarterly magazine on any subject.

If the State of Iowa is desirous of making an effort to encourage historical enquiries, it is well; but she is not expending her money to the best advantage, for such a purpose, in the plan she is now pursuing.

14.—*Preliminary Field Report of the United States Geological Survey of Colorado and New Mexico*, conducted under the authority of Hon. J. D. Cox, Secretary of the Interior, by F. V. Hayden, U. S. Geologist. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1869. Octavo, pp. 135.

We refer to this document in order to bring it to the notice of such of our readers as collect works of this class.

It is a well-written Report of a careful survey of various portions of Colorado and New Mexico; and it will amply repay those who shall devote time to a perusal of it.

D.—TRADE PUBLICATIONS.

15.—*History of Rome*, by Theodor Mommsen. Translated, with the Author's sanction and additions, by Rev. William P. Dickson, D.D. With a preface by Dr. Leonhard Schmitz. New Edition, in four volumes. Volume III. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1870. Crown octavo, pp. 571. Price \$2.00

The high character of this work and the range of enquiry which it embraces, are so well known to our readers, that nothing remains for us to do but to announce this appearance of a new volume—the last but one of the series—in the same neat style which distinguishes the preceding volumes.

16.—*A particular history of the Five Years French and Indian War in New England and Parts Adjacent, from its Declaration by the King of France, March 15, 1744, to the treaty with the Eastern Indians, Oct. 16, 1749, sometimes called Governor Shirley's War*. With a Memoir of Major-general Shirley, accompanied by his portrait and other engravings. By Samuel G. Drake. Albany: Joel Munsell. 1870. Small quarto, pp. 312.

The venerable author of this work is so well known, as one of the best-informed and most pains-taking of American historians, that a new volume from his pen will be widely welcomed; and whatever he sets his hand to and becomes personally responsible for, may be relied on as good.

The character of the handsome work now before us will be seen on its title-page, copied above; and it only remains for us to say of it, in this place, that it is exceedingly minute in its descriptions and very complete, in all its parts. It is, besides, very handsome, as a specimen of book-making.

17.—*History of the Virginia Company of London*, with Letters to and from the First Colony never before printed. By Edward D. Neill. Albany, N. Y.: Joel Munsell. 1869. Small Quarto, pp. xvi, 432.

The manuscript *Transactions of the Virginia Company of London* are in the Library of the Congress, unpublished, notwithstanding the efforts which were made to secure their publication, many years ago, by J. Wingate Thornton, Esqr. of Boston, and, more recently, by Rev. E. D. Neill, of Washington.

The want of success, in these attempts, have led to a publication, by Mr. Neill, of a history of that Company, based on the manuscript referred to; and, in the handsome volume before us, we have that history, as the learned author has presented it to the world.

A *Preface* narrates the history of the venerable manuscript, the process by which it has been preserved, and its character. It refers to the excitement which Gosnold's voyage produced in England; and contains a good *Bibliotheca Virginiana*, which will be very convenient for reference. The text of the *History* begins with the first

Charter, obtained in 1606, and ends with the dissolution of the Company, in 1624.

The great importance of the subjects introduced into this narrative will be apparent to every one ; but to the student of the history of Colonization in America, this volume, in the absence of the *Transactions of the Virginia Company*, will be indispensable. Mr. Neill has, therefore, done good service in thus placing the facts within reach of those who need them ; and we have pleasure in calling the attention of our readers to the work.

The volume is a very handsome one.

18.—*A History of the City of Brooklyn. Including the old town and village of Brooklyn, the town of Bushwick, and the village and city of Williamsburgh.* By Henry R. Stiles. Vol. III. Brooklyn, N. Y. : Published by Subscription. 1870. Octavo, pp. viii, 501—983.

We have already noticed the first and second volumes of this work ; and we have pleasure in congratulating our respected friend on the appearance of the third, which completes it.

In this volume, the industrious author gives, first, the history of what he calls the history of "the consolidated city of Brooklyn," from 1860 until now ; and, as a matter of course, it has nothing to do with antiquities, in any form, in that portion of it. Next, the Ferries, Railroads, Docks and Commerce, Manufactures, Water and Drainage, Fire Department, Boards of Health, Public Parks and Cemeteries, Churches and Mission Schools, Hospitals and Asylums, Schools, Libraries, Public Amusements, Newspaper Press, Public Institutions, Navy Yard, Post-offices, and Militia, successively receive careful notice ; and two elaborate Indices close the work.

As a local work, required great labor in its preparation and depending largely on local support, it is not to be expected that it is, in every respect, dispassionate or strictly accurate ; yet it is as nearly so as, under the circumstances, may reasonably be hoped for. The chapter on the Ferries, for instance, is tinged with Brooklyn's prejudices, and reflects too little credit on the author's independence as a reliable historian ; while that on the Militia, and some others, seem to indicate a forgetfulness in the author that any other place exists in this State, except Brooklyn.

The volume is very beautifully printed, by Munsell of Albany.

19.—*The American Printer: A Manual of Typography: containing complete instructions for beginners, as well as Practical Directions for Managing all Departments of a Printing Office. With several useful Tables, Schemes for imposing forms in every variety, Hints to Authors and Publishers, etc.* By Thomas Mackellar. Philadelphia: Mackellar, Smith, & Jordan. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. x, 5—336.

We have received from our respected friend the author—the head of the well-known firm which publishes it—a copy of the last edition of

this work, so widely and so favorably known among printers ; and we refer to it with the greater pleasure, since it is at once so complete, as a manual of the art, and so beautiful, as a mere specimen of book-making.

But there are others than occupants of printing-offices unto whom this volume may render good service ; and for the benefit of these we would call attention to it.

It is, as we have said, a beautiful specimen of book-making ; and may honorably find a place on any book-shelf.

20.—*A Primary History of the United States. For Schools and Families.* By Benson J. Lossing. Illustrated with numerous engravings. A New Edition, including a history of the Great Rebellion. New York : Sheldon & Co. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. 239.

A Grammar School History of the United States, from the discovery of America to the present time. By Benson J. Lossing. Illustrated by Maps and Engravings. [New York:] Mason Bros. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. 288.

A Common-School History of the United States ; from the earliest period to the present time. By Benson J. Lossing. Illustrated by Maps, and over 200 other engravings. [New York:] Mason Bros. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. 333.

Those who undertake to instruct the rising generation undertake a duty of the utmost importance ; and the utmost caution should be exercised, therefore, in the selection of both the teacher and the text-books employed. The reason for this will be obvious ; and we honor those parents and guardians, no matter who they are, who sedulously guard the avenues which lead to the minds of their children and faithfully exclude therefrom even the creeping-things of what they conceive to be error. There can be no compromise on this subject, without criminality. There can be no dalliance with Falsehood, without danger—

"We first endure, then *pity*, then EMBRACE"—

and that creature is a philanthropist who shall give a serpent, as a plaything, to a laughing infant, in its cradle, when compared with that other creature—we can give it no specific name—who, while knowing what the Truth is, shall disregard it and poison the minds of the inquiring young people of any country, with what it knows to be Falsehood. The youth of to-day will very soon be the controlling authority of the world and the parents, guardians, and instructors of generations yet unborn—of generations, too, which, if improperly taught, will revel, unwittingly, in error and crime.

We have been led to make these remarks by the result of a pretty close examination of the series of School Histories which are named at the head of this notice. Mr. Lossing is an old personal friend of ourself ; and when we say that, in these volumes, he has written what he must know is wholly and unequivocally untrue, positively pernicious, and tending only to evil.

we speak understandingly and without fear of successful contradiction.

Mr. Lossing possesses the means to write truthfully, but he has failed to employ them or to regard their teachings. He was a writer of History when we only read it; and his zeal served, not a little, in our young manhood, to turn our attention to, and enlist our sympathies in, the great subject of his then earnest investigations. While he rode, triumphantly, to honor and affluence, as a successful writer of American History, we looked on, admiringly and joyfully, and plodded after him, as best we could, and gleaned from the harvest-field in which he had reaped and garnered his sheaves. As in the days of the Apostle, however, time has rolled on; and Mr. Lossing has become a veteran, while we, now, sometimes not only read but write History. He has reached that position where, if ever, he can afford to defy all cavilers who are in the service of falsehood; and where he can, if he will, gallantly and honorably make battle for the Truth of History, against all comers: we do something more, now-a-days, than look on Mr. Lossing's writings—we look *into* them; we ask, as was once before asked, elsewhere, "if *these* things ARE so;" and if we find that they are NOT so, we condemn both the "things" and their author.

With Mr. Lossing's original plan we have no quarrel. His system of grading his successive volumes, so that each succeeding volume was an extension of the last, was an excellent idea, and well calculated to be useful, either in schools or elsewhere. But we dispute his right, we dispute the right of any one, to lay before either the young or the old of our country, *as History*, what is, and is known to be, a falsehood.

There is no careful student of American History, of fair abilities and respectable standing, who will not say that, in these volumes, Mr. Lossing has systematically disregarded the truth; that he has not insidiously inculcated erroneous sentiments, founded on falsehoods; and that, for this reason, his volumes are unfit to be placed in the hands of young people, as means of instruction in the history of the United States.

We dismiss them, therefore—as we understand they have been dismissed by others—as wholly unworthy of our approval, for the purposes for which they are intended.

21.—*A brief sketch of the early history of the Catholic Church in the Island of New York.* By the Rev. J. R. Bayley, Secretary to the Archbishop of New York. Second edition, revised and enlarged. New York: The Catholic Publication Society. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. 242.

The original edition of Bishop Bayley's *History*

having been exhausted, a new one was called for; and, mainly under the direction of our respected friend, Doctor Shea, it has appeared in the beautiful volume now before us.

Of the peculiar merits of this work, which is a re-production of the former well-known *History*, with here and there a revision or a slight addition, there can be no doubt. It is a plain, unvarnished tale, in plain but honest prose, of the rise and progress of the Roman Catholic Church in the City of New York, from its origin until 1850, when it was so far improved, in extent and influence, that Bishop Hughes was created its Archbishop, with the Sees of Boston, Hartford, Albany, and Buffalo, as his Suffragan Sees; and, whether considered as a New York "local" or an Ecclesiastical History, this work, therefore, is a very important addition to our stock of Histories.

It is illustrated with portraits of Bishops Concenan, Du Bois, and Hughes; and the typography is very beautiful.

22.—*Hand book of the Sulphur-cure, as applicable to the Vine Disease in America, and diseases of Apple and other Fruit Trees.* By William J. Flagg. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. 99.

Sadly have many of our neighbors suffered, both in patience and pocket, from the diseases which are the scourge of the grape-vine; and we, ourself, have been a witness of the evil, in other premises than our own, which has disheartened many of the most zealous, and pains-taking, and liberal, of vine-growers; filled them with disgust; and sent them into other occupations. Mr. Flagg has evidently witnessed the same sad spectacle; and in the little tract before us he has presented the result of a treatment of the Vines, with Sulphur—plain, unadulterated Sulphur—which has proved so successful, both in France and at the West.

In this, Mr. Flagg has done a substantial service to his country; and as there are other *fungi* than those which torment our grape-vines—some of them destroying our Roses, as well—it may be useful to test this anti-*fungus* tendency of Sulphur, on the pests of other portions of our garden than on the vines on the trellis. We shall try it; and if we can save our magnificent "Queen of the Prairies"—a feat which we have not recently accomplished—Mr. Flagg shall have all the honors of our house.

23.—*The Wonders of Pompeii.* By Marc Monnier. Translated from the original French. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. 250.

Wonders of Architecture. Translated from the French of M. Lefèvre; to which is added a Chapter on English Architecture. By R. Donald. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. 264.

Wonders of the Human Body. From the French of A. Le Pileur, M.D. Illustrated by forty-five engravings by

L'aveillé. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. 256.

Wonders of Italian Art. By Louis Viardot. Illustrated with twenty-eight engravings. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. 343.

Wonders of Glass-making in all ages. By A. Sauzay. Illustrated with sixty-three engravings on wood. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. 325.

—*Rameses the Great; or Egypt 3300 years ago.* Translated from the French of F. De Lanoye. With thirty-nine wood cuts by Lancelot, Sellier, and Bayard. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. xii, 296.

The Sublime in Nature; compiled from the descriptions of travellers and celebrated writers. By Ferdinand De Lanoye. With large additions. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. 344.

Adventures on the Great Hunting Grounds of the World. By Victor Meunier. Illustrated with twenty-two woodcuts. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. ix, 297.

The Sun. By Amédée Guillemin. From the French by A. L. Pinpson, Ph.D. With fifty-eight illustrations. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. 297.

The above volumes are portions of the series of *The Illustrated Library of Wonders*, which their publishers are presenting to the American public—a series which surpasses all others in the good judgment exercised in the selection of subjects, in the admirable manner in which those subjects are handled, in the profusion and general good quality of the illustrations, and in the neatness of the style in which the volumes are successively presented to the world.

For the family book-shelf, especially for the use of the young people of the country, this work is peculiarly adapted; and if merit is to be used as a measure of success, it will enjoy a very extended circulation.

24.—*Christ and The Church: Lectures delivered in St. Ann's Church, Eighth Street, during the Season of Advent, 1869.* By Rev. Thomas S. Preston. New York: Catholic Publication Society. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. 344.

In this beautiful volume, we find lectures on "The plan of Redemption," "The Office of Jesus Christ," "The Office and Nature of the Christian Church," "The Catholic Church," "the Church of Jesus Christ," and "Protestantism a False Gospel."

As may be readily supposed, these lectures present the extreme views of the most decided school of Roman Catholicism; and there is no compromise nor concession, in any part of the arguments. All this is well. We like fearless men. We believe in radicalism. We would not give a copper for a cart-load of shilly-shally mortals who have no fixed opinions, or who, having such opinions, dare not express them. We admire the courage of the man, although we may detest his teachings and condemn him for promulgating them, who boldly and manfully follows out, to their legitimate results, the honest convictions of his own mind; and we admire him the more if he dare main-

tain his opinions in the face of a multitude of opponents, without flinching and without compromise.

Mr. Preston does not, in many cases, present our views. We do not agree with him in his belief that the great fundamental principles of the Protestant faith are false, although we might say, and do say, that more than one of them, held also by Mr. Preston, have no warrant either in the teachings of the Scriptures or the practice of the early churches. We have pleasure in saying, however, that Mr. Preston has presented his subjects in an admirable manner; that he has skilfully sustained his arguments with an abundance of what he considers to be undoubted authorities, whose authority, in such cases, we deny; and that, through his Publishers, he has also enjoyed the advantages afforded by a beautiful dress for his lectures, which will not fail to secure for them, as such an advantage does to men and women, access to good society and a cordial greeting where, in a less comely apparel, they would find no welcome.

25.—*Warwick; or, the lost nationalities of America.* By Mansfield Tracy Walworth. New York: G. W. Carleton. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. 470. Price \$1.75.

Our excellent friend and contributor, the author of this volume, has sent a copy of it to us; and we have pleasure in calling the attention of our readers to it.

It has commanded the attention of those who enjoy this class of literature, to an unusual degree; and we can readily understand, after reading a few chapters, the secret of its success.

It is very fairly printed.

26.—*Self-help; with illustrations of character, conduct, and perseverance.* By Samuel Smiles. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. 447. Price \$1.

This is "the author's revised and enlarged edition" of one of very best books for the young which the press has ever thrown off.

It originated in a series of "talks" to a party of young working-men who had associated for mutual assistance in acquiring knowledge; and, without pretending to teach any *new* theory or any *new* fact, it presents the necessity of *self-culture*, *self-discipline*, *self-control*, and that honest and earnest discharge of *individual* duty which is the glory of manly character; and it enforces its teachings by citations from the examples presented by the *self-help* of many who have gone before, doing honor to themselves and honor to their country.

It has been re-produced and widely circulated in Holland, France, Denmark, and Germany; and, in this revised and improved form, it is to

be hoped that it may be widely circulated among our own young-folks, which, in such a case, will be done with undoubted advantage to themselves and benefit to the State.

The volume is very neatly printed; and may be usefully added to any school-library or family book-shelf which does not already possess it.

27.—*The Unkind Word, and other Stories.* By the author of *John Halliday, Gentleman, etc.*, etc. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. 418. Price \$1.50.

The title-page of this volume is not a fair one, inasmuch as it fails to convey to the reader a strictly accurate description of the work which it introduces.

It is true, there are "stories" in the collection of papers which are here re-produced; but it would be improper to consider such papers as mere stories, which relate to "Elizabeth and Victoria," "A Woman's Book," "Sermons," "The House of Commons," "A hedge-side Poet," "The last great Exhibition," "Bodies and Souls," "Children of Israel," etc. It would be improper to consider, too, as mere fiction, created for a passing market, the greater portion of even the less important contents of this volume.

In fact, this is a collection of short papers, grave and gay, on a multitude of subjects, admirably adapted for railway or country-stopping-place reading, and not at all inappropriate for the home-reading of sensible people, old as well as young, in town as well as country.

It is a very neat affair, both in its typography and its binding.

28.—*Memoir of the Rev. John Seudder, M. D., thirty-six years Missionary in India.* By Rev. J. B. Waterbury, D.D. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. 308. Price \$1.75.

An appropriate memorial, by his brother-in-law, of the life and services of one of the most successful Missionaries of the American churches. It is mainly taken from his own Journals and Correspondence; and, as its author enjoyed the friendship of his subject and fully sympathized with him, in his labors and his trials, it undoubtedly presents both Doctor Seudder and his work in their most accurate form.

The volume is a very neat one; and will be welcomed in thousands of families throughout the country.

29.—*Elocution: the sources and elements of its power. A text-book for schools and colleges, and a book for every public speaker and student of the English language.* By J. H. McIlvaine. New York: C. Scribner & Co. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. vi, 406.

This volume, the work of the Professor of

Belles Lettres, at Princeton, treats of a subject which has been too much neglected in this age of superficial education; and, as far as we can judge of its merits, the work has been done thoroughly—that it has cost a vast amount of labor will be evident to every one who shall examine its contents.

30.—*Minnesota as it is in 1870.* Its general resources and attractions for Immigrants, Invalids, Tourists, Capitalists, and Business-men, (principally from official authorities) with special descriptions of all its Counties and Towns, their topography, population, nationalities, products, business, wealth, social advantages, and inducements to those in quest of homes, health, or pleasure. By J. W. McClung, St. Paul. Containing a township map of the State, made expressly to accompany the book (four colors) and showing the Government lands in every County, with official descriptions of every part of the State, by Government Surveyors, Topographical Engineers, Geologists, and Travelers. Published by the author. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. 200. Price \$2.25.

The very elaborate title-page, which we have copied entire, will convey to our readers some idea of the extent and character of the author's researches; and little remains for us to say of them, beyond the opinion, which we freely give, that it is by far the best work, on the subject, which we have yet seen. Whether considered in the range of subjects selected for notice, or the mere mode of handling them, or the precision of statement, or the exhaustive treatment of them, it is a model volume of its class; and we do not hesitate to commend it to the attention of our readers, generally.

31.—*Old Horse Gray and the Parish of Grumbleton.* By Edward Hopper. Respectfully dedicated to the merciful philo-zoist, Henry Bergh. New York: Hurd & Houghton. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. 85.

An admirable satire, exceedingly well handled, illustrative of the prevailing fashion in churches of getting rid of their old Pastors and old surroundings, in exchange for those which are more fashionable and less Christian-like. We do not know who Mr. Hopper is, but he evidently keeps his eyes and ears open, both in and out of church; and his skill in the construction of sentences is very evident.

The little affair is elegantly printed, at the Riverside Press.

32.—*The Annals of Albany.* By Joel Munsell. Vol. I. Second Edition. Albany: Joel Munsell. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. viii, 434.

In 1849, Joel Munsell commenced what he called *The Albany Annual Register*; and, in 1850, he discovered that the further prosecution of the work "would not pay." He transferred some portion of its contents, however; and, by making some additions thereto, he inaugurated his well-known *Annals of Albany*,

which has extended to ten volumes, and become famous.

The first volume of this work has latterly become very scarce, and sets could be perfected only with great difficulty; so the tireless author has re-modelled the concern, striking out and inserting, and we have before us the second generation of the first volume of Munsell's *Annals*, different from the first, but not less valuable.

We need not describe to our readers the importance to the *working* historian of these *Annals*; nor need we remind collectors that this volume is absolutely necessary to make complete those sets of the *Annals* which, before it was published, contained the entire work. Although entitled "Vol. I.," it is not the same "Vol. I." which was on our shelf before it appeared: and *both*, therefore, will be necessary to those who desire to possess *perfect* sets of the work.

In every respect, except its thickness, it is a *fine-simile*, in its general appearance, of the ten volumes which preceded it.

33.—*A Battle of the Books*, recorded by an unknown writer, for the use of Authors and Publishers: to the first for doctrine, to the second for reproof, to both for correction and for instruction in righteousness. Edited and published by Gail Hamilton. Cambridge: Printed at the Riverside Press. 1870. Crown octavo, pp. iv., 288.

"Gail Hamilton" seems to have become dissatisfied with her Publishers—Ticknor, Field, & Co.—and she has also become vengeful. She "writes a book" about it; and, under assumed names, she tells the supposed wrongs which she has endured, after a fashion of her own selection—a fashion which is redolent of hyssop, of wormwood, and of gall.

We are not insensible of the wrongs to which Authors are sometimes subjected: nor are we entirely unacquainted with the wrongs to which authors sometimes subject their Publishers. "Man's inhumanity to man" makes others mourn besides politicians and soldiers' wives and orphans; yet we fail to see wherein the supposed victim, in this case, has any reason for attempting to redress her supposed wrongs in this manner; nor do we see, exactly, in what way she can really redress any wrong, by such a questionable process as this.

The law of copyright is ample for the protection of authors, in the enjoyment of all their rights of property in their own productions; and the statutory law of Massachusetts undoubtedly affords ample relief to those who suffer from another's breach of contract, within her borders. Why then did "Gail Hamilton" avoid the Courts and seek the press-room?

If either her copyrights or her contracts were violated, why did not she appeal to the Judiciary, instead of to the Riverside Press? We suspect that her case is not entirely a sound one; and that she preferred to throw dirt, even at the risk of soiling her own fingers, rather than to submit the question at issue, for adjudication, to those who would necessarily decide the case against her.

The volume is a very handsome one—much too handsome for the subject to which it is devoted.

34.—*Bundling: its Origin, Progress, and Decline in America*. By Henry Reed Stiles, M. D. Albany: Joel Munsell. 1869. Very small quarto, pp. 139.

We are at a loss to understand how the "origin" of Bundling can have been "in America," with the evidence before us, which Doctor Stiles has presented, that it was practised in ancient Britain, in modern Scotland, Wales, Holland, Switzerland, etc., long before it was practised here; and we are puzzled the more on this subject when we turn to his Index and find there, (page 135) that "America inherits bundling from Holland."

But, whether it *originated* here or was "*inherited*" from Holland, Bundling was practised here until within a very few years—we heard of it, as an existing practise, in our boyhood—and our worthy predecessor in the editorial chair of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE has displayed great diligence in the prosecution of his enquiries concerning the rise, progress, and decline of the custom. The result of his enquiries is before us; and a most interesting little volume he has made on the subject.

It is a very neat affair, from the Munsell Press.

35.—*Some Recollections of the Anti-Slavery Conflict*. By Samuel J. May. Boston: Fields, Osgood & Co. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. viii., 408.

Mr. May was a travelling agent and lecturer of anti-slavery—that is abolitionism—between 1832 and 1836; and since that time, as far as he has been able to do so, he has aided in promoting the same work. In the volume before us, he gives *some* of his recollections; but he begins with the beginning of Mr. Garrison's movements—without even alluding to any earlier movement—and he entirely disregards those "anti-slavery" movements, based on the Wilmot Proviso and the Buffalo Convention of 1848, which finally led to the overthrow of slavery, many years afterwards. In short, Mr. May's book is a record of the doings and sayings of only "some" of the "anti-slavery" men of former days, but not of the great body of

them. It is a memorial of the "abolitionists," as such; and it does not even mention those who, without being abolitionists, were, nevertheless, "anti-slavery" men of the most decided class.

As far as it goes, therefore, this volume is important as a record of the progress of events in America; and, as such, it cannot be disregarded by those whose duty it shall hereafter become to write the political history of our country.

The volume is a neat one, from the University Press.

36.—*Dialogues from Dickens for School and Home Amusement.* Arranged by W. Elliot Fette, A.M. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1870. Duodeclmo, pp. 260.

A selection from the writings of Dickens, arranged for representation, "in character," in schools and families, will not fail to be very acceptable to both those teachers and heads of families who have experienced the labor of hunting through whole volumes, for suitable selections, and of putting them in order for use.

In the volume before us, are forty-five such dialogues, of various lengths—but all within the ability of school-children to perform—carefully arranged, with stage-directions and suggestions as to costumes, sufficiently minute for the purposes referred to; and the good judgment which has been exercised, both in making the selections and in arranging them for presentation, is worthy of all praise.

The typography of the work is excellent.

37.—*The Life, Passion, Death, and Resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ.* Being an abridged harmony of the four Gospels in the words of the sacred text. Edited by Rev. Henry Formby. New York: Catholic Publication Society. 1870. 16mo. pp. viii., 184.

A very neat little volume, elaborately illustrated, and well calculated for the purpose for which it was evidently intended.

38.—*The "B. O. W. C."* A book for boys. By the author of *The Dodge Club*, etc. Illustrated. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1870. 16mo. pp. 322.

A handsome book for boys, which possesses just enough of mystery in its contents to excite their curiosity and keep up their interest in the plot.

A number of Book Notices which we had prepared for this number are necessarily laid over for the next.

XIII.—MISCELLANY.

ANOTHER INVALID.—It is the fortune of some editors, possibly of all, to find some whom they cannot please; some whose systems are too delicate for anything but childrens' food, and who, therefore, reject that which *men* subsist on; some whose ideas of paying for what they enjoy differ from those which are entertained by even ordinarily honest men.

It has been our fortune to hear from such an invalid—one "J. D. GURNEE, *Madison, Wis.*"—"consin"—whose defective memory, some time since, needed and enjoyed a pretty sharp restorative from this office. *He should have PAID what he owed, without such a restorative, long before, BUT HE DID NOT*; and the depletion of his pocket-book, under our direction, seems to have served not only to secure the payment of his just debt, long past due, but to put him out of temper and make him uncivil.

He paid us to the close of Volume VII., and we have sent him four out of six of the numbers which he has thus paid for; but the strong meat which those numbers have contained seems to have produced nausea on our western patient, and we have received the fourth, which he has returned to us, by mail, thus labelled:

"To The Postmasters of the *United States*

"If the *Brainless*

"Ass, who claims to be the Editor of the
"within published under the name of the *Historical Magazine*, should attempt to send any more
"of the numbers to me. You will please re-
"turn them to the vile source from which they
"emanate as I have done in this case.

Henry B. Dawson,
"Morristown,
"New York."

We are sorry for Mr. Gurnee's family, if he has one: we have nothing but contempt for him, as we have for all who, *like him*, evidently desire to deprive us of our hard-earned money; make the attempt to do so; lack pluck in the conduct of their bad undertaking; are caught at it; and, mainly because they are cowards, fail in their feeble attempts thus to act as dishonest men too often act.

THE
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. VII. SECOND SERIES.]

JUNE, 1870.

[No. 6.]

I.—EARLY NOTICES OF THE HISTORY OF
THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH
IN THE STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

TAKEN FROM THE ABSTRACTS OF THE PROCEED-
INGS OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPGATION
OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS.*

COMMUNICATED BY CAPTAIN W. F. GOODWIN,
U. S. A., CONCORD, N. H.

The first notice of any person being sent by
this Society, is taken from the following *List of*
Missionaries, Catechists, and Schoolmasters, with
their yearly Salaries, on the 28th of January,
1736.

“Mr. Brown, Missionary at Portsmouth in
“New Hampshire.....60.
“ — Ditto for officiating at Kittery...15.”

This person had formerly been settled at Provi-
dence, as appears from the following extract,
taken from *An Abstract of the Proceedings of*
the Society, for the year ending on “the 15th of
“February, 1733:” “The Reverend Mr. Arthur
“Brown, *Missionary at Providence in New Eng-*
land, in his letter dated the 29th, of Septem-
“ber, 1733, acquaints, That upon his first coming
“to the Mission of Providence, he found the
“number of Persons attending Divine Service
“was small, and the Communicants only 27;
“but that now there is a great alteration, for the
“Communicants amount to 46. and his Congre-
“gation is seldom less than 100 in number; and
“he hath baptized 14 Adults, and 54 Infants.”
And in the *List &c.*: “Mr. Browne, Missionary
“at Providence.....60

“ — Ditto for officiating at Warwick 15’ ”

The next extract relates to his settlement at
Portsmouth, and the reason therefor: “The
“Reverend Mr. Arthur Brown, Minister at Ports-
“mouth in New Hampshire, writes Octob. 27.
“1738, That his Parish is in a flourishing condi-
“tion—the Number of Communicants is fifty-
“two, and since his last he had baptized seven-
“teen Infants in the preceding half year. The

“Society removed Mr Brown from the town of
“Providence, because the Inhabitants of Provi-
“dence did not pay their promised contributions
“towards a Missionary’s Support:”—The remain-
der of this part of the Report refers to the subse-
quent proceedings of the people whom Mr. Brown
had left, and the settlement of Mr. Checkley
over them. Also, the Report alluded to is not
found in the proceedings of the Society.

From the *Proceedings of the year ending*
1741-2: “The Reverend Mr Browne, the Socie-
“ty’s Missionary at Portsmouth in New Hamp-
“shire, by a letter dated September 28, 1741,
“writes, that the Town and District of Ports-
“mouth contains between 600, and 700 Families,
“whereof between 50, and 60 are of the Church
“of England, and all the rest Independents,
“there being neither Quaker, Baptist, Papist,
“Heathen, or Infidel, that he knows of, among
“them; he reads prayers every morning at Seven
“o’clock from May to September; and Preaches
“a weekly Lecture to strengthen his Flock; and
“guard them against the pernicious Doctrine of
“Enthusiasts, besides his constant Duty on Sun-
“days. During five years Residence at Ports-
“mouth, Mr. Browne had baptized 93 children,
“and two adults; and the number of his commu-
“nicants is 53.”

In 1741-42, the Reverend Mr. Cutler writes
from Boston, giving an account of “the strange
“effects produced by the Doctrines of Mr.
“Whitefield and his followers.” He says “That
“many illiterate Tradesmen, pretending a call to
“the publick Exercise of their Gifts of praying
“and preaching, were helping forward the
“strange work began, while, through the divine
“goodness, our churches, though not free from
“Trouble, are comparatively in a good degree of
“Quiet, insomuch that Many Dissenters have ob-
“served our Happiness in it, and we hope will
“see reason to come in to us.”

The *Abstract of the Proceedings* then stated
that “The contagion of Enthusiasm has spread
“itself likewise into the Government of New
“Hampshire, but by Letters from thence, we
“are informed, that it decreases apace there,
“through the steady and wise conduct of their

* This interesting paper is in possession of Mr. Horace
A. Brown, of Concord, New Hampshire.—W. F. G.

"Governor, Benning Wentworth, Esq: a worthy member of the Society: and that the little flock of our fold there (blessed be God) hath almost intirely escaped the infection, only three or four having been touched by it, while thirty-six persons have been added to our communion, and there is a great demand for Common-Prayer Books, and Tracts against this new Phrenzy, with which therefore, the Society hath given the proper orders, that they should be supplied."

In relation to certain Indians, who were visited by Mr. Roe, while residing at Boston, and lived "in the North East Parts of the Province," (*probably Maine*), "and who had been baptised by Roman Catholic Missionaries, most of them wearing brazen crucifixes about their necks," it is said that "The Society hath ordered him † a parcel of Bibles and Common-Prayer Books, and other pious Tracts to be distributed among them, and directed likewise that the Reverend Mr. Brown their Missionary at Portsmouth in New Hampshire bordering on those parts, should make them likewise an annual visit"

1743-44. "Likewise the Society hath the pleasure to be informed, from Benning Wentworth, Esq: the worthy Governour of New Hampshire, that the congregation of the church under the care of the Reverend Mr. Brown, hath made a noble stand against that flood of Error and Enthusiasm brought lately into that Province; and that he had received and distributed, in the most publick manner thro' his government, the hundred Copies of the Lord Bishop of Man's *Essay towards an Instruction for the INDIANS*, sent to him from the Society, and is in great hopes of their answering the good end for which they were designed. Mr. Wentworth is pleased to promise his best Endeavours towards becoming an useful Member of the Society, into which he hath been elected unanimously."

"The Reverend Mr. Brown, Missionary at Portsmouth in New Hampshire, writes July 15, 1744, that the Infatuation, which has so violently seized both Minister and People among the Dissenters, is much abated, and he hath a large Congregation, which behave well, and show an uncommon regard to the Rubrick of the Church, and 112 of them are regular communicants."

1745. "The Reverend Mr. Brown, the Society's Missionary in New Hampshire, besides officiating to and taking care of his more immediate flocks at Portsmouth and Kittery, of which 118 are regular communicants, has visited some of the Frontier Towns, at the earnest request

"of the inhabitants, many of whom had never seen any Episcopal Minister before, but seem now to *hunger and thirst after righteousness*, and he will take all opportunities of feeding them with the sincere Milk of the word."

1746. "New England.—The letters from this Province continue to bring very satisfactory accounts of the Progress of true Christianity therein: That the Tempest of Enthusiasm being blown over, great numbers of well meaning Persons who had been affected with it, upon their return to sober thinking, repair to our Communion, as the best Refuge from those wild principles and practices, which had raised such great confusions among them; and that the church gains Ground and Reputation throughout these very populous Colonies."

1750. "The Reverend Mr. Browne, the Society's Missionary at Portsmouth in New Hampshire, having obtained the Society's Leave to come to England for a short Time, on his private affairs, Benning Wentworth, Esq: the worthy Governour of that Province, acquaints the Society, by his letter dated August 17, 1750, that he should not do Mr. Browne Justice without letting the Society know, that Mr. Browne's Conduct in his station hath been without exception; and that besides his constant attendance on his Duty in his Parish, he had for several years past preached at Nottingham and Barrington, and to the people in the neighbourhood of those towns, which are twenty miles distant from his own Church, and made several Journies to officiate at Dracut, Dunstable, and Lichfield, where two or three churches might be settled to very good Purposes, and, in Truth, in a great many other Places in New England, which are continually soliciting the Society for Missionaries, whom the low Circumstances of the Society will not allow to be sent. Mr. Browne, after a short stay in England, is now on his voyage for New England"

1755. "Mr. Brown, jun, Itinerant Missionary in New Hampshire. Annual Salary 50"

"The Inhabitants of the Province of New Hampshire professing themselves Members of the Church of England, setting forth, in their Petition to the Society, that being dispersed thro' the Several Towns thereof, they cannot afford to maintain Missionaries in them, and are deprived of the benefit of God's word and ordinances in the way that they desire, the Rev. Mr. Browne, the Society's Missionary, the only Clergyman of the Church of England in the Province residing at Portsmouth the chief Town of the Province; where it is impracticable for very many of them to attend on the

* 1742-43.—W. F. G.

† Mr. Roe.—W. F. G.

* Probably "Dracut."—W. F. G.

“public Worship of Almighty God ; and therefore humbly praying, that an Itinerant Missionary might be added to officiate alternately in their several Towns, and they promising to contribute accordingly to the best of their abilities to his better support, the Society thought themselves obliged, out of regard to the populousness of the Province, to consent to this request ; and they have appointed the Rev. Mr. Browne, Son of the Rev. Mr. Browne before mentioned, to be Assistant Minister to his Father in the Province of New Hampshire, and to officiate alternately to these poor People, young Mr. Browne having been educated by his Father for this purpose, and for four years preceding having resided at the University of Dublin, where he followed his studies with diligence, and behaved well, and was admitted to the Degree of Bachelor of Arts, on the 16th day of February 1754, as appears from a Testimonial in his favour, under the Seal of that University : and Mr. Browne, after receiving Deacon's and Priest's Orders in our Church, is now on his return to New Hampshire, where there are well grounded hopes he will be to good Purpose and very usefully employed, as well as all the other Missionaries in New England, under the good Providence of God, and his kind assisting grace thro' our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.”

1759. “The Rev. Mr. Browne the Society's Missionary at Portsmouth in the Colony of New Hampshire, acquaints the Society in his letter of November 2, 1758, That his Parish increases and that he had lately visited some of the other towns, and particularly Salem and Plaston* between forty and fifty miles distant from Portsmouth, and had preached and baptized some children among them, and that he intended very soon to visit Barrington, Nottingham, Epsom and Canterbury, whence he had received very marked invitations ; he adds, that the People in those new Towns are altogether destitute of Common Prayer Books, and other religious Tracts, which the Society therefore has ordered to be sent to him by the first opportunity to be distributed according to his best discretion.”

1761. “And the church at Newport intreat the Society by a petition, dated Sept 23, 1760, to grant them another Missionary in the room of Mr. Pollen, then about to leave them ; and they take the liberty to mention the Rev. Marmaduke Browne, the Society's Itinerant Missionary in New-Hampshire, as a Clergyman of a very good character, who had lately officiated to them, to the great satisfaction of the congregation, and they hoped to be quite happy

“under his pastoral care, would the Society be so good as to appoint him to that Mission. This the Society have granted, Mr. Marmaduke Browne joining in the request, together with his Father the Society's Missionary at Portsmouth in New Hampshire, who writes in his Letter of December 10th 1760 that his congregation at Portsmouth increases, and they talk of enlarging the church, and that he took upon him sometimes the office of an Itinerant in his Son's Stead, who then supplied his place in the church at Portsmouth, and in those Travels had visited Nottingham, Barrington, and Canterbury several times with good success, and the adjacent Towns of Rumford* Bow and Contotock : † and they discover a very favourable Disposition towards our Church, by attending its services, and presenting their children to Baptism : the Inhabitants of Nottingham and Barrington have agreed to join together in building a Church in a convenient Place to accommodate both towns, and they are making the necessary preparations to qualify themselves for a settled Minister, agreeable to the Terms of the Society ; and Mr. Browne desires to know whether he may be permitted to send to England a proper person for Holy Orders, if such an one can be procured in those parts, to succeed his Son in the itinerant Mission of New Hampshire, should the Society be pleased to grant him the mission of the Church of Newport. To this likewise the Society hath readily consented, they finding it very difficult at present to provide good and able Missionaries to supply the vacancies which occasionally occur in their missions.”

1763. “This request ‡ seconded by the joint recommendation of the Rev. Arthur Browne, Missionary at Portsmouth in New Hampshire, and the Rev. Mr. Bass, Missionary at Newbury, the Society not finding themselves able at present to comply with, have agreed to desire Mr. Brown and Mr. Bass and other neighbouring Clergy to officiate at Amesbury as often as they can, consistently with their own duty.

“This request § the Society have complied with, having received from Benning Wentworth Esq, Governour of New Hampshire, the Rev. Mr. Arthur Browne, and many others, the fullest Information concerning the character and Qualifications of Mr. Weeks.”

* Rumford, now Concord.—B

† Contotock, perhaps Contoocook. I think this was the name of Boscawen.—B.

‡ “This request” was “the desire to have a minister among them.” They had “built themselves a convenient church ; engaged to build a Parsonage-house ; provided a Glebe ; & pay 20l. sterling pr. Annum, and hope to do more.”—B.

§ This was a request from the people of Marblehead in relation to the settlement of Mr. Weeks.—B.

* Probably Plaistow.—W. F. G.

"The Rev. Mr. Arthur Browne, the Society's Missionary at Portsmouth in New Hampshire, in a Letter dated March 3, 1762, observes, that about 11 years ago, when he was in London, he informed the Society, that the Governor of New Hampshire, Benning Wentworth, Esq: directed him to acquaint them that there were several large Tracts of Land to be granted away in that Province by His Majesty's Authority, which in Process of Time would be very valuable; and that it was his opinion, that, upon the Society's Application to His Majesty, Orders would be issued to him to grant to that Body such Tracts of Land in that Province as should seem good to His Sacred Majesty: and that, upon the issuing such orders, he would faithfully discharge his part in granting and laying out such Lands for their use, as would be most capable of Improvement. He now informs the Society, that the Governor has interested them in 108 Towns, and as there are still more to be granted, intends to interest them in every one he shall hereafter grant. This, Mr. Browne observes, will be an improving Estate; and attended with no Expence, unless the Society should be disposed to cultivate and improve immediately. The interest in each of these Towns will amount to 300 acres or more. He adds, that the Governor has not only made this generous Provision, but has set apart glebes in each of the Towns for the support of the Ministry of the Church of England; and has also granted an equal portion or right to the first settled Minister of the Church of England, and his heirs, with the rest of the Proprietors of every town forever: Thus laying a lasting Foundation for the Growth of the Church in those parts. Upon receiving this Information, the Society directed their Thanks to be returned to Governor Wentworth, for his Zeal and attention to the Interests of the Church of England, desiring a more particular Direction what his Excellency thinks it may be proper for them to do, in order to forward his pious designs. In another Letter, dated July 10: 1762, Mr. Browne acquaints the Board that his Excellency has interested the Society in 12 Towns more, making in all 120.* As to his own Parish, he observes, that it is in a flourishing way, and the church has been lengthened 25 Feet, and finished in a decent manner. He thanks the Society for settling his Son at Newport: but complains, that since his Son's removal from the Itinerant Mission, the care of the Professors of the Church of England throughout New Hampshire devolves upon him: a

"duty he can but poorly discharge, as his particular Flock is too great consequence to be neglected. He has in vain attempted to procure a Gentleman to come home for Orders to succeed his son in the Itinerancy; The Fatality of the Small Pox, and the danger of the Sea, are insurmountable difficulties, and shew the Necessity of an American Bishop. The Society have agreed to appoint an Itinerant Missionary in New Hampshire, as soon as a proper person can be found to undertake that Mission in the Room of Mr. Marmaduke Browne, removed to Newport in Rhode Island."

1764. "The Rev. Mr. Arthur Browne, the Society's Missionary at Portsmouth in New Hampshire, in his Letter dated Oct. 10, 1763, continues to write on the subject of the Lands granted to the Society in New Hampshire, by his Excellency Benning Wentworth the Governor, of which a large account was given in the Abstract published in the year 1763; and recommends the appointment of an Agent duly qualified, to see Justice done in laying out the Rights, and ascertaining the Limits and Bounds of the Several Towns, and preserving the Timber in the Towns where settlements are already made. The Society have had this Matter under their consideration, and are taking the necessary steps to put Things upon a proper Footing.

"As the Society have not been able to procure a proper person to undertake the Itinerant Mission of New Hampshire, they are well pleased to learn, that Mr. Browne has given the People throughout the Province all the assistance in his power, and have given him a gratuity for his extraordinary Services. Since the Conclusion of the year 1754, he has baptized in the whole Province 246 Infants, and 6 adults, among whom were 2 negroes: and has 53 Communicants."

1765. "The Rev. Mr. Arthur Browne, the Society's Missionary at Portsmouth in New Hampshire, in his Letter dated Sept. 28, 1764, acquaints the Society, that since his last he has had an opportunity of visiting several Towns in this Province, and among the rest of preaching and Baptizing in Londonderry, a Town of consequence, chiefly settled by Dissenters from the North of Ireland, where he was received in a friendly manner, and some proposals were made for erecting a church. From Oct. 20. 1763, he baptized 42 Infants."

The Wardens and Vestry of a church in Falmouth, Casco Bay, requested the care of the Society, and the settlement of a Clergyman with them, to which the following refers, "The Society taking into consideration the above petition, together with the recommendation of his Excellency Benning Wentworth Esq. Governor

* For a list of the names of these Towns, Vide, "Power of Attorney to Rev. Benning Wentworth," which follows this article.—W. F. G.

“of New Hampshire have agreed to appoint Mr. Wiswall Missionary at Falmouth in Casco Bay, provided the People of Falmouth execute and send over a bond to the Society to pay him a certain sum annually, and provide him a house and glebe.”

1767. “The Rev. Mr. Arthur Browne, the Society’s Missionary at Portsmouth in New Hampshire, in his Letter dated May 24, 1766, recommends Mr. Moses Badger, a native of new England, educated at Harvard College, as a suitable Person for the Itinerant Mission in New Hampshire, being well acquainted with the Manners and Customs of the People he is designed to officiate among, and very acceptable to them. The establishment of this mission, it is hoped, will prove a happy Event to great numbers of people scattered up and down in the newly settled Townships in this Government, and be a means of securing some of those many valuable Grants made to the Society by Governor Wentworth. Mr. Browne’s own Parishioners are at peace among themselves; but the quiet of the Town, he says, is greatly interrupted by one *Sandeman*, whose scheme is to explode the usefulness of Prayer and Preaching, and to damn all opposers. Of this Gentleman another missionary writes, that he seems filled with Bitterness against all established Churches, and is generally suspected to be no Friend to the Protestant Interest. And another complaining of the pernicious tendency of Mr. Sandeman’s preaching, says, that it seems designed to propagate Infidelity and Libertinism under a notion of free grace, and that the sum of his doctrine is, that Christ has done all and everything for our salvation which God requires of us: that the mere Belief or assent to this report is saving Faith, and to have the least Solicitude about anything, which we have in order to obtain Salvation, is the damning sin of Unbelief, in which all the christian world, except his sect, is involved.”

1768. “The Rev. Mr. Arthur Browne, Missionary at Portsmouth in New Hampshire, by a letter of the 6th, of November 1767, informs the Society of the arrival of Mr. Badger, whom he describes to be well calculated for the office of an *Itinerant*, being hardy, strong, resolute, active and diligent, and that he gives universal satisfaction wherever he goes. Mr. Brownes Parishioners live in harmony and peace and increase in numbers: but the communicants are comparatively few.

“There are two letters from Mr. Badger, the *Itinerant* Missionary in New Hampshire, both dated from Portsmouth; the one of December 17, 1767, the other of August 5, 1768. In the former he writes, that since his arrival in the end of September he had visited every

town in the province, where there are any number who belong to the Church of England: that they appear well pleased with his administrations, and promise to do all in their power to render his life agreeable, and that the Governor and Mr. Browne give him all the Assistance they can. In the second, he mentions a variety of places where he has preached, both on Sundays and week-days: that the distance of the Towns is so great, that scarcely any two can attend the public worship together, which increases the labour of his mission, and, as he expresses it, keeps him continually on horseback. The number of souls under his care amount to 1132—at present, which at his first coming did not exceed 740. In less than 11 months he has baptised 107 children, 1 female adult, and 1 negro. Hitherto he has been obliged to perform divine service, and to administer the sacrament in private houses for want of more convenient places.”

1769-70. “Mr. Samuel Cole, Schoolmaster at Claremont—£ 15—”

“By a letter from the Rev. Mr. Badger, Itinerant Missionary in New Hampshire, of Jan. 5, 1769, the very agreeable information is made to the Society, that the Governor’s attention to the interests of religion and the good of the people, is so strong and conspicuous, that Several small churches are about to be erected in different parts of the province, which seem to be very much wanted, as Mr. Badger complains of not having a proper place for the administration of the Lords Supper.

“A representation has been made to the Society from the people of Claremont, in the province of New Hampshire, which is 140 miles distant from Portsmouth,* a wild uncultivated place, in which they began to settle about 2 years ago.—That having already some portion of land allotted for the use of a schoolmaster, but not sufficient for his encouragement, and having agreed to build a school-house and being under great want of somebody to teach their children, they are induced to solicit the help of the Society, who, having considered their case, and having had the strongest recommendation from the people themselves, and from the Clergy in Connecticut, of Mr. Samuel Cole, Esq: they have appointed him to be school-master there.”

1770-71. “The Rev. Mr. Badger, Itinerant Missionary in New Hampshire, in a letter dated Portsmouth, July 2, 1770, acquaints the Society, That the people discover more inclination towards religion, are more constant in their attendance, and embrace all opportunities of instruction. In the preceeding year he has baptized

* Then by the way of Keene.—D.

84, and had 62 communicants."

1771-72. "Favourable accounts have been received from the Missionaries in New Hampshire and Massachusetts."

"Mr. Cole's School, lately established by the Society, at Claremont, answers their expectation. He has near 30 constant Scholars, besides some children of Dissenters."

"Advice has been received of the death of the Rev. Mr. Marmaduke Browne, the Society's worthy Missionary at Newport in Rhode Island."

1772-73. "and Mr. Cole Schoolmaster at Claremont, writes, that he hath made considerable additions to his School, to which many Dissenters send their Children, and that his scholars are now 40 in number."

1773-74. "Mr. Runna Cossit, Missionary at Haverhill £ 25."

"The Society have been favoured with a letter from his Excellency, John Wentworth: Esq. Governor of New Hampshire informing them of the death of Mr. Arthur Browne, their late Missionary at Portsmouth: expressing his wishes for the speedy appointment of a successor to that very worthy person, who appears to have been very deservedly high in the esteem of his parishioners; and representing the present candid spirit of the Dissenters as a happy opportunity of promoting the interests of the Society in the interior parts of his Province. And the Society have assured his excellency that they will readily concur with him in every good design to the uttermost of their abilities."

"By a letter from the Rev. Mr. Cossit, whom the Society have appointed their Missionary at Haverhill, &c. with a Salary of 25 £. a year, it appears, that by the assistance and influence of Governor Wentworth, the people of Claremont, have erected a church fifty feet in length and thirty-eight feet wide. He expresses much satisfaction in the good disposition of his people: since his entrance upon his mission he hath baptized 31 infants, and administered the sacrament in several places. The number of Communicants at Claremont are 24."

1774-75. "The Society have been favoured with a letter from his Excellency Governor Wentworth, assuring them of the inability of the people of Portsmouth to support a minister without the assistance of the Society, and of the bad consequences to religion that will ensue from their withdrawing it. They therefore think it expedient to profess their intention of paying all due regard to his Excellency's representation. With that view the mission hath been long ago offered to a person of distinguished character, but from the miscarriage of letters that person's resolution hath not yet been notified to the Society. As soon as that hath been

"done, the Society will appoint that worthy person or some other, to that important mission, with as large an allowance as the circumstances of the Society will justify."

"A letter from Mr. Badger, dated October 10, 1774, brings the Society the first authentic information of his having, through inability to perform so laborious a duty, quitted the itinerant mission of New Hampshire, and engaged himself as an assistant to Dr. Caner at Boston. His former notice given in the preceding April never reached the Society, whom he now thanks very respectfully for their assistance, and assures them of the increasing state of the mission at the time of his leaving it."

"The Rev. Mr. Cossit acquaints the Society that he hath preached in thirteen different towns in the province, in each of which he found some members of the Church, who had formerly been under the care of the Connecticut clergy. He hath buried 3, and baptized 44 children, and 2 adults, in his own mission."

"The Society have received one letter from Mr. Cole, their Schoolmaster at Claremont, of a distant date, in which he hath omitted to give any account of the State of his School."

"The Rev. Mr. Bass* in the last year hath baptized . . 11 in the province of New Hampshire."

1775-76. "Dr. Mather Byles Missionary at Portsmouth [9] 50"

"The Rev. Dr. Byles acquaints the Society that on Easter Tuesday last himself and the proprietors of Christ Church had parted by mutual consent; and that he had closed with the unanimous request of the Portsmouth congregation, by accepting of that mission kindly offered to him by the Society. When he was on the point of removing to Portsmouth, such distractions took place in New Hampshire, as rendered his removal unsafe and in a manner impracticable. He therefore still continues at Boston, and performs the duty of a Chaplain to some of the Regiments.†"

"The last and only letter received from Mr. Cossit, dated December 26, 1774, contains an account of his providential escape from a party of 300 men, who threatened his life. . . ."

"The Rev. Mr. Bass, writes that he hath baptized . . 3 children and one adult in New Hampshire, where at present there is one Missionary only, who is in one of the extremities of the province; the Rev. Mr. Addington, ordained last June as the intended successor of Mr. Badger, having hitherto been prevented from entering upon his charge by the distracted state of New Hampshire."

1776-77. "Two letters have reached the

* Of Newbury Port.—B.

† Salary at Boston was 40 £

"Society from the Rev. Mr. Byles, now at Halifax, with five motherless children, for a time, deprived of all the means of support: But in his second letter dated September 30, 1776, he writes that he hath been appointed Chaplain to the garrison.

"Very few letters have been received from the Society's Missionaries in New England, and those few, that have found their way, contain little or no account of their missions."

1777-78. "Two letters have been received from the Rev. Dr. Byles, dated at Halifax, and informing the Society that he still officiates there as Chaplain to the garrison, and endeavours to be as useful as he possibly can."

1778-79. "The Rev. Dr. Byles, Missionary at Portsmouth, still continues at Halifax.

"The Rev. Mr. Cossit, Missionary at Claremont, from whom the Society had not heard since December 1774, writes from New York, January 6. 1779, that he was 'just arrived there, to procure a few necessaries for his family, by a flag of truce—and was to return in a few days. And he gives this account of the treatment he has received, which has also been confirmed by several respectable persons, who are now in New England. That he had received frequent insults, and had been confined a prisoner to the town of Claremont, since the 12th of April, 1775. Notwithstanding which, he had constantly used the public service, without any omissions in the liturgy, and had administered the Sacrament of the Lords Supper on every first Sunday in the month, except twice, when no wine could be procured. That his parishioners and communicants in Claremont have encreased; though cruelly distressed and harassed with fines, for refusing to fight against the King. In sundry places, where he used to officiate, the church people are all dwindled away: some having fled to the Kings army for protection, some been banished, and others dead. Particularly, that Mr. Cole, the Society's schoolmaster at Claremont, died about a year ago, and he has taken what care he could of the school since his death.'"

1779-80. "Few have been the advices to the Society concerning the Situation of their Missionaries in this province." *

1781-82. "New England. The situation of affairs in these Colonies hath cut off almost all correspondence with the Missionaries, who still reside upon their respective cures. Some general informations however have come to the Society from other hands, by which it should seem that the church rather increases than diminishes, and the condition of the Ministers

"not so distressing as it has been. In particular, that the Episcopal congregations in the Massachusetts and New Hampshire have greatly encreased, even where they have had no ministry.

* * * * *

"The church of Portsmouth, which had been much damaged in the beginning of the troubles, hath lately been repaired, and a Mr. Adams, a young man bred at Dartmouth College, officiates there to a very decent congregation.

"One letter dated January 10. 1781, hath been received from Mr. Ranna Cossit, Missionary at Haverhill in New Hampshire, in which he acquaints the Society, that after his return from New York in the winter of 1779, he was beyond measure harrassed and insulted, and put to great expence, equal to the money he had obtained from his bills on the Society. That ever since he had been confined to his parish, and not permitted to go beyond the limits of the town in which he resides, without leave of a Committee. He continues however to read as much of the church service as the times will admit."

1782-83. "New England. More Letters have been received from Missionaries of New England, in the course of the last year, than in any preceding since the commencement of the troubles in America, and very large draughts have been upon the Society for Salaries of former years.

"In the general, it is to be collected from the Missionaries letters, that the times were grown more mild, and happier prospects seemed to be breaking forth, the church people being suffered to live more quietly, the churches again opened, and divine service performed, wherever there are Clergymen to officiate, and the Clergy themselves increasing in esteem for their steady conduct, in diligently attending to the duties of their calling, and preaching the gospel, unmixed with the politics of the day."

1783-84. In *A List of those Missionaries who remain officiating in the Independent States, to whom the Society at present pay salaries*, is the name of "Mr. Ranna Cossit, Missionary at Claremont in New Hampshire. £ 25."

The above extracts contain all the notices of the early history of the Church in New Hampshire, which are to be found in the *Abstracts of the Proceedings of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*.

EDW. BALLARD.

March 1829—

Genl. Theol. Seminary of the Prot. Epis^c Church in the United States

"Prior to 1638, an Episcopal church or chapel

* New England.—B.

"was erected at Portsmouth, and Rev. Richard Gibson was the first minister, who remained till 1642"—FARMER'S *Gazetteer of N. H.*

See Farmer's Edition of Belknap's *History of New Hampshire*, i., 234.

Ranna Cossit. See the same, 324 note.

II.—POWER OF ATTORNEY TO REV. RANNA COSSIT.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE POSSESSION OF HORACE A. BROWN, ESQ., OF CONCORD, N. H.

TO ALL TO WHOM THESE PRESENTS shall come The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts send Greeting WHEREAS the Governor and Council of the Province of New Hampshire in New England in America did several Years ago make Grants to the said Society of, or interest the said Society in, divers considerable Quantities of Land lying near to or within the several Towns of Chesterfield, Westmoreland, Walpole, Richmond, Westminster, Rockingham, Boyle, Stamford, Woodford, Keene, Townsend, Charles Town, Swansey, Winchester, Hinsdale, Brattleborough, Fullum, Putney, Flamstead, Guilford, Thomlinson, Pownall, Lebanon, Enfield, Hartford, Hanover, Norwich, Windsor, Reading, Saltash, Killington, Lime, Dorchester, Cockermouth, Pomfret, Canaan, Woodstock, Hertford, Bridgewater, Grant-ham, Bernard, Stockbridge, Arlington, Sunderland, Stratton, Sandgate, Manchester, Thetford, Stratford, Grafton, Plainfield, Sharon, Shaftesbury, Glassenbury, Rupert, Springfield, Dorsett, Weatherfield, Pawlett, Danby, Harwick, Tunbridge, Shrewsbury, Clarendon, Rutland, Somerset, Fairtree, Bath, Winhall, Wells, Timmouth, Ludlow, Poulney, Castleton, Orford, Romney, Leinster, Newport, Marlow, Shoreham, Campton, Bridport, Guildhall, Granby, Pittsford, Caven-dish, Maidstone, Ferdinand, Brunswick, Wenlock, Bramleys, Andover, Addison, Neshobe, Leicester, Stonington, New Holderness, New Haven, Middlebury, Salisbury, Weybridge, Cornwall, Panton, New Fane, New Flampstead, Lyman, New Burnet, Wallingford, Ferrisburg, Monkton, Charlotta, Hinesbourg, Woodbury, Preston, Dryden, Pocock, Minthead, Limington, Lewis, and Averhill in the said Province of New Hampshire for the several Charitable purposes in the said Grants mentioned—

NOW THESE PRESENTS WITNESS that the said Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts Have made Ordained Constituted and appointed and by these presents (Sealed with the Common Seal of the said Society) Do make Ordain Constitute and appoint and in their place and stead put His Excellency John

Wentworth Esquire Governor of New Hampshire Peter Livius Esquire Chief Justice of New Hampshire and the Reverend Mr. Ranna Cossit Missionary at Haverhill in the Province of New Hampshire and the Survivors or Survivor or any one or more of them the said Society's true and Lawful attorneys and Attorney for and on behalf and in the Name of the said Society to Execute Do and perform all such Acts Matters and things whatsoever as shall or may be needful necessary or expedient for the allotting locating Surveying bounding and Dividing the several Lands in the severall Towns aforesaid or elsewhere within the said Province which have been or shall hereafter be granted to the said Society or any Person or Persons *IN TRUST* for them or wherein the said Society have been or shall hereafter be Interested in or Intitled to as aforesaid (Save and Except such Lands and Heraditaments as have been Claimed to be any way Subject to or under the Jurisdiction of New York) and in or about the Issuing out Patents or Grants for the said Lands or any of them or otherwise in or about the making obtaining or perfecting good and sufficient Estates or Titles to the said Society therein or thereto and also all such other acts matters and things whatsoever as shall or may be requisite or expedient for Maintaining Supporting and preserving the Rights Title and Interest of the said Society in or to the said Lands or any of them not Claimed as aforesaid as fully and effectually to all Intents and purposes as if the same was done by the said Society So as the said Society shall not in the making doing and Executing all or any of the Acts Matters or things before mentioned by their said Attorneys or any of them be put to or be Obligated to pay any Sum or Sums of Money Costs Charges or Expences exceeding the Sum of twenty pounds Sterling unless with the Consent and approbation of the said Society first had and obtained in Writing under the Seal of the said Society And the said Society in all other respects doth hereby ratify and confirm all and whatsoever their said Attorneys or any of them shal Lawfully do or cause to be done in the premises pursuant to these presents *IN WITNESS* whereof the said Society have caused their Common Seal to be affixed to these presents this Twenty fifth day of April in the fourteenth year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the third by the Grace of God of Great Britain France and Ireland King Defender of the faith &c and in the year of our Lord One thousand Seven hundred and Seventy four. /

.....
Seal
.....

III.—“ASSOCIATION TEST,” IN 1776, IN CLAREMONT.

FROM THE NEW HAMPSHIRE ARCHIVES, NOW FIRST PRINTED.

TO THE SELECT MEN OF CLAREMONT.

COLONY OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

IN COMMITTEE OF SAFETY.

April 12th, 1776.

IN Order to carry the under written RESOLVE of the Hon'ble Continental Congress into Execution, You are requested to desire all Males above Twenty One Years of Age (Lunatics, Idiots, and Negroes excepted) to sign to the DECLARATION on this Paper; and when so done, to make Return hereof, together with the Name or Names of all who shall refuse to sign the same, to the GENERAL ASSEMBLY, or Committee of Safety of this Colony.

M. WEARE, Chairman.

IN CONGRESS. March 14th 1776.

RESOLVED,

THAT it be recommended to the several Assemblies, Conventions, and Councils, or Committees of Safety of the United Colonies, *immediately* to cause all Persons to be *disarmed*, within their Respective Colonies, who are *notoriously* disaffected to the Cause of AMERICA, Or who have not associated, and refuse to associate, to defend by ARMS, the United Colonies, against the Hostile Attempts of the British Fleets and Armies.

Extract from the Minutes.

CHARLES THOMSON, Sec'y.

In consequence of the above Resolution, of the Hon. Continental CONGRESS, and to shew our Determination in joining our American Brethren, in defending the Lives, Liberties, and Properties of the Inhabitants of the UNITED COLONIES:

We the *Subscribers*, do hereby solemnly engage, and promise, that we will, to the utmost of our Power, at the Risque of our Lives and Fortunes, with ARMS, oppose the Hostile Proceedings of the British Fleets, and Armies, *against the United American COLONIES*.

CLAREMONT May 30th 1776.

In Compliance to the above Declaration, we have Shone the Declaration to All the Inhabitants of this Town and the Associate are those who have Signed to this paper.

MATTHIAS STONE) Select-
ASA JONES) men.

The following Names of those Who are twenty Years of Age and upward

THOMAS GOODWIN EBENEZER DUDLEY

JOSEPH YORK
MATTHIAS STONE
JACOB RICE
WILLIAM OSGOOD
ASA JONES
JOHN SPENCER
LEMUEL HUBBARD
CHRISTOPHER YORK
DAVID BATES
T. STERNE
BARNABAS ELLIS
JOEL ROYS
JOSEPH HUBBARD
AMASA FULLER
JEREM^s SPENCER
PATRICK FIELDS
GIDEON LEWIS
SETH LEWIS
JOSIAH STEVENS
JOHN KILBORN
JOHN PEAKE
JOHN WEST
SAMUEL TUTTLE
STEPHEN HIGE
CHARLES HIGBE
EDWARD GOODWIN
EPHRAINE FRENCH
JOSEPH IVES
ELIHU STEVENS JUN^r
ICHABOD HITCHCOCK
SAMUEL LEWS
ABNER MATTHEWS
ELIHU STEPHENS
JONAS STUARD
BERIAH MURRY
THOMAS DASTON
TIMOTHY DASTON

DANIEL CURTIS
JOSIAH RICH
OLEVER ELLSWORTH
JONATHAN PARKER
DAVID RICH
EBENEZER WASHBURN
BILL BARNS
JOHN ADKINS
AMAZIAH KNIGHTS
JOHN GOSS
EZRA JONES
WILLIAM SIMS
DAVID ADKINS
TIMOTHY ADKINS
EDWARD AINSWORTH
NATHANIEL GOSS
JOEL MATTHEWS
OLIVER TUTTLE
AMOS CONANT
SAM^l ASHLEY
JOHN SPRAGUE
ADAM ALDEN
DAVID LYND
OLIVER ASHLEY
ELEAZER CLARK
ELEAZER CLARK JUN^r
MOSES SPAFORD
BENJAMIN TOWNER

N. B. These are the Names of those Who have Actually taken up arms and are Now in the Continental army
Lieut^t Cor^l JOSEPH WAIT
Lieut^t JOSEPH TAYLOR
En^c THOMAS JONES
S. ABNER MATTHEWS JUN^r
JAMES GOODEN
JONATHAN FULLER
PETER FULLER
REUBEN SPENCER
GORSHAM YORK
BENJ^m TOWNER JUN^r
DAVID LOYNDS JUN^r
CHARLES LOYNDS
HENRY STEPHENS
JONATHAN YORK
JOSEPH YORK JUN^r

The Rev^d
AUGUSTEN HIBBARD
Chaplain &c.

The Names of those Who Refuse to Sign the Declaration

JOHN THOMAS DANIEL WORNER JUN^r
Cap^t BENJAMIN BROOKS Doc^t WILLIAM SUMNER
BARNABAS BROOKS EBENEZER ROYS
Cap^t BENJAMIN SUMNER JOSEPH NORTON

REV. RANSA COSSIT *
 CORNELIUS BROOK CLAREMONT
 SAM^L COLE ESQ^R
 DANIEL WORNER
 LEVI WORNER
 WILLIAM COY
 Enoch Judd
 EZEKIEL Judd JR^L
 LEO BENJAMIN TAYLER
 TIMOTHY GRANT
 HAZARIAH ROYS
 ASA LEAT
 BEN^L LEAT
 EZEKIEL Judd
 JAMES STEAL
 AMOS SNOW
 JOHN HITCHCOCK
 DAVID DODGE
 SAMUEL THOMAS
 AMOS COLE
 EZEKIEL EDSON
 BENJAMIN PETERSON
 BENJAMIN BROOKS, JR

CLAREMONT May 30th 1776

The Declaration having been Shone to the
 within Named persons they Refus to Sign

Witness—MATTHIAS STONE / Select
 ASA JONES / Men

IV.—PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIRST CON- VENTION OF THE PROTESTANT EPIS- COPAL CHURCHES IN NEW HAMPS- SHIRE.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT.†

At a Convention of the Clergy and Delegates
 of the Protestant Episcopal Churches in New-
 Hampshire held at Concord the twenty fifth day
 of August in the year of our Lord one thousand
 eight hundred and two.

PRESENT

Reverend Joseph Willard Rector of St John's
 Church in Portsmouth
 Honorable James Sheafe and Nathaniel Adams
 Esq^r Delegates from St Johns Church Ports-
 mouth

* Rev. Mr. Cossit went to England, in 1772, for Holy Or-
 ders, and was ordained by the Bishop of London; returned
 in 1773; and took charge of the Church in Claremont. The
 Bishop recalled him in 1785, and sent him to the Island of
 Cape Breton. He died at Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, in 1815,
 aged seventy-five years. The Rev. Daniel Barber succeeded
 him, at Claremont, in 1785, and remained there till 1818.—
 W. F. G.

† This Journal, in possession of Mr. Horace A. Brown,
 of Concord, Secretary of the Convention, extends from
 1802 to 1844. The *Proceedings* were first printed in 1829,
 and annually since. Those of the first twenty-seven years
 should be printed; and we hope the subject may be care-
 fully considered at the next Convention. The loss of them
 would be greatly lamented by future generations.—W. F. G.

Reverend Robert Fowle Rector of the Church in
 Holderness

Honorable Arthur Livermore and Richard Shep-
 ard Esq^r Delegates from the Church in Holders-
 ness.

Reverend Daniel Barber Rector of the Church in
 Claremont

Dudley Chase Esq^r and Mr Nathaniel Hall Dele-
 gates from the Church in Cornish

Hon^{ble} Arthur Livermore was appointed Chairman
 of this Convention

Nathaniel Adams Esq^r was appointed Secretary
 to the Convention

Rev^d Joseph Willard Rev^d Daniel Barber & Nath^l
 Adams Esq^r were appointed a Committee to draw
 up rules of order, who reported the following

- 1 The yeas and Nays taken on any question be-
 fore this convention shall be by Churches and
 each congregation represented shall have one vote
2. The yeas and nays shall be taken on any
 question when three members shall request it
- 3 The concurrence of both Clerical and Lay
 deputies shall be necessary to the validity of
 every measure
- 4 all questions of order shall be decided by the
 chairman

Which being read, were adopted by the Con-
 vention

The Rev^d Mr Barber and Dudley Chase Esq^r pro-
 duced a Vote from the Convention of the
 Churches in the western part of Newhampshire
 and eastern part of Vermont authorizing them to
 confer with this convention on such measures as
 may probably tend to unite all the Protestant
 Episcopal Churches within the two States in one
 diocese—Which being duly considered

RESOLVED That it is the opinion of this con-
 vention that they are not authorized by their re-
 spective Churches to act upon the above business

Rev^d Mr Fowle, Rev^d Mr Barber and Rev^d Mr
 Willard were appointed a committee to draw up
 a Constitution for the protestant Episcopal
 Churches in Newhampshire who made report and
 after due consideration the Convention have
 unanimously agreed upon the following

ECCLESIASTICAL CONSTITUTION* FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE STATE OF NEWHAMPSHIRE

ARTICLE I.

A Convention of the Protestant Episcopal
 Churches in this State who shall accede to this
 constitution consisting of the Clergymen of said
 Churches and one or more deputies not exceeding
 three being laymen to be annually chosen by their
 respective congregations shall be holden at Con-

* This Constitution was revised June 26, 1839.—W. F. G.

cord on the third wednesday of august annually
But the convention may alter the time and place
of holding the annual meeting

ARTICLE 2.

The Convention shall have full power and authority to make canons or Regulations for the government of the Churches in this State provided such Canons or Regulations are not inconsistent with the constitution or canons of the protestant episcopal church in these united States, which constitution and canons are hereby most solemnly and formally adopted and shall ever hereafter be considered binding in all cases whatever upon the members of the Convention and upon every congregation represented by them And the convention is hereby authorized either by their standing committee or in such other way as in their judgment will most effectually promote the interest of the Church in this State, immediately to take into possession all and every right and parcel of land formerly granted and reserved for this Church and to apply the income of the same from time to time in such a manner as they conceive will best promote the growth and prosperity of the Episcopal churches in this State

ARTICLE 3d

In every Convention holden under this Constitution the members present at ten o Clock A M on the day aforesaid or any other time which may hereafter be appointed shall be fully competent to proceed on business and may adjourn from day to day till the whole be completed

ARTICLE 4th

The Clergy and Lay Deputies shall deliberate in one body but shall vote as two distinct orders and the concurrence of both orders shall be necessary to the validity of every measure

ARTICLE 5th

Every Lay Deputy shall previously to his admission to a seat in the Convention produce a certificate of his being chosen signed by the wardens or by the Clerk of the Congregation he represents

ARTICLE 6th

No Deputy shall represent more than one Congregation and each congregation shall have one vote.

ARTICLE 7th

In Convention a person shall be chosen to preside with the title of President, until a Bishop shall be duly consecrated and settled in this Church, who shall by virtue of his office be a member of the Convention and when present shall preside therein

ARTICLE 8th

No Bishop shall ever be elected for this Church but at the annual Convention, and three months notice shall be given of the same by the standing committee, & every such election shall be by ballot

ARTICLE 9th

A standing Committee shall be chosen annually to consist of Five persons two of whom shall be Clergymen who shall have power to act during the recess of the Convention, upon all such matters as the good of the Church may require, to call special meetings of the Convention if they think it necessary and to provide a suitable place for the assembling thereof—But no business shall be transacted at any special meeting of the Convention other than such as shall be mentioned in the notification for such meeting. And the said Committee shall at the annual convention make a true and faithful report in writing of all their doings which shall be recorded by the Secretary with the sence of the Convention thereupon

ARTICLE 10th

A Secretary shall be appointed by the Convention removable at pleasure who shall keep a fair record of the resolves and proceedings of the Convention and of the Standing Committee and have the same in his custody so long as he shall continue in office

ARTICLE 11th

A Treasurer shall be annually appointed by the Convention as soon as the Finances of the Church require it, who shall receive all monies that may become due either from the leases of the Church land or in any other way: but no monies shall be paid out by him, except in consequence of appropriations made by the Convention at their annual meeting

ARTICLE 12th

The Trustees of the lands granted to the Society for propagating the Gospel in foreign parts shall be entitled to a seat in Convention and to have one vote

ARTICLE 13th

Standing rules for the orderly conducting of business shall be established by the Convention

ARTICLE 14th

No alteration of this constitution shall take place without the concurrence of four fifths of the members of the convention nor unless such alterations be proposed at a preceeding convention

DONE IN CONVENTION by the unanimous consent of the Subscribers Clerical and Lay Deputies of the Episcopal Churches in the State of

New Hampshire at Concord on the 25th day of August in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and two

JOSEPH WILLARD Rect^r St. Johns church

JAMES SHEAFE) Delegates from St. Johns

NATHL. ADAMS) church Portsmo^t

ROBT FOWLE Rector of the Church Newholderness

ARTHUR LIVERMORE) Delegates from the

RICHARD SHEPARD) Church in Holderness

DUDLEY CHASE) Delegates from the Church

NATHL. HALL) in Cornish

VOTED That the Secretary transmit Copies of the foregoing constitution to the several churches in this State requesting them after taking the same into Consideration to signify their approbation of or objection to same

The Convention adjourned without day ;

Signed by order of the Convention

ARTHUR LIVERMORE

V.—ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, CONCORD, N. H.

FROM THE JOURNALS OF THE CONVENTIONS OF THE CLERGY AND DELEGATES OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCHES, IN NEW HAMPSHIRE, FROM 1822 TO 1844.

[JUNE 1818.] The Society in Concord reported that they had associated and formed an Episcopal Church by the name of St. Thomas' Chapel and had elected the Rev^d Charles Burroughs their Rector, who had accepted the appointment

St. Thomas' Chapel in Concord of which the Rev^d Mr. Burroughs has been chosen Rector was organized in March 1818. It meets in the court house where the services are read on Sundays by a Lay reader. It has about 13 families and 10 communicants.

[JUNE 1819.] By Albe Cady Esquire Clerk of St. Thomas Chapel Concord—Since the formation of this Society in January 1817 there have been 12 baptisms and 7 confirmations—Religious services have been regularly performed on Sundays, generally by a Lay reader. For a short time past the Society has been favored with the ministrations of the Rev^d Mr. Marshall.

AUGUST 1821.] That Christ church at Hopkinton and Saint Thomas's Church at Concord have the last year been favored with the stated services of a clergyman, the Rev. John L. Blake who removed into the State in November last : That the members of the church in Hopkinton are eminently distinguished for their commendable zeal and attention to the rubrics ; that the parish in Concord is now furnished with a convenient chapel fitted up with pews, &c, especially for the purpose ; that the congregation is increasing, and that arrangements are making for the

permanency of this church.

[Aug. 22, 1822.] No sensible alteration has taken place at Saint Thomas's Chapel in Concord ; but it is mentioned with gratitude from that Church, that an elegant service of plate for the use of the altar has been presented it by the pious munificence of individuals in Portsmouth.

The following letter addressed to the President of the Convention was received, and ordered to be entered on the Journal ; to wit :—

AUG. 21. 1822.

REV. and DEAR SIR,

Since the last annual convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in this State, I have received a Service of Plate for the use of the altar in Saint Thomas's Chapel at Concord, consisting of one Flagon, one Christening Bason, two Cups and two Patens of silver plated ware, to be held by the Hon. Samuel Green and Mr Sampson Bullard, wardens of said chapel, and by their successors in office, in trust for the use of said altar ; but should the parish of said chapel at any time hereafter become extinct, or should the worship of the Protestant Episcopal Church cease to be duly and statedly celebrated in Concord, the Bishop of the Diocese of New Hampshire may claim said Service of Plate to be held by him and his Successor in office for such other Episcopal Church in New Hampshire as he may think deserving of such a charity :—it being the pious munificence of members belonging to Saint John's Church in Portsmouth. And I have to request that this condition be entered upon the Records of the Church in New Hampshire for the benefit of all concerned ; and that a copy of the same be forwarded to the Rt. Rev. A. V. Griswold.

Very respectfully,

J. L. BLAKE.

Rector of St. Thomas' Chapel

[JUNE 10, 1835.] The Rector* also reports that he officiated at Concord on the last Sunday in May and that the prospect of gathering a church in that flourishing town is thought to be very encouraging.

[MAY 25, 1836.] The Rector* further reports, that he has officiated in Concord one Sunday in each month from May 1835 to March 1836. He has also held an evening service in that place from the first Sunday in July to the second Sunday in September, on those days in which he did not perform the regular service there. Respectable congregations have attended on those occasions. He has also baptised one adult and attended one funeral in Concord.

* Rev. Moses Bailey Chase, Rector of St. Andrew's Church, Hopkinton, New Hampshire.—W. F. G.

[JUNE 28, 1837.] On motion of Dr. Burroughs, it was Resolved, that a Committee to inquire and ascertain the facts in relation to the organization of Saint Pauls Church and Society in Concord, and to report on the expediency of admitting the said Church into union with the other churches in the State; And thereupon, the Rev. Messrs. Burroughs and Chase and Messrs. Harris and Rice were appointed to constitute said Committee.

The business of the Convention being resumed, the Committee to whom had been referred the subject of admitting Saint Paul's Church recently organized in Concord, into a union with the other churches in the State reported as follows:

"WHEREAS it appears from the Records of the Convention of 1803, 1805, and 1830, that 'any number of Episcopalians who may be desirous to form a church, and be received into union with the other churches of this State, shall, for one year preceeding their admission, regularly assemble on Sundays and attend divine worship, and the administration of the ordinances, according to the Liturgy and practice of the Protestant Episcopal Church.'—AND WHEREAS it appears, to the Satisfaction of this Convention, that a number of Episcopalians at Concord have formed themselves into a society, or parish, by the name of the Wardens and Vestry of Saint Pauls church, and have in conformity to a law of the State, enacted July 3, 1827. 'empowering religious associations to assume and exercise corporate powers,' given public notice of the formation of said Society: and also have organized, by the choice of parish officers and a rector, and for more than one year have regularly assembled on Sundays, attended divine service and the administration of the ordinances, and have acceded to the constitution—the Committee therefore recommend that the said Church be admitted into union with the other churches in the State, and to a participation in the proceedings of their conventions."

And the said Report being read and considered; was received and accepted—and therefore it was

RESOLVED that Saint Paul's Church, in Concord, having conformed to the usual requirements, and acceded to the constitution, be received into a union with the other Episcopal churches in the State, and to a representation in their conventions.

From Saint Paul's Church, in Concord, P. S. Ten Broeck, Rector. This Parish is in an en-*

* Rev. Mr. Ten Broeck was a native of New York. He was the first regularly instituted Rector over the Society in Portland, Maine; and remained there from 1819 till 1831.—W. F. G.

couraging condition. It has been made a Missionary station by, and receives valuable aid from the Foreign and Domestic Missionary Society. It is also under obligations to the Trustees of Donations for pecuniary assistance. The Sunday School connected with it is interesting and useful, though small, The Governor of the State and other gentlemen of the first respectability are among the teachers. There are two liturgy classes in it. The ladies of the parish have formed a Society for the Church, called the Sewing Circle of Saint Pauls Church, Concord. They are doing well. The want of a Church in which to assemble for worship is more and more felt, but the pressure of the times has prevented any measures to erect one to be taken by the Vestry. This Parish has sustained a severe loss in the loss of Mr John West,* who was one of the most efficient and devoted friends of our Zion. Communicants 17—marriage 1—Sunday scholars 30—teachers 7—Collected for Domestic Missions \$14.57.—

[JUNE 27, 1838.] *Saint Paul's Church at Concord. Rev. P. S. Ten Broeck, Rector.*—Communicants, 21—added 6—removed 2—Baptisms—8 adults, 7 children—Marriage 1—Funerals 3—Collected at monthly missionary Services \$51.48.

[JUNE 20, 1839.] *From Saint Paul's Church, Concord, Petrus S. Ten Broeck, Rector.* Since the last Convention, measures have been taken to build a church in this parish. They have been prudently and zealously arranged and carried into operation. A house of prayer is now being erected by the friends of our Zion, upon a lot of land eligibly and centrally situated on Park street, fronting the State-house yard. The anticipated completion of this building has brightened the prospects of the church in Concord and much do her members and friends desire the prayers of the church at large, that they may be favored with spiritual prosperity. It is hoped that this edifice will be ready for consecration some time in the autumn.

Added 5 communicants, present number, 26, Baptisms, 1 adult, 2 infants, total, 3; marriage, one couple; females, 2; Sunday school, 7 teachers, 30 scholars.—

[JUNE 24, 1840.] *St. Paul's church, Concord, the Rev. Petrus Stuyvesant Ten Broeck, Rector,* Since the last convention, a neat and commodious Church has been erected in Concord for the parish of St. Paul's. It was consecrated to the service of Almighty God by the Rt. Rev. Bishop Griswold, on the first of January last; and on the day following the Rev. P. S. Ten Broeck was instituted Rector. The attendance has been gradually increasing. For some months past the rector has preached thrice on Sunday in the

* He died the seventeenth of October, 1836, aged forty-eight years.—W. F. G.

church, and held service one evening in the week at a private house. He has also attended to catechetical instruction. The Sunday school numbers more than fifty scholars and seven teachers. There has been but one baptism, one marriage and one funeral. In addition to other missionary collections, \$13.12 was collected on Easter day. The parish feel grateful for the important assistance they have received by subscription and donation, towards the building of their church. They are indebted to the Sewing Circle for furnishing the church with decorations, lamps, carpets, &c, at a cost of not less than three hundred dollars.

[JUNE 30, 1841.] *From Saint Paul's Church, Concord, Petrus S. Ten Broeck, Rector.* There has been no material change in this Parish since the last Convention. There has been a gradual increase in attendance although some families which were connected with it last year, have removed from this town. Sunday-school and catechetical instruction have not been neglected. There have as formerly been a monthly missionary service and collection for missionary purposes. The ladies of the Sewing Circle continue their self-denying labors. They merit praise for what they have done and are doing. While he regrets the death of one of their number, Miss Sarah Wiggin, it affords the Rector much satisfaction to state that out of the very small means of which she possessed, she left a bequest of ten dollars to their "Circle," and of five dollars to the Episcopal Missionary Society of this State. Her example is worthy of imitation. Communicants, 26; baptism, 1 infant; marriages, 2; funerals, 3; Sunday scholars, 40; teachers, 8.

[JUNE 29, 1842.] *St Paul's, Concord, Rev P. S. Ten Broeck, Rector.* The attendance upon public worship in St. Paul's church, Concord, has been by no means discouraging during the past year, considering the fact, that the congregations & places of worship in this town are far more numerous than in most other places of equal population. There are from ten to twelve places in wh Services are held on the Lord's day, in this place, although its population does not much exceed 5000 inhabitants.

Besides: there are more than 20 Settled or resident ministers of other persuasions, ready & able to advance the interests of the denominations to which they are attached. Great or rapid increase cannot, therefore, be rationally expected in the Epis^l Church in Concord.

The number of Communicants is 28. There has been but one funeral in the parish the last year that of a boy connected with the Sunday School, who was drowned.* The Sunday school

numbers about the same it did at the last return: It greatly needs a devoted & energetic Superintendent.

A Bible Class & Catechetical Class have been instructed during a part of the year. Forty dollars have been appropriated (out of Collections for missionary purposes) to the benefit of St Michaels Church, Manchester. The Services of the Protestant Epis^l Church were introduced, for the first time, into that prosperous Village, the 11 day of last July (1841) by the Rector of this parish.

An organ has recently been purchased & placed in the church in Concord.

The Rector attended the funeral of a child in Pembroke in this State. The deceased having died while on a visit to that place, & the Parents being Episcopalians, their attachments to the Church prompted them to Seek the Services of one of her clergy; & great appeared to be their Satisfaction in engaging in the Consoling office of the burial for the dead.

[JUNE 28, 1843.] *St Paul's Church, Concord, Rev. P. S. Ten Broeck, Rector,* Communicants 45, Baptisms & adults 7, infants 1, marriages 4. Bp Griswold * confirmed 17 persons in this Church on 8th of Nov^r last. Several in this Parish are now desirous of being confirmed. We feel the loss of our excellent & venerable diocesan more & more. Out of respect to his memory, the Church in this village was clad in mourning soon after his lamented death, until Easter.

Bible class, catechetical & Sunday School instruction has been attended to, & monthly Missionary Services & collections have been continued; Thirty Seven dollars have been appropriated, being part of the Sums collected, to the funds of the Domestic & Foreign Miss^y Society.

[JUNE 26, 1844.] *St Paul's Church, Concord. Rev. Petrus Ten Broeck, Rector.* Communicants 45. Baptisms 1 infant marriages 5 females 2.

Since the last annual Convention this Church has been provided with a valuable organ, by the generous donation of E. B. Little, Esq. of N. York. The members & friends of the Church, have occasion to lament the death of Albe Cady, † Esq, late senior warden of St Pauls for many years secretary of this convention & Treasurer of the Board of Missions, & one of the oldest & firmest friends of our Zion in N. Hampshire. The Rector has rec^d from the administrator of Mr. Cady's Estate \$5 which has been paid as Treasurer of the Board of Missions by Mr. Ten Broeck, July 6th 1841, being the Bequest of Miss Sarah Wiggins, late member of this Parish.

Out of our monthly missionary collections

* James M. Abbot, aged eleven years, son of David Abbot, was drowned in Horse-shoe-pond, the eleventh of May, 1842.—W. F. G.

* Died the fifteenth of February, 1843.—W. F. G.

† He died July sixth, 1843, aged seventy-three years.—W. F. G.

\$34.25 has been paid To the General Missionary Society & appropaided as follows—\$20 to the Rev. W^m H. Moore.—Missionary at Manchester in addition to his present Salary—& \$14. 25 to foreign missions, The sum collected at Easter, in compliance with a Vote of the Convention amounted to \$11.51 X In addition to this & other customary contributions \$17.56 has been collected towards building St Michaels church, Manchester.

The Ladies sewing Circle of St Pauls continue to merit praise for their Industry & Zeal. They realized about \$70 at a recent sale held by them for the benefit of the Church at the House of the Rector.*

VI.—DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF EXETER, N. H.

FROM THE NEW HAMPSHIRE ARCHIVES, NOW FIRST PRINTED.

I.

EXETER Sept^r 26th 1738—

To the Gentlemen Selectmen of Exeter, We the Subscribers pray you wou'd forthwith call a town meeting and we pray you Insert the following in your S^d Warrant for a town meeting. To the town of Exeter—The Petition of us the Subscribers Inhabitants of the western part of the first parish in Exeter, Humbly Sheweth—That we your Petitioners, have for diverse years Labour'd under inexpressible Disadvantages & Difficulties on many accounts, more particularly by reason of our Great Distance from the Publick Meeting House, So that Even in the Summer Season we and our Families cannot attend Regularly & Constantly on the publick worship of God as we would doe, and in the winter Season for Diverse years past have thought it Best to be at the Expence of Supporting preaching amongst us without any abatement of our Rates to the Support of the ministry in this Parish, and Having made Some Provision & Been at Some Cost toward Building a meeting House among us— Being now Desirous of Being a Parish by ourselves, and as Soon as may be Conveniently to Settle an

Orthodox Gospel ministry among us—we therefore pray that you wou'd Consider our Circumstances and pass a vote to Set us by ourselves, to be in all respects a Distinct parish as the Parish of Newmarket is now Set of from the first parish in Exeter and we pray if you See Good to vote the Bounds of our Parish as follows, Beginning at old Pickpocket upper Saw-mill, and from Thence running South to Kingston Line, thence west and by north by Kingston Line four miles, thence north four miles, thence Easterly to Newmarket South-west Corner Bounds, and So Bounding by New-market South Bounds So far till a South Line will Strike Pickpocket Mill, and then to run from New-Market Line. South to S^d mill the Bounds first mentioned. — — —

ANDREW GILMAN
EDWARD CALCORD
NICHOLAS DUDLEY
STEPHEN LEAVIT
BENJAMIN VEASEY
JONATHAN ROBINSON
JEREMIAH BEAN
JAMES ROBINSON
SOLOMON SMITH
JONATHAN CRAM
ANTIPAS GILMAN
DANIEL RUNDLET
JOSHUA BEAN
JOHN MUDGET
HUMPHRY WILSON
JOSIAH MOODEY
SAMUEL ROBERDS
JAMES DUDLEY
JOSEPH ATKINSON
BENJAMIN SCRIBNER
MOSES FIFIELD

EPHRAIM ROBINSON
JOHN MORGAN
JOHN HOLLAND
MARVERICK GILMAN
BENJAMIN FIFIELD
DANIEL SANBORN
NICHOLAS DOLLOFE
NICHOLAS GORDON
AMOS DOLLOFE
ELISHA SANBURN
JONATHAN SMITH
JOHN MARSH
CHARLES YOUNG
JOHN ROBERTS JUN^r
EZEKIEL SMITH
THOMAS GORDON
JOHN BEAN
JAMES DUDLEY JUN^r
NATHANIEL FOULSHAM
WILLIAM GRAVES

A true Copy

Attes^r ELISHA ODLIN town Clerk ———

II.

Sa EXETER MAY 1th 1739
according To y^r Desire By M^r Russell, I have hear Sent A List of all The millitary officers In Exeter with The Date of There Comissions. under Gou^r Belcher. my one Comission bares Date May 7th 1731: Cap^t Peter Gilman Cap^t Sam Gilman Cap^t Thomas Dean Cap^t Edw^d Hall Leu^t Daniell Gilman Leu^t Isreall Gilman Ensⁿ Rich^d Mattoon all There Comissions bares Date July 12th 1731 — — —

Leu^t Dudley Odlin Cor^{tt} Ezek^{ll} Gilman Quartermast^r Jon^a Connor Leu^t Theophilus Smith Ensⁿ John Gilman Ensigⁿ James Leuit There Comissions Bares Date octob^r 21th 1737 :

I am with Respect S^r your

Very Humb^{le} Saru^t JOHN GILMAN

To The Hon^{ble} Rich^d WALDRON Esq^r &c

* The Reverend D. R. Brown succeeded Reverend Mr. Ten Broeck, on the twenty-first of November, 1844; resigned in 1846, and was succeeded by Reverend Thomas Leaver, who died in 1847, aged thirty-three years. Reverend N. E. Marble was Rector from February twenty-seventh, 1848, till April first, 1857, when he was succeeded by the present popular Rector, the Reverend Doctor Eames. This Parish is the wealthiest in Concord. The Church is, in every way, in the ascendancy. There are one hundred and seventy-two communicants. About two and one half miles from Concord, is ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL, one of the most successful in this country. A few months since, one of the teachers in MADAM HOFFMAN'S celebrated EPISCOPAL SCHOOL for young Ladies, in New York City, said to me as we were passing the former: "this is a lovely spot: and "this school is to boys, what ours is to girls."—W. F. G.

III.

The names of those Persons in Exeter N. H. who petitioned to be annexed to Massachusetts, in 1732.

DANIEL GILMAN	JON ^A NORRIS	NICHOLIS GORDEN	HENRY STEEL
JOHN BURGIN	ROBERT LIGHT	his	THOMAS ROBINSON
TRUEWORTHY GILMAN	PET ^R GILLMAN	DAN ^L O GILES JUN ^R	NATH ^L FOLSOM
BENJ ^A THING	NATH ^L WEBSTER	mark	JN ^O SMITH
DANIEL GAIL	JON ^A GILMAN	his	DAVID DUDLEY
SIMON GILMAN	JOSIAH GILMAN	EBENEZER X MARTIN	FRANCIS BRACKET
JAMES LEAVIT JUN ^R	JOHN LIGHT	mark	JOHN ROBERTS
JACOB TILTON	SAM ^L GILMAN	his	JONATHAN YOUNG
NICHOLIS GILMAN	JOHN GILMAN	ALEX ^R A ROBERTS	MICHAEL BOWDEN
JOHN LORD	JOHN ODLIN	mark	JOHN FOULSON JUN ^R
THOMAS DRANE	EDWARD HALL	JETHRO	SAM ^L STEVENS JUN ^R
MOSES GILMAN	NATH ^L BARTLETT	JAMES LEAVIT	JOHN GORDEN JUN ^R
THOMAS LORD	JOHN GILMAN	EBENEZER LIGHT	MOSES SWETT
DANIEL THING	PHILIP CONNOR	JON ^A WADLEIGH	SAM ^L ELKINS JUN ^R
his	his	DUDLEY LEAVIT	BENJ ^A SMITH
JON ^A JG GLIDEN	JN ^O I F FOULSON	JEREMIAH CALFE	JEREM ^B CALF JUN ^R
mark	mark	SAM EDGERLY	DANIEL CALFE
JON ^A FOULSON	ABRAHAM FOULSON	JAMES CALFE	BENJAMIN MEAD
JAMES GORDEN	his	THOMAS WILSON	JAMES BEAN
his	EPH ^M ZR FOULSON	JOSHUA WILSON	NATH ^L LADD
THO ^B X GORDING	mark	DANIEL LAHEY	JAMES YOUNG
mark	BENJAMIN FIFIELD	BENJ ^A SCHIENER	JOSEPH GORDEN
SAM ^L THING	ISHAEL GILMAN	DANIEL HOMAN	JEREMIAH CONNER
JOHN KIMBAL	ANDREW GILMAN	JOHN LOOGEE	JOHN GILMAN
ABNER COFFIN	JOE JUDKINS	JOHN GILMAN	HUMPHRY WILSON
his	his	JOHN RILEY	THOMAS LYFORD
BENJ ^A X FOULSON	NICHOLIS X GORDON JUN ^R	CRONELIUS CONNER	SAMUEL DOLLOF
mark	mark	SAM STEVENS	AMOS DOLLOF
JOHN QUINBY	JAMES GILMAN	his	THEOPHILUS HARDY JUN ^R
DUDLEY ODLIN	EZEK ^L GILMAN	EDWARD O STEVENS	EPH ^M PHILBROK
JOSEPH SCRIBNER	NATH ^L BARTLETT JUN ^R	mark	his
JOSHUA GILMAN	ABNER THIRSTIN	HENRY MARSHALL	JON ^A X DOLLOF
PETER FOULSON	JOHN HAINES	BILEY HARDY	mark
SAM ^L CONNER	DANIEL THUSTIN	KINSLEY JAMES	FRANCIS JAMES
BENJ ^A CONNER	NATHANIEL GORDEN OF	ISAAC THING	CARTEE GILMAN
BENJ ^A ROLLINS JUN ^R	HARDY	his	JOHN FARRAR
STEPHEN GILMAN	NATH ^L THING	JOSEPH X TAYLOR	NICH ^O GILMAN JUN ^R
JOHN LEAVIT	JOSEPH THING	mark	NEHEMIAH GILMAN
JOHN MARSH	JOHEZ SANBORN	JOHN STEEL	JOSEPH GRAVES
THOMAS EDGERLY	DANIEL FOLSOM	his	EDWARD SCRIBNER
JOHN BOWDEN	JOHN HUTCHINSON	EDWARD X WEST	JOHN SCRIBNER
EPHRAIM ROBINSON	JOHN DUDLY	mark	WILLIAM GRAVES
EDW ^D COLCORD	RICHARD PRESTON	GEO : ROBERTS	STEPH ^N TOAL
DANIEL ELKINS	JEREMIAH VEASEY	TIMOTHY GORDEN	JOE KENNISON
JON ^A GILMAN JUN ^R	JAMES FOLSOM	JOSEPH LOUVERN	JOHN LOVERIN
WILLIAM DORAN	ELIAS LADD	JOSEPH GILES	EBENEZER COLCORD
COFFIN THING	ABRAHAM FOLSOM	ELIAH VICKERY	NATHAN TAYLER
EDWARD THING	JONATHAN THING	JAMES DUDLY JUN ^R	JONATHAN SMITH JUN ^R
WILLIAM LAMSON	SAM ^L LAMSON	JOHN LEAVIT JUN ^R	RICHARD DOLLOF JUN
DANIEL YOUNG	JEREMIAH GILMAN JUN ^R	CURTIS BEAN	DAVID DOLLOF
EDWARD GILMAN	DERBY KELLY	DANIEL GILES	SAMUEL DUDLEY JUN ^R
CHARLES RUNDLET	PETER FOLSOM	ISRAEL SMITH	JOHN GILES
BEN SWAIN	JOHN BAIRD	SAM ^L YOUNG	JAMES DUDLEY
JOHN GEORGE	THOMAS WEBSTER JUN ^R	JOHN BROWN	JOSIAH MOODY
THOMAS KIMMING	JAMES WHIDDEN	WILLIAM SMITH	ZECHARIAH JUDKINS
		ISRAEL SMITH	DANIEL GORDON
		NICHOLIS DOLLOF	JOHN ROBERTS JUN ^R
		his	JOSEPH THING JUN ^R
		BENJ ^A B JUDKINS	PETER THING
		mark	JAMES ROBINSON

NICHOLIS DUDLEY	his
TIMOTHY LEAVIT	JOSEPH X ADKINSON
STEPHEN LEAVIT	mark
SAMLL SMITH COOPER	SAMUEL ROBERTS
SEALEY LEAVIT	BENJA GILMAN
DANIEL WORMALL	NICHOLIS DUDLEY JUN ^R
HALEY STEVENS	JONATHAN DUDLEY
SAMUEL DUDLEY	JOHN ODLIN JUN ^R
PHILIP WADLEIGH	GEORGE CRESTON
ROBERT YOUNG	SAMUEL MAGOON
BENONY GORDEN	WILLIAM GRAVES JUN ^R
EDWARD LADD	JOHN LUFKIN
JAMES GORDEN JUN ^R	ISRAEL YOUNG
SAMLL DUDLEY JUN ^R	CLEMENT MOODY
JEREMIAH BEEAN	SAMLL RICHARDSON
JONATHAN GORDEN	JOSEPH LEAVIT
DAVID SMITH	AMBROSS HINDS
JAMES NORRIS	DAVID LAD
JOSIAH LAD	CALEB GILMAN JUN ^R
DANIEL LARY	ELISHA ODLIN
PETER COFFIN	JOHN GORDEN
NICHOLIS PERRYMAN	THEOPHILUS HARDY
JONATHAN CONNER	JOHN CANBY
STEPHEN LYFORD	BENJAMIN DOLLOF
JON ^A GILMAN TER ^R	MOSES CONNOR
NATHLL GILMAN	TRUEWORTHY DUDLEY
JEREMIAH BEAN	JOHN FOULSON TER ^S
ROBERT PATTEN	JACOB SMITH
JON ^A SMITH JUN ^R	SAMLL SMITH
SAMUEL LARY	JOHN NORRIS
DUDLEY JAMES	FRANCIS JAMES

IV.

A.—*Petition of residents of North-western part of the Town, for formation of a Parish.*

TO HIS EXCELLENCY Benning Wentworth Esq^r Governor & Commander in Chief in & Over His Majestys Province of New Hampshire in New England The Hon^{ble} His Majesty's Council & House of Representatives in General Court Convened —

THE HUMBLE Petition of Sundry Inhabitants of the *North Westerly* Part of the Town of *Exeter* in said Province SHEWS —

THAT Your Petitioners being Settled in the aforesaid part the Said Town Labour under Great Difficulties in attending the Public Worship of God by Reason of the Distance & badness of the Ways to the meeting House most of 'em living more than Seven miles from it, & Some above nine—So that many Persons in their Families can attend the Public Worship but Seldom

THAT being most of them new Settlers (tho' upon good Land) are not able to maintain a Minister among them Selves while they are Subjected to & actually pay their proportion to the Maintenance of the Gospel & other Charges in the Town.

THAT a Considerable Parish might be Set off from the said Town by the Following metes & Bounds viz. Beginning at the North West Corner

of Exeter & from thence running South 29 Deg W. partly by Nottingham & partly by Chester line four Miles & an half & from thence to Extend Carrying that breadth of four miles & an half East & by South till it comes to the head Line of Newmarket Parish being bounded Northly partly by Nottingham & partly by Dover Line and Easterly partly by Newmarket & partly by Exeter the said four miles & an half being Something Broader than Newmarket & So extending a little beyond it upon Exeter which would Comprehend your Petitioners Estates & yet leave a Large and able Parish at the Town below 'em (which would hardly miss 'em) and tho' they are but few & poor in Comparison of the rest of the Town yet they would Gladly bear the Charge of Supporting the Gospel among them Selves were they Exonerated from that & other Town Charges & duties in the other part of the Town—But as the aforesaid Bounds Comprehends a Tract of very Good Land they have reason to think from that as well as by experience that they shall Increase in number every Year & Especially when accommodated better with respect to the Public worship—

THAT a Parish Incorporated by the aforesaid Boundaries with the usual Privileges & Immunities would be a Considerable means of Cultivating & Improving a large Tract of Land which is now unsubdued, inasmuch as People will be thereby Encouraged to go out & Settle there, & the Public in General as well as the Said Town in Particular Benefited thereby—

WHEREFORE your Petitioners Pray This Hon^{ble} Court would Please to take the Premises under Consideration and Grant that they may be Incorporated into a Parish with the usual Parish powers & Privileges By the metes & bounds aforesaid & Exonerated from paying to the Support of the Minister of the Town & other Town Charges & duties that so they may Support & maintain the Gospel a School &c, among themselves with more Conveniency for themselves & Families—Or in Such other manner as this Hon^{ble} Court in their Great Wisdom & Goodness Shall think proper & your Petitioners as in Duty Bound Shall ever pray &c

JACOB SMITH	DAVID LAURUS
JAMES NORRIS JUNER	SAMUEL ELKINS IUNER
ELIAS SMITH	JOHN ELKINS
DANIEL ELKINS	JONATHAN NORRIS JUNER
JAMES RUNDLET	JOHN ROWELL
JOSEPH AURY	JOSEPH NORRIS
JONATHAN RUNDLET	JOEL JUDKINS
NATHAN SAINBORN	SAMUEL SMITH
JONATHAN SMITH	ITHIEAL CLIFFORD
JOSEPH GORDEN	JOSEPH CARNY
TIMOTHY MOODEY	JEREMIAH PRESAUT
RICHARD SANBON	JONATHAN GIDDEN
JOHN HALL	THEOPHILUS WODLEY

JEREMIAH BLANCH
 GEORGE BORN
 SAMUEL NORRIS
 EZEKIEL ELKINS
 ISRAEL GILMAN
 JACOB SARGENT
 JAMES SHAPARD
 JAMES CHASE
 JOSEPH HALEY
 JONATHAN FOLSHAM
 LEO ROWELL
 EZEKIEL MARDEN
 JEREMIAH PRASCUIT HUNTER
 JOHN FOLINTOWN
 JAMES ROLINGS

BENJAMIN ROLINGS
 NATHAN HIGHT
 SAMUEL ELKINS
 JEREMIAH ELKINS
 ISRAEL GILMAN
 JOHN SEAR
 EZEKIAH SWAIN
 DANIEL LAD
 BENJAMIN POTER
 SIMON CARLON
 JAMES NORRIS
 JOHN NORRIS
 JONATHAN NORRIS
 JOSEPH EDGLEY

In the House of Representatives, Jan. 15th 1741

The within Petition Read and Voted That the Petitioners forthwith Serve the Select men of Exeter with a Copy of the Petition and the Votes—thereon: That the Town of Exeter may appear at the Gen^l Court or assembly next Tuesday fortnight to Shew Cause (if any they have) why the prayer of the Petition may not be granted: and if the General Court or ass^{on} Shall not be then Sitting: Then to appear the Third day of the Sitting of the next Session of Gen^l assembly

JAMES JEFFERY Cle Ass^{on}

In Coun Jan 21 1741₂

Read and Concurred RICH^d WALDRON Sec^y

Jan. 21. 1741-2 Assented to

B. WESTWORTH

B.—Warrant for Town meeting to consider preceding Petition.

WHEREAS there is a Petition preferr'd to the General Court by the Northwesterly part of this town to be incorporated into a Parish & S^d Court have Ordered S^d Petitioners to Serve the Selectmen with a Copy of S^d Petition that the town of Exeter may appear at the General Court on Tuesday the Second of Feb^y next to Shew Cause if any they have why the Prayer of S^d Petition may not be Granted. These are therefore to notify all The Freeholders and other Inhabitants belonging to the town of Exeter to assemble themselves together at the Townhouse in Exeter monday the first day of February next at one of the Clock afternoon then and there to Choose two or more fit persons to represent this town in General assembly if they See fit to make answer to the above mentioned Pitition in Behalf of this town of Exeter Dated at Exeter Jan^y 23^d 1741—

THOMAS DEAN.

NATHL WEBSTER.

JOSIAH GILMAN.

} Selectmen.

a true Copy. Attes^d ELISHA ODLIN town Clerk.

C.—Proceedings at the Town Meeting, thereon.

At a meeting of the Freeholders and other In-

habitants of the town of Exeter holden at the townhouse in S^d Exeter Feb^y 1st 1741.

VOTED. Samuel Gilman Esq^r Moderator of S^d Meeting.

VOTED. That two men be Chosen to make answer to the Petition prefer'd to the General Court or assembly by the Northwesterly part of the town with power to act before S^d Court on behalf of the town as they Shall think Proper.

VOTED. That Samuel Gilman Esq^r & Lieut Theophilus Smith be the two men for the End afores^d.

a true Copy attes^d ELISHA ODLIN town Clerk.

D.—Action of the General Court, thereon.

In the House of Representatives fe^b 2^d 1741—
 The within Petitioners were heard, and the delegates from the Town of Exeter and they agree^d that the Bounds Shall be as followeth viz^t to begin at Durham line at the North West Corner of the Parish of new-market and from thence Bounding on the head Line of Said newmarket to the Southwest Corner of the Sames, and from thence to run South ab^t twenty nine degrees West paralele with the head Line of the Town of the Town of Exeter Extending to half the breadth of the Township of Exeter from Durham Line aforesaid and from thence to Run Westerly North to the middle of the head Line of the Town of Exe^r and from thence to bound upon Chester and Nottingham to the North West Corner of Exeter and from thence bounding East & by South on Nottingham & Durham to the first bounds. Therefore Voted that the Prayer of the Petition be granted & that they be Set off by the Bounds aforesaid and have all powers within themselves as any Town within this Province Keeping & Supporting an Orthodox Minister to preach among them (excepting the Choice of Represent^t and untill they Shall have liberty to have one among themselves) they have Liberty to Joyn with the Town of Exeter in the Choice of men to Represent the Town as usuall and that they pay their Proportion of the Charge of Such Representative and that they be not Exempted from paying any charge of the Town of Exeter that has already been assest upon them and that they have Liberty to bring in a Bill accordingly

JAMES JEFFERY Cle^r Ass^{on}

In Coun Feb: 3. 1741, 2

Read and Concurred RICH^d WALDRON Sec^y

Feb: 3^d 1741-2 Assented to

B WESTWORTH

V.

A.—Proceedings at Town Meeting, on application to set the Southern and Southwestern parts of the Town, for a new Parish.

At a meeting of the Freeholdres and other Inhabitants of the town of Exeter held at the

townhouse in S^d Exeter Febr^y 8th 174 $\frac{1}{2}$.

VOTED. Lieut Daniel Gilman Moderator for S^d Meeting.

VOTED. That the meeting be Adjourn'd to this day fortnight on of the Clock in the afternoon, to meet again at the townhouse.

The meeting being again met according to adjournment this 22^d day of Febr^y 174 $\frac{1}{2}$.

Voted. Thomas Dean Clerk for S^d meeting.

VOTED. That the Petition of the Inhabitants of the Southerly & Southwesterly part of the town of Exeter be Granted, and that they hav set off to them and their Successors the one Halfe of the Breadth of the Land in S^d town Lying at the westerly End thereof for a Parish, and that it be Bounded as followeth: Viz^t Begining at the head of New-market Line then runing on a South Line to Exeter great fresh river, and then halfe a mile up S^d river. & then South to Kingston Line and So to the head of the township. Provided that the above S^d Parish doe Settle an Orthodox minister of Christ and maintain & Support the Same, and all other Parish Charges within the Same of themselves.....

A true Copy, Examin'd this 23^d day of Febr^y 174 $\frac{1}{2}$.

p^r me ELISHA ODLIN town Clerk.

B.—*Remonstrance to the General Court, thereon.*

To his Excellency Benning Wentworth Esq^r: Governour and Commander in Chief in and over his Majesties Province of New Hampshire and to the Hon^{ble} his Majesties Council & Representatives now in General Court assembled.

HUMBLY SHEWETH your Petitioners (Subscribers hereto) Freeholders and Inhabitants of the South westerly part of the Town of Exeter that Your Petitioners for Several Years past have with Some of our Neighbours erected a house for the Publick worship of God in the most Convenient place as we then, and now think for the case and now think for the ease and benefit of the Inhabitants of that part of the Town in General and have in the Winter time Carry'd on the Publick worship in it but Several persons of that part of the Town haveing of late without our Privity or Consent Petition'd the Town to be Set off as a Parish within Particular boundaries as mention'd in their Petition and the Town having met to Consider their Petition adjourn'd the Consideration of the Said Meeting to a further day and untill newmarket & Eppin Parish lines were run but the Time of the meeting on the adjournment happening before the runing of Newmarket and Eppin lines your Petitioners and also Sundry of the Inhabitants of the Town Expected that the Said Meeting would have been further adjourn'd till the Said lines had been run and that Nothing would have been acted at Said Meeting

but being press'd on by the Said Petitioners who themselves then unjustly voted for the Petition's being Consider'd and Granted by which means it was then Consider'd & granted as afores^d by which means if Your Excellency with this hon^{ble} Court Should Confirm the afores^d vote then pass'd it would Greatly Injure Your Petitioners and therefore Your Petitioners humbly move your Excellency and this hon^{ble} Court that the Consideration of any petition that is or may be prefer'd to Your Excellency and this hon^{ble} Court for Confirming the afores^d vote may not be hear'd and pass'd upon untill Some Convenient time be given your Petitioners to appear and Shew Cause wherefore the Said Vote ought not to be Confirmed And Your Petitioners as in Duty bound Shall ever humbly pray &c^r.

Dated at EXETER March 11th 1741.

ANDREW GILMAN	TIMOTHY LEAUT
DANIEL JELS	JOSEPH LEAUT
DANIEL SMITH	JOSIAH THING
BANIAMAN GILMAN	EDWARD COLCORD
EBENEZER COLCORD	NICHLOS DUDLEY
JOHN DUDLEY	SAMUEL DUDLEY
JONATHAN THING	JOHN HOLOND
MOSES JUETT	NICKLAS SMITH
SAMUELL EDGLEY	JOB JUDKINGS
NATINEL THING	EDWARD COLCORD
JOHN DUDLEY JUNER	JOHN GORGE
JEARIMAR GILMAN JUNER	HALEY STEPHENS
JONATHAN GILMAN JUNER	JOHN ODLIN JUN ^r
NICKLIS GORDON	JOHN GILS
JONATHAN WADLEIGH	JOHN ROBERTS
WILL ^m BEAN	HUMPHRY WILSON
JEREMIAH BEAN	DANIEL WORMALL
NICOLAS DUDLEY	EDWARD STEVENS
STEPHEN LEAUT	SARAH GORDEN wid
SAMUEL SMITH COPPER	JOHN EUNELY

C.—*Petition to the General Court, therefor.*

TO HIS EXCELLENCY Benning Wentworth Esq^r Governor & Commander in Chief in & over His Majesty's Province of New Hampshire the Hon^{ble} His Majesty's Council & House of Representatives for Said Province in General Court Convened.

THE HUMBLE PETITION of Sundry Persons Inhabitants of the Southerly & Southwesterly part of the Town of Exeter in Said Province SHEWETH

That their Estates & habitations are so far from the meeting House where they usually attend the Public Worship as makes it very Inconvenient for them, most of them living above five miles distant therefrom, Considering of which, & the Large Congregation that belongs to the Meeting-house aforesaid, & their ability, the Town at a Public meeting on the 22^d Day of Febr^y last, have Voted a New Parish should be Erected by the Bounds Set

forth in the Vote (if the General Court Saw Meet) which will Comprehend your Petitioners Estates & habitations & if a Parish was Erected there, will have a tendency to promote the Settlements of the Lands in that part of the Town, & of the Town adjoining which Vote is herewith Presented—

That your Petitioners find a number of Persons of the Said Town have already Petition'd this Court, that this Petition may not be Granted until they are heard against it, but have not Set forth any Reason they have against it but propose to do it (as it Seems by their Petition) Oretenus upon the hearing, whereby Your Petitioners will under this disadvantage that they can not inform their Council of those which will be necessary in answer to what shall be alledged WHEREFORE Your Petitioners most Humbly Pray that they may be Erected & Incorporated into a Parish by the Boundaries in the Said Vote and that if this Hon^{ble} Court think proper that the aforesaid Petitioners should be first heard that they would order that they file their objections in Some Public Office in Writing some Reasonable time before the Day of hearing that so Your Petitioners may have a fair opportunity of answering them & Your Petitioners as in Duty Bound Shall ever pray &c—

JAMES DUDLEY	ROBERT YOUNG
DABBEY KELLY	BENJA VEASEY
ELISHA SAMBORN	JEREMIAH BEAN
JAMES ROBINSON	JNO BROWN
ROBT BROWN	SAMUEL JONES
NATHANAEL FOULSAM	WILLIAM SMITH
SHOELE SAMBORNE	JONATHAN CRAM
THOMAS MUDGET	JOSEPH THING
AUTHAS GILMAN	JOHN FOLSHAM
JOHN LEVIT JUNR	GEORGE ROBERTS
BEJA FIFIELD	JAMES DUDLEY JUNR
JNO ROBERTS JUNR	MOSES FIFIELD
JNO MORGIN	JOSHUA BEAN
MARVERICK GILMAN	JONATHAN SMITH
JEREMIAH ROW	JONATHAN TALER
ZACHERIAH JUDKINS	JOHN LEAVITT
ITHIEL SMITH	ALEXANDER ROBERTS
BENJA SCRIBNER	SAMUEL DUDLEY
DAVID BEAN	JOSEPH ATKINSON
SAMUEL ROBERTS	EZEKIEL SMITH
THOMAS GORDIN	DANIEL SAMBORN
CHARLES YOUNG	NICKOLAS GORDIN
JNO SMITH	JNO BEAN
JOSIAH MOODEY	JACOB SMITH
ELENLAZER HUTCHINSON	DANIEL TILTON
JNO MIDGET	WILLIAM GRAVES
JONATHAN ROBINSON	NICHOLAS DOLLOP

D.—*Action of the General Court, thereon.*

In the House of Representatives Mar¹⁷ 1744 the within Petition Read; and also another Petition of Andrew Gillman of Exeter

and others who desire to be heard before the Prayer of the within Petition be granted

VOTED that some or one of the above or with in Petitioners Serve the Said Andrew Gillman with a Coppy of the Petition and Court order thereon, forthwith: and that the Parties appear the third day of the Sitting of the General assembly next Session to be heard: and that the Contrary party may Slew Cause (if any they have) why the Prayer of this Petition may not be granted & that Andrew Gillman & others file their objections in the Secretaries Office 10 dayes before the next Sitting of the Gen^l assembly

JAMES JEFFERY Cler^r Ass^{ly}

In Council March 22^d 1741

The above Vote read & Concurr'd

THEODORE ATKINSON Sect^r

Eodem Die Assented to B WESTWORTH

E.—*Warrant for a second Town Meeting, thereon.*

WHEREAS upwards of thirty of the Freeholders & Inhabitants of the town of Exeter have Desired us the Subscribers Selectmen of the S^d town forth with to Issue a warrant to warn a meeting of the Freeholders & Inhabitants of the Said town to take into Consideration the vote that was on the 22^d day of Febr^y Last by adjournment as they think illegally obtained by the Petitioners of the Southerly & Southwesterly part of the town of Exeter for being Set off as a Parish within particular Boundarys as Set forth in their Petition which vote the S^d Petitioners have Since prefer'd a Petition to the General assembly of this Province to get a Confirmation of—and forasmuch as the Said thirty Inhabitants & freeholders aforesd^d think Said vote was Illegally Obtained and that themselves as well as the town in General Shall be Greatly injured in Case Said vote is Confirmed These are therefore to Notify the freeholders and Inhabitants of this town of Exeter to meet at the town house in S^d town on monday the 17th day of May Current at two of the Clock in the afternoon to Consider of a vote if they think fit, first if they think the Said vote was Legally Obtained or not. 2^{dly} if the Confirmation of Said Vote will not be of a manifest Inquiry to the town in General. 3^{dly} if the town will then Choose Some person to represent the Same at the next Sitting of the General Court in June next and to doe what Else they Shall then think proper to be done about the Premises. Dated at Exeter aforesd^d the third day of May anno Domini 1742 — —

JONATHAN CONNOR

NATH^l WEBSTER

JOSIAH GILMAN | Selectmen

JOHN ODLIN Jun^r |

ROBERT LIGHT — |

A true Copy Attes^t ELISHA ODLIN town Clerk

F.—*Proceedings at the Town Meeting, thereon.*

At a meeting of the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the town of Exeter held at the townhouse in S^d Exeter may 17th 1742—

VOTED. M^r Daniel Thing moderator for S^d meeting—at the Same meeting it was put to vote whether the town would act anything on the warrant and it pass'd in the negative.

a true Copy Attest^t ELISHA ODLIN town Clerk

G.—*Objections to the Confirmation.**

WHEREAS a Number of the Inhabitants of y^e Southerly or Southwesterly part of the town of Exeter By a vote pass'd at a Meeting held by adjournment At the townhouse in Exeter Febr^y 22^d 1741¹ w^{re} Set off to be a parrish by meets and Bounds Express'd in Said Vote, which they have Since Petitioned the Court to Confirm, we think ought not to be Confirmed for y^e following reasons—

1. Because as we apprehend the S^d vote was illegally obtained—the meeting Being before adjourn'd, to have the Line run which was not done, and y^rfore many inhabitants not present thinking the meeting would be further adjourn'd and the S^d Petitioners Being the Maj^r Part of the Voters, forc't it on and voted it and it Being a particular favour to themselves we Esteem it illegal & y^rfore not to be Confirmed . .

2. Because, we with Some of our neighbors, a number of the Inhabitants of the S^d Southerly &c, Part of the town have Been at Considerable Charge in Erecting and Building a house for the worship of God, and the meets and Bounds by which they are Set of, is Contrary to what was Ever Proposed by S^d Inhabitants on y^t part of the town and was done without our Knowledge or Consent, and has a manifest tendency to destroy our Labours, and to overthrow or at least Greatly Disturb the the worship of God amongst us,

3. Bec: The Line of S^d Parrish includes or takes in many of us & Great part or all of our Estates altho we timely Entred our Protests against any Such thing—under present Circumstances &c, & y^rfore &c ———

4 Bec: of our inability we Being not yet ripe for a Parrish, under our present Divided Circumstances having got nothing in any forwardness therefor, & most of y^r Petition & Exceeding poor, and Scarcely able to live, now. Even as we may Say y^e Biggest part of them and having a meeting house to Build, a minister to maintain & Settle, and a School to maintain, to geter with y^e Largeness of Province taxes, and we Being also much Divided amongst ourselves,

it would as we apprehend if Confirmed be to the utter ruin of many familys, an impoverishing of the place; a Damage to themselves & families, a Laying a Yoke upon us which we Shall not be able to Bear

5. Bec: The Confirming of the Same under our Present Circumstances would as we apperehend be but Confirming of Confusion and disorder amongst us, and instead of advancing an Enlarging y^e Kingdom and Interest of X^t would tend to increase intestine Jars and animositys, amongst us, Even as we fear to our Entire overthrow at Last, & y^rfore not to be confirmed. ———

6. we would further Give as a reason the ap- presidency of the thing to be Set of to be a Parish Before agreed w^r to Set a House & Even whilst quarreling* about the Same y^e Like Instance not to be Given we Believe in New England, y^r fore pray y^t it may not be Confirmed—

H.—*Petition of the Remonstrants to be allowed to remain with the old Town.*

To His Excellency Benning Wentworth Esq^r Governour & Commander in Chief in and over his Maj^{ties} Province of New hampshire in New England, and to the Hon^{ble} His Majisties Council for Said Province & House of Representatives, when Conven'd in Gen^l Assembly

Whereas Sundry of the Inhabitants of the Southerly & Southwesterly part of Exeter in Newhampshire at the Last Sessions preferred a Petition to this Hon^{ble} Court to be Set off a Parrish (from the old meeting House in Exeter aforesaid where they usually attended the Publick Worship) by meet and Bounds as Set forth in the Said Petition,

And whereas, after the Intent of the above Petitioners was known, by us the Subscribers who never Consented to the Said Petition we did also Preferr a Petition to this Hon^{ble} Court Dated at Exeter March 11 . 1741 : Praying that the above Petition might not be granted until we were Heard, upon which this Court on Considering both Petitions Ordered that we Should

* Quarreling was the natural element of the Puritans. They commenced fighting in the settlements of the Piscataqua, in New Hampshire, in 1631. Walter Neal and Thomas Wiggin, the inventor of the "Squamscot Patent," alias "Bloody-point Patent," agents of the two Plantations, came near shedding each others blood, that year. The latter threatened the former with the sword, because, as he said, he had encroached upon his land. The place where the quarrel took place is, to this day, called "Bloody-Point," on this account. Last year, some gentlemen, who had erected some "cottages by the sea-side," in Hampton, New Hampshire, were notified by the Town that their presence was not wanted. These "cottages by the sea-side," are near the dividing line of Neal and Wiggin, which was just above "Boar's Head Hotel," at Hampton Beach, a famous Summer resort, kept by Colonel S. H. Dumas.—W. F. G.

* It does not appear by whom, nor when, these Objections were made.

file our answers in the Sec^y office ten days before the Sitting of the assembly in their next Sessions— In obedience to which order—for answer, why we may not be included within the Said Petition, and Set off from the old Town with them Petitioners. Is that we do not nor never desired it, and that our Estates are parted by the Line proposed, none of us Living within the Boddy of the New Precinct Proposed, but on the Lines on the East and South Sides, and that the S^d lines propos'd will be very Injurious to us & therefore we Humbly Pray that our Poles and Estates may Still be Continued to the old Town of Exeter: and we are humbly of opinion that it would be a very great hardship to Set off So great a number of us the Subscribers from the Place we now belong to against our Wills and Intrest and which would prove So Great Damage to us on all accounts and that if this Hon^e Court think Proper to Sett off that new District; we humbly pray y^t we may be polled of to the old Town with our Estates within the S^d boundaries, and as in Duty Bound we Shall ever Pray &c

May 24th 1742

ANDREW GILMAN
JOHN ROBERTS
BENJAMIN GILMAN
EDWARD COLCORD
BILEY LYFORD
JEREMIAH BEAN JR
WILLIAM BEAN
NICOLAS SMITH
MOSES JUET
JONATHAN THING
EDWARD STEVENS
DANIEL QUINBY
ABRAHAM SMITH
JOSIAH THING
JOHN GORGE
NATHL^l WEBSTER
JOHN DUDLEY

TIMOTHY LEAUITT
NICHOLAS DUDLEY
DANIEL WORMALL
HUMPHRY WILSON
HALEY STEVENS
JOSEPH LEAUITT
EDWARD THING
DANIEL GILLS
SAMUEL DUDLEY JR
ELENER COLCORD
JONATHAN WADLEIGH
ANDREW DONNER
SAMUEL SMITH COPPER
NICKELAS DUDLEY JUNE
SARAH GORDEN WIDOW
JOHN EVINLY
STEPHEN LEAUITT

I.—*Further objections of the Remonstrants.*

TO HIS EXCELLENCY Benning Wentworth Esq^r Governour & Comander in Chief in and over his Majesties Province of newhampshire in New England & to the Hon^{ble} His Maj^{ty} Council for Said Province & House of Representatives w^h Conven'd in Gen^l Assembly

WHEREAS Sundry of the Inhabitants of the Southerly & Southeasterly part of the Town of Exeter in newhampshire aforesaid at the last Sessions Preferred a Petition to this Hon^{ble} Court to Set off a Parish (from the old Town of Exeter where they usually attend the Publick Worship) Setting forth therein that the Town at a meeting held the 22^d day of february last past had voted a new Parish Should be

Erected by the bounds Set forth in the Vote of the 22^d of fe^r (which would Comprehend the Petitioners and there Estates) &c^a as y^e their Petition.

And By a Petition dated at Exeter the 11th day of March last past by Sundry Persons also Signed the Petition So dated & Andrew Gillman & others Presented the Same to the Gen^l Court, praying that the Petition first above referred to might not be granted till they were heard: the Hon^{ble} Court Ordered that the Said Petitioners Should Serve the Said Andrew Gillman wth a Coppy of the Said Petition and Court Order thereon and a day of of appearance at the Sitting of the next Gen^l assembly, & also to file answers 10 days before the Sitting of the next Gen^l ass^m in the Secretaries office, (to Shew Cause &c)——

And in obedience to Said order, and for answer (besides w^h is in the Said Andrew Gillman & others Petition,) they beg leave to Say 1: That they are humbly of opinion what was acted at the meeting held on the 22^d fe^r Last, was not done in conformity to the intent of the Town at the first meeting which was held the 8th of fe^r, & y^t on y^e 22^d of fe^r was by adjournment, the Reason of which adjournment was (That new market & Epping Parrish Line might be run, & until it was run) that the Town & People might the better know what, & whose Persons & Estates would fall in. But the day of the Said meeting on y^e 22^d of fe^r fell out, before Either of the Said Lines were Run, and your Respondents Supposing the Meeting would be again Adjourn'd until the Said Lines were run, they were not at the meeting, nor did Severall of them know whether their Houses or Estate would fall within, or without the Said Lines of the proposd new Parish. The Petitioners for the new Parrish took the advantage of So thin a meeting and would not adjourn againe, to have the aforesaid Lines run, But obtained a Vote for Setting themselves off (they being y^e Majority :) and gave themselves Bounds—all which managment we think to be ag^t Law or Equity:—& therefor not to be regarded or Confirmed

2^d By the Bounds set forth in the vote of y^e 22^d of fe^r the Estates of Severall of your Respod^{ts} are Split, & Divided So, as Some of their Houses, are in the old Town, & their improvd Land, within the bounds proposed for the new Precinct: and Severall of their homestead Lands divided, Some one Side of the Line; and Some on the other which may be very prejudicial to them.

3^dly they are taken in by Said Line of y^e proposed precinct against their wills, or knowledge (by the vote of y^e 22^d fe^r aforesaid being past before the Lines aforesaid was run according to

the intent of the Town :) or that many of them knew how the Lines of the proposed Parrish would fall, & none of them being Petitioners.

4th the Great Confussion & heart Burning it will Raise by & with Som (if not amongst the whole) to be forced ag^t their wills to that they never desired, and will So greatly prejudice them and their Estates.

5^{ly} The Respondents under their present Circumstances & the Circumstances of the Petitioners; think they are not yet able to Support and maintain the necessary Charges of a Parrish Wherefore they humbly Pray the Prayer of the Petition may not be Granted.

But if the Hon^l Court Shall bee good to indulge the Petitioners with a Grant of a new Precinct according to the Bounds in Said Vote of y^r 22^d Feb^r.

Then Your Respondents Most humbly Pray the Hon^{ble} Court that their Poles & Estate may be Polled of to the old Town of Exeter, untill futher order, and your Petitioners, as in Duty bound Shall ever Pray &cⁿ.

May 27th 1742.

ANDREW GILMAN for himself and
the other respondents afores^d.

Rec^d into the Sec^ys office for the Province of new Hamp^r the 27th May 1742—

J.—*Action of the General Court, on the original Remonstrance of Andrew Gilman,—“B.”*

In the House of Representatives Jun 22^d 1742 the within Petition Read and Parties Heard & Voted That the Petition be Dismised

JAMES JEFFRY Cler^r Ass^m

K.—*Action of the General Court on the original Petition,—“C.”*

In the House of Representatives June 22^d 1742

The within Petition Read and the Parties heard thereon and those that desired to be heard against it, and, Voted / That the Prayer of the Petition be granted They Maintaining an orthodox Minister & that Ichabod Roby & Richard Jennes Esq^r, be a Committee of this House to Joyne Such as the Hon^{ble} the Council Shall appoint to go on the Spot and View where it is Most Convenient that a new meeting House may be placed, So as to be most Convenient for all the Parties Concerned & that to be Conclusive, and the Petitioners have liberty to bring in a Bill accordingly

JAMES JEFFRY Cler^r Ass^m

L.—*Agreement between opposing parties.*

WE Elisha Sanburn in behalf of the Petitioners for a Parrish in the Southwest part of Exeter, and John Dudley on behalfe of the Opposers of Said Petition (Excepting those Per-

sons that live on the South Side of Exeter River) do agree. That two places are proposed where to place a new Meeting House for Said District viz^t one place to be at the North East Corner of David Robinsons Land in Said District Joining to Jonⁿ Robinsons Land the South Side of the way that goes to Crawlys mill above Deere Hill Mill—the other place, at the South East Corner of Cap^t James Levits mowing Lot by a Gully on the north Side of the above Road, and that each party make Choice of a man Indifferent, and a third person be Chosen by both parties, & if they Cannot agree upon the third person, Then the two persons first Chosen Shall make Choice of a third persons: and that they three p^{rs}ons Say at which of the above places the meeting House Shall Stand, or at any Convenient place between the above two places mentioned

In Witness of the above Said Said agreement Each for the parties he Represents have hereunto Set their hands this 23^d June 1742

ELISHA SANBORN
JOHN DUDLEY

M.—*Action of the General Court, thereon.*

In the House of Representatives June 24th 1742 Upon Reconsidering the Votes on the Petition of the Inhabitants of the Southwest part of Exeter: for being Set off a Parrish—and upon Considering the Within agreement of the Several Parties

Voted/ That Richard Wibird & Geo. Walton Esq^r & m^r Jonaⁿ Thomson be a Comittee to go & View the places agreed upon by the Parties as within Mentioned for the placing the new Meeting House, and to fix the place where Said meeting House Shall Stand, and that to be a finall Conclusion: and that the Petetioners have liberty to bring in a Bill accordingly for parrish Powers—and also that the Charge of the Comittee be born and paid by the whole Society the Comittee to make their Return into the Secretarys office.

JAMES JEFFRY Cler^r Ass^m

In Council June 26th 1742

Concurred & John Downing Esq^r
aded to the above Comittee

THEOD ATRINSON Sec^y

Eod^m Die

In the House of Representatives
the councils vote of addition Read and Concurred

JAMES JEFFRY Cler^r ass^m

Eod^m Die

Assented to B WESTWORTH

N.—*Petition of the Agents of the Parish for the settlement of its Boundaries.*

TO HIS EXCELLENCY Benning Went

North Esq^r Governor & Commander in Chief in & over His Majestys Province of New Hampshire The Hon^{ble} His Majesty's Council & House of Representatives in General assembly Convened September the 14th 1742—

HUMBLY SHEWS

Joseph Leavitt & Elisha Samborn both of the Parish of Brintwood in the Province of New Hampshire & as Agents for said Parish

That the Inhabitants of said Parish are in an unsettled condition & Labour under Considerable difficulty notwithstanding the favour & Indulgence of the General Court in making them a Parish which arises from the uncertainty of the Boundaries on the Lower part of said Parish next to Exeter Town For as the Line which Divides said Parish from said Town is to begin at the Head of New Market Line & then to Run South to Exeter River making near a Right angle with New market Line and the head of that Line is not sufficiently ascertain'd it makes the said Dividing Line uncertain and the Said Parish of Brintwood will be Longer or Shorter according as the said Line shall be Settled which Considerably affects the Inhabitants thereof & the affairs of the Parish and Especially with Regard to fixing the Meeting house & other matters Relating thereunto— That the Parties Interested cannot agree tof themselves in the Premises WHEREFORE the said Agents Humbly Pray that a Committee may be appointed by the General assembly with Sufficient authority to ascertain the Said Boundaries of the Said Parish of Brintwood as Soon as may be by fixing & Runing the said Line of New market and all other Lines necessary to the End aforesaid for the better Regulation of the affairs of Said Parish & preventing Differences & Disputes between the said Parishes & the Town of Exeter afores^d or that the Same may be done in Such other method & as Soon as to the wisdom and Goodness of the Genral Assembly Shall Seem meet—

and your Petitioners as in Duty bound Shall Ever Pray &c

JOSEPH LEAVITT
ELISHA SAMBORN

O.—Action of the General Court, thereon.

In the House of Representatives Sep^r the 17th 1742 The within Petition Read: and Voted: That the Prayer of the Petition be Granted in the following manner, Viz^t That Cap^t Ichabod Roby M^r John Sanburn and Cap^t Nathaniel Ealy be a Committee to Run & mark out the Boundary Lines Between Exeter Old Parrish and new market and Between Exeter Old Parish and Brintwood and that they make Return of their doing therein & present a Plan of the

Lines they Run how they have markt out the Boundaries to the General assembly next Thursday if the assembly be then Sitting (if not) then on the third day of the Sitting of the Gen^l assembly at their next Sessions for acceptance, and that all the Parrishes of afore said Shall have Liberty to be heard (to Shew Reason if any they have) why the Lines Shall not be Settled agreeable to the Report of S^t Committee before it be Confirmd by the Gen^l Court. And that in case m^r John Sanburn & Cap^t Ealy: or Either of them will not accept & go with Cap^t Roby to Run Said Lines, That then Cap^t Roby Imploy two good understanding men to be Chaine men on Oath to go with him & That he make Return as aforesaid the Petitioners paying the Charge

JAMES JEFFERY Cl^r assⁿ

September 17, 1742—

In Council read & Concurred

THEODORE ATKINSON Sec^y

Eodem Die

assented to

B WENTWORTH

P.—Petition for relief of some of the inhabitants.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY Benning Wentworth Esq^r Governour and Commander in Chief in and over his Majesty's Province of New Hampshire and To the Hon^{ble} his Majesty's Council & Representatives in General Court Assembled—

HUMBLY SHEWETH the Subscribers hereunto Inhabitants of the Parish of Brintwood having for Some years past Erected a meeting house for the Publick worship of God in the most Suitable place for us that live on the North Side of the river and have also Carry'd on the Publick worship in it at our own Cost and in as much as the Moving Said house or our being obliged to move the Same or pay towards the Erecting a New meeting house further up into Said Parish would be a great hardship as well as Cost unto us Several of us Living two miles & upward from the Present meeting house WHEREFORE we humbly pray Your Excellency and this hon^{ble} Court will in your Great wisdom take our Case under your wise Consideration and Grant us Liberty to Continue to Carry on the worship of God in the present meetinghouse that we may be free from all Charges and to any other house that Shall be built and that we may be Set off as a particular District with Such other priviledges and by Such boundaries as your Excellency this hon^{ble} Court in your Great wisdom Shall See meet to Grant us— and Your Petitioners as in Duty Bound Shall Ever pray &c

Dated at Brintwood Nov^r 16th 1742.

ANDREW GILMAN	NICHOLAS DUDLEY
TIMOTHY LEAUT	DANIEL WORMALL
BANGAMAN GILMAN	JONATHAN GILMAN
SAMUEL STEUNES	JMEREH GILMAN
TROMAS MUDGET	SAMUEL EDGERLEY
HUMPHRY WILSON	STEPHEN LEAUT
JOSIAH THING	JOHN DUDLY
JOHN GORGE	JEREMIAH BEEAN
JONATHAN THING	SAMUEL SMITH
EDWARD COLCORD Junr	JOHN MORGIN
NICHLOUS DUDLEY Junr	JOHN QUINBY
JOHNATHAN DUDLEY	JOHN DUDLEY Junr
NICHLOUS SMITH	DARBY KALLY
WILMA BEAN	EDWARD COLCORD
EDWARD THING	ANDREW DONNER
JOHN MUDGET	MOSES JEWETT
HALEY STUENS	SARAH GORDEN
JOHN LEAVITT	JOSHUA BEEN
ITHIEAL CLIFFORD	MAVRICK GILMAN
JONATHAN QUENBY	ANTIPAS GILMAN
MOSES DUDLEY	SAMUEL DUDLEY Jun
MATHIA BEAN	JOHN ODLEN iun

JOHN QUINBE iun

Q.—*Preliminary action of the General Court, thereon.*

In the House of Representatives 9^h 23^d 1742 the within Petition Read and Voted that the Petitioners (at their own Cost Serve the Select men of Brentwood with a Coppy of this Petition and the votes thereon: And y^t they appeare the 3^d day of the Sitting of the Gen^l ass^m after the 25th day of December next to Shew Cause (if any they have) why the prayer of the Petition may not be granted

JAMES JEFFRY Cle^r ass^m

PROV N HAMPR

Nov^r 23^d 1742 the above Vote of the House read & Concurr'd

THEOD ATKINSON Sec^y

PROVE NEW HAMPR

November 24th 1742

assented to

B. WENTWORTH

R.—*Order of the General Court, on taxes in the Parish.*

WHEREAS the new Parish of Brentwood in the Town of Exeter, has been Set off from the old Town of Exeter Since the Proportioning the Town &c^a in this Province has been made,— And the Warrants from the Treasurer came directed to the Select Men of Exeter for the Prov^{nc} Tax w^h Included the Poles & Estates of those persons & Estates in Brentwood and Since they have been Sett off they Refuse to pay Exeter Constables their Proportion of the Prov^{nc} Tax: which is like to to cause a difference between the Town and parrish—

For prevention whereof Voted, That the Poles & Estates belonging to Said parish of

Brentwood pay their Proportion of the Province Tax as they are already assesed by the Select Men of Exeter, for the Present yeare, For the Constables who have the Warrants to Collect the Same, and for the future that Brentwood Joyn with the Town of Exeter in making their Province Rates till otherwise Ordered By the Gen^l assembly, and that an act be drawn up accordingly

9^r 25th 1742JAMES JEFFRY Cle^r ass^mIn Councel Nov 25th 1742

read & Concurd

THEODORE ATKINSON Sec^y

Eodem Die

Assented to

B WENTWORTH

S.—*Report of Committee on selection of a site for a meeting-house.*

Prov^a Newhamp^rPortsm^a Feb^{ry} 1st

1742

Persuant to An Act of the Gen^l Court Baring Date the 26th Day of June 1742:

Wee the Subscribers being appointed by Sd Act as a Committee to Survey and Veiw the parrish of Brintwood in the Town Ship of Exeter in the province aforesaid To See, where the most Convenient and Comodious place, is for the Erecting of, a Meeting house for the accommodation of the aforesaid parrish—

Accordingly to the power and Authority given us by the aforesaid Act Wee have Veiw'd all parts of Said parrish as was Shew'd by the Committee appointed by Vote of the parrish aforesaid to attend and Shew us, the Several parts of Said parrish and Inhabitants

Wee Doe therefore adjudge & Determine that a Certain peice of Land call'd or known by the name of Cap^t James Levitts Lott that lyes upon the North Side of, the Road or highway that Leads, from Deer hill Mill to Crawlys. falls, mill upon the Westerly Side of, the Gully—at the, Easterly Corner of Said Lott; is the most Convenient place According to the best of our Judgm^t and Shall be the Spott for the Setting the Meeting house on; Which wee give as our Judgm^t and Determination under our hands the Day above Said

JOHN DOWNING

GEO WALTON

JONATHAN THOMSON

Comittee

T.—*Action of the Town, on that subject.*

At a Legal parish meeting held at Brint wood on munday february the 19th 1742-3 voted m^r timothy Leaut moderator of Sd meeting at the Same meeting it was voted that Jeremiah Been & Joseph Leaut be Chosen to agree with the man that owns the Land where the Committee hath Detirm'd a place for a meeting house in Sd parish & allso to take a Deed of Sd Land for

the use of the of the parish of the afore S^d man If he See fit to give a deed, at the Same meeting it was voted that John Roberts John marsh Jeremiah Rowe James Roberdson Daniel Sandburn be Chosen a Committee to Imply men to procure timber for a meeting house in S^d parish & all other Stuff that is Necessary for building S^d house in S^d parish: at the Same meeting it was voted that the meeting house in S^d parish be builded by way of Rate Sixty feet Long and forty feet wide: at the Same meeting voted that the Same Committee have power to agree with Carpenders & others Leabouring men in S^d parish to build the frame of the S^d meeting house upon the S^d Lot that the S^d Committee hath apointed for Setting S^d house at the Same meeting voted that the frame of S^d meeting house be Completed workman Like fit to Raise by the tenth day of June next Insewing. at the Same meeting Voted that Eury Labouring man & yoake of oxa have Seven Shilling p^r day Each & find himself for Eury days work he is out about S^d frame for house—
a true Copy taken out of Brintwood parish Records

Attest JOSEPH LEAUIT parish Clerk

U.—*Petition of Samuel Thing and others, supplementary to that of Andrew Gilman and others.*—[Ante, "P."]]

Province of

New Hampshire

TO HIS EXCELLENCY Benning Wentworth Esq^r Captain General and Governour in and over his Majesties Province of New Hampshire aforesaid To his Majesties Councill and house of Representatives in General assembly Convened—

WHEREAS there is a Petition of Andrew Gilman, and others now Lying before Your Excellency and the Hon^{ble} Court Praying that Your Excellency and the Hon^{ble} Court will in your great Wisdom take their Case under Your wise Consideration—and Grant them Liberty to Continue to Carry on the Worship of God in the Present Meeting house that they may be free from all Charges and Duties to any other house that Shall be built and that they may be Set off as a Particular District with Such other Priviledges and by Such Boundaries as Your Excellency and this Hon^{ble} Court in your Great Wisdom Shall See meet to Grant them— To which Said Petition our names are not affixed and we being Freeholders or Inhabitants within the Parish of Brintwood and are Desirous to have the Prayer of the Said Petition Granted (if Consistant with your Excellencies & Your honours Pleasure) Do Earnestly pray that we may be Receiv'd as Joynt Petitioners with them and Deemed as Such—And your Petitioners as in Duty Bound Shall Ever Pray &c.

Dated at Brintwood May 10th 1743.

SAMUEL THING

JOSEPH THING

GONA DUDLEY

JOHN HOLAN

EBENEZER HOOLE

JOSEPH THING JUN

NICHOLAS GORDON

NATHL WEBSTER

JOSEPH HOGGITT

CALEP BROWN

DANIEL QUINBY

PETER THING

V.—*Action of the General Court, on the Petitions of Andrew Gilman and others.*—[Ante, "P" and "U."]]

In the House of Representatives May the 24th 1743 the within Petitioners and their Opponents heard by their Council the House having Considered thereof VOTED. That this Petition and also a Petition Signed Joseph Thing & Peter Thing & ten others Desiring to be admitted to Joyne with the within Petitioners: be both Dismiss'd

JAMES JEFFERY Cler^k ass

W.—*Remonstrance of persons in North part of Brintwood.*

TO HIS EXCELLENCY Benning Wentworth Esq^r Governour and Commander in Chief in and over His Majesties Province of New Hampshire, And To the Hon^{ble} his Majesties Councill and Representatives In General Court assembled—

We the Subscribers Freeholders and Inhabitants of the Northerly part of the Parish of Brintwood in the Province aforesaid Do Humbly Crave Leave of Your Excellency and honours as follows Viz: Many of us Living four or five miles Distant from Exeter meeting-house have Attended the Publick Worship of God at that house for many Years past with Great difficulty and our families encreasing made it much more ditlicult Especially in the Winter, Spring & fall of the year— Wherefore about eight years ago we with Several or the Southerly part of Said Parish Erected a house for the Publick worship of God in the most Suitable place as they then thought and we Now Do think to Carry on the Publick worship in and Accordingly at our own Charge have Carry'd on the Same in the winter, Spring and fall of the Year ever Since as we had for four years or thereabout before Erecting Said house Carry'd on the Publick Worship in a Private house Standing near our Present Meeting house—

AND about Last February was twelve month the Freeholders & Inhabitants of the Southerly part of Brintwood aforesaid Petitioned the Town of Exeter aforesaid to be Sett off as a Parish Contrary to the will and Desire of most of

* Towls, it may be.—W. F. G

us and Said Town of Exeter Granted their Said Petition, Notwith Standing many of Dissented therefrom. And their Said Petition being granted they afterwards apply'd to Your Excellency and honours that we might be Permitted to Continue to Carry on the Publick worship of God in our Said house and to be Set off by Such Boundaries as your Excellency & honours Should think meet and be Exempted from all Charge towards the Meeting house and Minority in the Southerly Part of Said Parish &c: as by our Petition Lying before your Excellency and Honours in Your hon^{ble} Court may appear which Petition the hon^{ble} House of Representatives have Seen meet to Dismiss—

And also Your Excellency & honours having appointed a Committee of four Gentlemen, two out of Each house to Prefix the place where the Meeting house ought to Stand Three of said Gentlemen have been and made return but is Accounted voyd by your Excellency & honours For that the Committee Did not all Joyn in their Return and for which Reason our Petition was also Dismissed wherefore our Case at Present Seems very hard and Difficult we having been at Such Cost to Erect our Said house and to Maintain Preaching in it hitherto and the minister also who hath hitherto Preached to us being at our Earnest Desire willing to Continue with us in the Ministry If your Excellency & honours will in your great wisdom take this our Remonstrance of our Difficult Circumstances in our Present Meeting house not being Established and our aforesaid Petition not being Granted and the great Charges and Difficulties we hitherto have and Still Do Labour under, Under your Excellency and Honours wise Consideration and be pleas'd to grant us Relief herein as in your Great wisdom you Shall See meet And as in Duty Bound we Your Excellencies & honours Most Obedient, Humble Servants Shall Ever Pray &c:

Dated at Brintwood June 27th Anno Domini 1743

ANDREW GILMAN	HUMPHRY WILSON
EDWARD COLCORD	NICHOLAS DUDLEY
ANTIPAS GILMAN	TIMOTHY LEAVITT
BANIAMIN GILMAN	SAMUEL EDGERLEY
SAMUEL DUDLEY	JONATHAN THING
STEPHEN LEAVITT	JOSIAH THING
JONATHAN HADLEY	NICOLAS DUDLEY
JEREMIAH BEAN	JOHN DUDLEY
JOHN GORGE	EDWARD THING
DANIEL QUINBY	SARAH GORDEN
JOHN LEAVITT	SAMUEL STEVENS
JOSEPH HOYT	JOSHUA BEEN
JOHN MORGIN	JOHN HOLON
ZEKIL CLAFORD	SAMUEL SMITH
DANIEL WORMALL	MARTHY BEEN
HALEY STUENS	JEREMY GILMAN JUN ^r

X.—Action of the General Court, thereon.

In the House of Representatives July 1st 1743 The within Petition Read & Considered on & Voted That Eleazer Russell Esq^r Mark Langdon Gen^l & M^r Noah Barker of Stratham be a Committee to Joyne Such as the Hon^{ble} the Council Shall appoint to Go to the Parrish of Brentwood and View the Situation of Said Parrish —& See whether it will be most Convenient for the Inhabitants thereof to be Divided Into two Parrishes, or whether the whole Shall meet at the Meeting House already Built, for Some Limited time or to Conclude upon Some other method that they Shall think to be for the best good of the Said Parish. In Order for their being Settled in Peace and that they make Report to the Gen^l ass^m the third day of the Sitting of the Gen^l ass^m at their next Sessions, and that the Petitioners be at the Charge of the Committee, and that the Petitioners Serve the Select men of Brentwood with a Coppy of this Petⁿ & Votes that they may Notifie the Parish of these proceedings—and that those that will dispute what Is acted may appeare at the day above Said—

JAMES JEFFRY Cle^r Ass^m

Eodem Die

In Council read & Concurr'd & the above Sa Committee hereby Established & Impowerr'd for the End above Sd

THEOD ATKINSON Sec^y

Eodem Die

Assented to

B WENTWORTH

Y.—Petition of Inhabitants of Brintwood.

Province of
New Hampshire & TO HIS EXCELLENCY
Benning Wentworth Esq^r
Governor and Commander in Chief In and over His Majesties Province of New Hampshire And To the Hon^{ble} His Majesties Council, and House of Representatives In General Court Assembled.

HUMBLY SHEWS The Subscribers, Inhabitants of the Parish of Brintwood in the Province Aforesaid That they Having at their own Cost and Charge Erected a house for the Publick Worship of God in Said Parish—Do—Therefore Humbly Request Your Excellency and The Hon^{ble} Court To Enable us by an Act of the Hon^{ble} Court To Poll off our Selves, our Families and Estates and Such Others as Shall Think meet to Joyn with us in Carrying on the Publick Worship in Said house, And that they may be Exempt from Charge towards Supporting any other house or Minister in Said Parish besides their own.

And Your Petitioners as in Duty Bound Shall ever Pray.

Dated December 10th 1743.

ANDREW GILMAN	EDWARD COLCERD
DANIEL WORMALL	BANIA GILMAN
NICOLAS DUDLEY	NICOLAS DUDLEY JUNR
SAMUELL STEENES	JEREMIAH GILMAN
JONTHEN GILMAN	HALEY STEENS
WID ^o MARE DUDLEY	WID ^o SARAH GORDEN
JOSIAH THING	TIMOTHY LEAUITT
THOMAS FLANDERS	JOHN GORGE
JONATHAN WADGET	JOSHUA BEEN
JOHN MORGER JUN ^r	DARRE KELY
JONATHAN THING	ANTIPAS GILMAN
JOSEPH HOIT	JOHN DUDLY
STEPHEN LEAUITT	EDWARD THING
DANIEL QUENBEE	HUMPHRY WILSON
JONATHAN QUINBE	SAMUEL DUDLEY
SAMUEL SMITH	JEREMIAH BEEN
SAMUEL EDGERLEY	CALB BROWN
JOHN HOLON	MARTHA BEN

Z.—*Second Petition, supplementary to the last.*

Province of) TO HIS EXCELLENCY
New Hampshire) B Wintworth Esq^r Cap^t
Governor in and Over his
Maj^{ties} Province of New-
hampshire

To his Maj^{ties} Council and house of repre-
sent^{rs} in General Assembly Convened Whereas
there a Petition of Andrew Gilman and others
now Lying before Your Excelency and the
Hon^{ble} Council Praying &c B^e Bearing Date De-
cember the 10 1743 to which our names are not
in Infixed & we being Freeholders or Inhabit-
ants within the Parish of Brintwood and are
Desirous to have the Prayers of the Sa Petition
Granted if Consistant with your Excellency
and Your Hon^{ble} Council and house of Repre-
sent^{rs} Pray that we may be Recd as Joynt Peti-
tioners with them and Deemed as Such & your
Petitioners as in Duty Bound Shall

Ever Pray

JOHN LEAUITT
THEAL CLIFORD
MA^r GILMAN
NICLAS SMITH

AA.—*Action of the General Court on the Peti-
tion of Andrew Gilman and others.*—[Ante,
"W."]]

In the House of Representatives N^r the 15th
1743—The above Petition Read and Voted,
That the Petitioners at their proper Cost &
Charge: Serve the Select men of Exe^r and the
Select Men of Brentwood, with a Coppy of the
Petition and Votes thereon: to appeare the
third day of the Sitting of the Gen^l assembly
after the first day of aprill next, to Shew Cause
(if any they have) why the Prayer of the Peti-
tion may not be granted

JAMES JEFFRY Cler^r ass

In Council Eodem Die
read & non Concurr'd

THEODORE ATKINSON Sec^y

And Voted That the Prayer of the Petition
be granted and that any Rateable Person or
Persons that are now Inhabitants within the Sd
Parish of Brintwood may Joyne with the
Petitioners Provided they Enter thier names
with the Clerk of the Parish aforesd on or be-
fore the 25th Day of febr^y next & that any Per-
son that Shall Settle in the Sd Parish within
Three years may alsoe have the Liberty of
Joyning with the Petitioners by Entring their
names with the Clerk of the Sa Parish—and
that an Act be drawn up Accordingly

THEODORE ATKINSON Sec^y

In the House of Representatives N^r: 16th
1743 the above vote of Council Read & non
Concured: & Voted That the Petitioners at
their Proper Cost and charge Serve the Select
men of Brentwood with a Coppy of this Petition
and the Votes thereon, to appeare the week after
next (of the Gen^l ass^m be then Sitting) if not
then to appeare the third day of the Sitting
of the Gen^l ass^m after that time—to there
Cause why the prayer of the Petition may not
be granted

JAMES JEFFRY Cler^r ass^m

December 17th 1743

In Council Read & Concurr'd

THEODORE ATKINSON Sec^y

Eodem Die

Assented to B WENTWORTH

BB.—*Reasons of Inhabitants for opposing the
Prayer of that Petition.*

Province of) TO HIS EXCELLENCY Ben-
New Hamp^r) ning Wentworth Esq^r Governor
and Commander in Chief in and
over his Maj^{ties} Province of New Hamp^r And
to the Hon^{ble} his Maj^{ties} Councill And House of
Representatives In General Court Assembled—

We the Subscribers Inhabitants of the Par-
rish of Brent Wood in the Prouince aforesaid,
Having been Served with a Copia of a Petition
of a Number of Inhabitants of Said Brentwood
Dated Decr 10th 1743 who have Petitioned this
Hon^{ble} Court, to Enable them by an act of Sa
Court, to Poll of themselves & families and Es-
tats & Such others as Shall think Meet to Joyn
with them in carrying on the Publick Worship
of God at a certain house they have Erected in
Sd Parrish at their own Cost & charge, —

And being Served with the Votes on Sd Peti-
tion, & to appear in Sd Court to Shew Cause
why the Prayer of the Sd Petition may not be
granted—

Our Reasons why Said Petition May Not be
granted are as followeth 1^o) If their Petition

should be granted It would be very destructive, both to them & us, Neither of us being able to Pay the Publick and Private charges Necessarily arising in S^d Parrish, the which we Should be able to Do Should the Parrish & Inhabitants be Kept together; 2^{dly}: Should their Petition be granted It would Put the Parrish to more confusion and Difficulty about Seling then ever has been yet, & besides Should their Request be granted, their are many families in S^d Parrish as they Say which lives convenient to poll of Some to Kingston & Some to Epping for the benefit of going to meeting, which purpose to petition S^d Court to poll off also If their Petition be granted, 3^{dly}) Inas:much as that after three of the Gentlemen who were appointed in the Charter for S^d Parrish to State the place where y^r meeting house Should Stand had appointed the Place there was a unanimous Vote in S^d Parrish at a legall Parrish Meeting, to build a meeting house on the Spot appointed by S^d Gentlemen, & then chose a Com^{tee} to take care & to build S^d house which Commite agreed with men to build it, at the Parrish Cost & it is now framed Ready to be Raised, but the present Selectmen Refusing to Raise Money by way of Rate to pay the charge the men that did the work and Kept out of there honest due, And they S^d Petitioners as we Suppose think to Escape Paying their part of the charge towards building S^d Meeting house, by there Polling off And Severall of them being of the first Petitioners for S^d Parrish.

We hope that by these objections and What May be further offered on Tryal your Honours Will Pleas to deny there Request: And that and End May be Speedely put to our long troubles we labour under, Dated Decr 26th 1743

JOHN ROBERDS
NATH FOLSHAM
JOHN BROWN
NICKLAS GORDN
JAMES YOUNG
JEREMIAH BEEAN JUN^r
WILMAN GRAVES
JOHN FOLSHAM
BENJAMIN VESEY
BANIMAN ROBURDS
ROBERT BROWN
JAMES DUDLEY JUN^r
GEOG ROBODS
ELISHA SAMBORN
DANIEL GORDEN
DANIEL GILES JUN^r
DAVID SMITH
BILEY LYFORD
BENJAMIN ROGERS
ISAAC CLEFFORD
JOEL JUDKINS

JOHN MARSH
BENJAMIN FIFIELD
BILEY HARDING
JEDEDIAH PRESCUTT
THOMES GORDING
MOASES FIFIELD
HANARY MARSH
DAVID BEAN
JOHN ROBERDS JUN^r
EZEKIEL SMITH
JOB KENISTON
DANIEL SANBON
JEAMES ROBSENCOEN
JOSEPH LEAUIT
DANIEL GILES
JOHN GILES
JEAMAS MARSH
JONATHEN SMITH
THOMAS CRITCHETT
JACOB HOBBS
ITHIEL SMITH

ZECHIRIAH JUDKINS
ROBERT YOUNG
CHARLES YOUNG
NICHOLAS GORDEN JEAN^r
JEREMIAH ROW
JONATHAN ROBINSON
SAMUEL JONES
BENJA SCRIBNER
SAMUEL ROBDES
AMBROS HINDS
JOHN JAMES
NICHELAS DOLLOP
JOHN MUDGET
JONATHAN TALEN
JOHN BEAN
JOSEPH MOODEY
ELEXAND^r ROBERDS

CC.—*Final Action of the General Court, thereon.*

In the House of Represent^t X^r 30th 1743
the Petitioners & the Respond^{ts} heard & the
House having Considered thereof

Voted That the Said Pet^r be Dismist
JAMES JEFFRY Cler^r ass^{nt}

DD.—*Renewed Petition for relief, by some of the Inhabitants.*

TO HIS EXCELLENCY BENNING WENTWORTH ESQ^r Governor and Comander in chief in and over his Majesties Province of Newhampshire in Council

HUMBLY SHEWETH, Andrew Gilman, Nicholas Dudley and Humphry Wilson, Freeholders and Inhabitants of the Northerly part of the Parish of Brentwood, on behalf of themselves and their distressed Neighbours, and friends Living within the Northerly part of Said Parrish, who have once and again been Supplicating y^r Excellency with the other branch of the General assembly for our being Set off from the other part of Said Parrish, and that we might Injoy the liberty of carrying on the Publick Worship of God in our present Meeting House free from any Charge to be Laid on us by the other part of Said Parrish, and in as much as our Grievances Still remain unredrest, and fearing the daily approaches of Greater by unreasonable Taxes, &c^a

We your humble Petitioners, for our Selves and our distressed Brethern and neighbours, would therefore humbly crave leave from y^r Excellencie once more to lay our distressed circumstances under your wise consideration and humbly Pray that your Excellency will be pleased to think of Some Speedy way to Set us off from the other part of Said Parrish, and from the charges thereof. That we may Still continue the Publick Worship of God in our own Meeting House, and not be forced to go to the meeting House, which Some of the other part of the Parrish would have us, which we could not do (in time of War) without the utmost hazzard of the Lives of our Selves & Famillyes, the place where their Meeting House is propos'd to be Sett, being in the midst of a Great Swamp, and very hazardous and also difficult to go to Either in Spring or Fall, of the Year

We your humble Petitioners most humbly leave
 our Selves and our distressed Circumstances to
 your Pity and Compassion of Your Excellency,
 humbly praying your Pity and Compassion,
 and the hearing and Granting this our Petition,
 as in your Wisdom you shall See most meet.

And your Petitioners as in Duty bound Shall
 ever pray &c.

Dated May 26th 1744

ANDREW GILMAN
 NICOLAS DUDLEY
 HUMPHRY WILSON
 in behalfe of the rest
 that have now a Peti-
 tion lying before
 the Gen^l ass.

*II.—Further Remonstrance of Inhabitants of
 Brintwood.*

October y^e 8th 1744

We whose Names are Under written having
 by Chance heard that his Excelency & the
 Hon^{ble} Council hath Sent a Surruir to the
 Parish of Brintwood in Order to Deuide the
 same and we being takin in to the Lower Part
 and have bin at Grate Charge in gitting the
 Parish— We Pray that we may not be Con-
 f^l therein for we are Sencible that theair is not
 a sufficient number in it To be at the Nessecary
 Charges of a town Parish or Presceinct but that
 we may have a years Liberty for Consideration
 or what His Excelency Shall Se fit to Give us—

JONATHAN CRAM	JEREMIAH ROWE
JONATHAN ROBINSON	MOSES JEWETT
JONATHAN THING	JOHN MUDGET
THOMAS MUDGET	NICHLOES SMITH
WILLIAM BEEN	JONATHAN WODLEY
JONATHAN TOSER	JOHN JAMES

*III.—Minute of a Conference between opposing
 parties.*

October y^e 15th 1744

According To the advice of His Excelency
 we A Number of Booth Peartes in the Parrish
 of Brintwood have Descorsed on our afair Con-
 searning an agreement—And the upper People
 Desire Stell to Stand by the first Act in making
 the Parrish Notwithstanding They whose Names
 are under written are willing Rather then to be
 deuided that the that the meeting house Should
 be Sit by way of Rate Viz as Near the Senter
 of the midth of the Parish on the middle Rode
 as may be and as Near the Botim Line as that
 one half the money a Cording to the Rate this
 Year shall be Raised above it

REUBEN SMITH	BENJA VEASEY
JAMES YOUNG	JEREMIAH BEAN
JON ^s ROBINSON	JAMES ROBINSON
ELISHA SAMBORN	BENJA FIEFIELD
DANIEL SAMBORN	JOHN ROBERTS
JER ^m ROWE	MOSES JEWETT

VI.

*PAPERS CONCERNING SETTLEMENT OF
 REV. WOODBRIDGE ODLIN.*

*A.—Petition for relief of opponents to the set-
 tlement of Mr. Odlin.*

To His Excellency Benning Wentworth Esq^r
 Governor and Commander in Chief in and over
 his Majesties Province of New Hampshire &c and
 to The Hon^{ble} His Majesties Council, and House
 of Representatives, in Generall assembly Con-
 ven'd

The Humble Petition of a Number of the
 freeholders, and other Inhabitants of the Town
 of Exeter, Humbly Sheweth, that att the annu-
 all meeting held in Exeter, in the the Year 1743:
 The Town did att S^d meeting proceed (in a hasty
 and resolute manner, as wee Conceive Contrary
 to the mind of most of your Petitioners, who
 timely Entered their dissent) to Chuse a Comi-
 tee, absolutely to agree with, and Settle Mr
 Woodbridge Odlin,* as a Colleague with his
 father† in the ministry: which was Effectted by
 S^d Comittee, and the Gentleman soon Settled;
 which being very greivous to us, & wee most
 of us apprehending that neither wee, nor our
 households, would be likely to proflitt under
 his Ministry, therefore could not receive him as
 our Minister, and have for our own and house-
 hold's Spirituall Edification, Supported a Gos-
 pel Minister, to preach to us upward of a year,
 and have been Obliged to pay our proportion
 toward the Settlement, and Salary of S^d Gentle-
 man notwithstanding; and as most of us have
 tho't it our duty so to do, wee, still look upon
 it our duty for our own, and our household's, &
 others Spirituall Edification, to Settle a Gos-
 pel minister amongst us and in order thereto, have
 Erected a Meeting house, for the Publick wor-
 ship of God, att our own cost, and having al-
 ready made application to the town for releif,
 butt they granting of us none: Wee tho't it
 our duty to make Application to this Hon^{ble}
 Court for releif, therefore wee humbly pray that
 your Excellency, and Hon^{rs} will take our Case
 under your wise Consideration, and grant us re-
 leif in the following Manner Viz^t by Exempting
 us, our households, and Estates, and all those
 persons, and familys, with their Estates, whose
 hearts the Lord Shall Incline to Join with us,
 within a limmited time, to be prefix by your Ex-
 cellency, and your Honours, from paying any
 thing to the further Support of the new Settled

* He was ordained, September 28, 1743: died in 1776,
 aged fifty-seven years.—W. F. G.

† The Rev. John Odlin, born in Boston, November
 18, 1681; H. C. 1702; ordained at Exeter, November 11,
 1706; died November 20, 1754. That Church was founded
 by Rev. John Wheelwright, in 1638, after he had been
 banished from the Colony of Massachusetts Bay.—W. F. G.

ministers, or those that may Succeed them: provided wee Support a Gospell Mini-ster amongst our Selves: Or to grant us releif in Any other way that you, in your great wisdom, Shall think best: and if your Excellency and Hon^{rs} Should think it reasonable; That wee have some allowance made us for the money wee have already paid, toward the Settlement and Support of S^d Gentleman, and Your petitioners as in duty bound Shall ever pray &c

EXETER July 18th 1744—

JOHN LORD	SAMLL GILMAN
NEHEMIAH GILMAN	DANIEL SMITH
JOSIAH GILMAN	DANIEL THING
SAMUEL NORRIS	NICH ^o GILMAN
THOMAS DEAN	ABNER THUSTIN
MOSES SWETT	ROBERT LIGHT
BENJA THING	JONATHAN GILMAN
JOHN LEAVITT	WADLEIGH CRAM
DANIEL GILMAN	JOSIAH LADD
DUDLEY JAMES	JAMES DUDLEY
PETER GILMAN	DANIEL FOLSON
TRUEWORTHY GILMAN	MOSES GILMAN inour
JOHN GILMAN	SAMUELL DOLLOP
JONT JUDGSKINS	CHARLES RUNDLET
JOHN SLEPER	JAMES THUSTEN
JOHN DUDLY	THEOPHILUS SMITH
JOHN PHILLIPS	THOMAS LORD
SAMLL GILMAN	JOHN DEAN
RICHARD SMITH	NICHOLAS GORDIN
JONATHAN GILMAN jr	JOHN LIGHT
STEPHEN THING	JEREMIAH BEAN
RICHARD SMITH Juner	JOHN LOOGE JUNIER
JOHN HAINES	EBEN ^r SINKLER
JON ^a YOUNG	BENJAMIN LARY
TRUE DUDLEY	JOSHEP SMITH
ABNER DOLLOP	GEORGE DUTCH
JOSHUA FOULSHAM	JOHN ROBINSON Juner

B.—*Action of the General Court, thereon.*

In the House of Representatives July 19th 1744—The within Petition, Read, And Voted, That the Petitioners at their own Cost and charge Serve the Select Men of the old Twno of Exeter, with a Coppy of this Petition, and the Votes thereon, And the Said Select Men may call the Said Town together, to Choose Agents (if they See cause) to appear the Second day of the Sitting of the General ass^m After the last day of July Curr^t to Shew Cause (if any they have) why the Prayer of the Petition may not be granted

JAMES JEFFERY Cle^r ass^m

In Council July 20th 1744

read & Concurr'd

THEODORE ATKISON Sec^{ry}

Eod^m Die

assented to

B WENTWORTH

C.—*Minutes of action at the Town-meeting, thereon.*

at a meeting of the freeholders and other Inhabitants of The Town of Exeter holden at the town house in Exeter July 30th 1744

Voted Maj^r Nich^o Gilman Mod^r of Said meeting.

Voted that their be agents Chosen to Reper- sent the town in General Court or assembly.

Voted that m^r Nich^o Peryman M^r James Gilman & Zebulon Giddinge be agents for that End.

Voted that they or either of them to appear in General Court at the next Seting to Shue Cause Why the Petition of a number of this town Should not be Granted and to Defend the town against the Same.

a Coppy ZEBULEN GIDDINGS Town Clerk

D.—*Objections made by the Agents of the Town, to the prayer of the Petitioners.*

TO HIS EXCELLENCY BENNING WENT- WORTH Esq^r: Governor and Commander in Cheif in and over His Majestys Province of New Hampshire, and to the Hon^{ble} his Majesty's Council & House of Representatives in Generall assembly Convened

THE AGENTS for the Freeholders and Inhab- itants of the Town of Exeter in the Province aforesaid Legally Chosen at their Meeting held at Exeter aforesaid on the thirtieth day of Ju- ly 1744. to make answer to, and Shew Cause why the Prayer of the Petition of a Number of the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the Town of Exeter, Preferred to Your Excellency and this hon^{ble} Court (on the 18th day of July 1744.) may not be Granted.

IMPRIMIS, The Said Petitioners have been Guilty of a very Great Mistake in Setting forth in their Petition, the Hastty & Resolute manner (as they Conceiv'd) of Chusing a Committee ab- solutely to agree with and Settle M^r Woodbridge Odlin as a Colleague with his Farther in the Min- istry, which they Say "was Effected by Said "Committee and the Gentleman Soon Settled"—

We Humbly Crave Leave to Reply and Say that the Said Meeting (being on the 28th day of March 1744,) was Carried on by the Freeholders and Inhabitants (Excepting the Petitioners) in as Moderate & Deliberate a manner as Annual meetings have been usually Carry'd on in and the Choice of the Said Committee was made after a mature Consideration and Deliberation of the Voters then Present, (as we apprehended) by a very Great Majority, and Some time after, one of the Said Committee (Viz:) M^r Benjamin Thing, refusing to Act, and the others not think- ing it Safe to act without him being Chosen to act Joyn^{tly}) upon their Representation of it to

the Select men of Said Town Another Town meeting was Call'd on the thirteenth day of June then next to See if the Town would Proceed in Chusing another in his room or Give power to the Remainder of the Said Committee or the Major part of them to act in the Premises— At which Meeting after Due Consideration of the Voters then Present they Voted that the Remainder of the Said Committee or the Major part of them Should have full power to Act in and about the Premises; and the Gentlemen was not ordained untill the Twenty Eighth of September following, Waiting that time in hopes that many of the Principal men of the new Petitioners would have been Reconcil'd to the Gentlemen whom they by their request, with Sundry others on the 4th of January 1741. by a paper under their hands approv'd of and Pray'd his assistance with his hon^d Father, in the Ministry and thereby Prevail'd with him to Refuse a Call that was about to be made him at the Town of Biddeford, where he had for Some time Preached to the Great Satisfaction of that People and also at many other places as well as in our Town, too well known to be Denied by the Petitioners, and his Life and Doctrine being agreeable To us the Town Proceeded as before—and what moved many of the Petitioners to be prejudiced against him, we know not— For at the ordination, there were Twelve Churches, by their Elders and Delegates Call'd to Advise and assist in the ordination before whom many of the now Petitioners made their objections in writing against their Proceeding to Said Ordination, and were Patiently heard by the Said Elders and Delegates, who after Serious Deliberation—on the Said objections, Judged the Same to be Insufficient, and So Proceeded to the Ordination Since which Several of the Petitioners have Joyn'd in Communion with our Church, and two of them (Viz) M^r Benjamin Thing and M^r John Light, neither they nor their Familys have forsaken the Ordinances—and Major Thomas Deane, another of the Petitioners who had for Some time left the Communion of the church upon his Declaring that he was Convinced that it was his Duty to Returne to the ordinance of the Lords Supper; and to Joyn in Communion with this Church, hath been Lately Readmitted to and Partaken of that ordinance

2^d We Crave Leave to observe that Some of the now Petitioners, Joyn'd with others in a Petition to the Selectmen for their Incerting in their Warrant for the annual meeting to Consider of and Vote if they tho^t. meet the Choice of a Committee to Call and agree with the Said M^r Woodbridge Odlin to assist his hon^d. Farther as a Colleague in the ministry with him &c:

3^d We would crave Leave to observe that the

reasons that Several of the Petitioners who were Church members Gave; by a paper under their hands Dated May 14th. 1743, for their withdrawing at first was "That they had observed with Grief the Conduct of our Rev^d Pastor M^r John Odlin with regard to the work of Gods Glorious Grace in the Late outpouring of his Spirit amongst us of which they Trusted many of them had been the Subjects, and their being Convinced in their Consciences that our said Pastor and Church Did not treat the Same as a work of Sovereign Rich Grace, but that the Method of their Late Conduct, the Petitioners apprehended had been, and Continued in Opposition thereto, in-as-much as the Instrument it had pleased God to make use of in Carrying it on, and the Subjects of it are Discountenanced" they meaning as we apprehend thereby, that our Rev^d Pastor and Church Refused to allow Such of the Itinerant Preachers to Preach in the Meeting house, who did not first wait on our rev^d Pastor and Give him Satisfaction as to their Principles and Doctrine, & also that he Did not Comply with the Irregularities of the Times, and also as to the method of the Settlement of M^r Woodbridge Odlin, which we apprehend was Right

4th We further observe, that (as we humbly conceive) the Calling & Settlement of M^r Woodbridge Odlin was agreeable to the Laws of this Province, & the usage of the Churches in this Government: much the Greater part of the Town being Sencible of their need they Stood in of an assistant to his hon^d Father, by reason of his Age as well as his bodily Infirmitys and also having had full and Satisfactory proof of the Said M^r Woodbridge Odlin's Life, Conversation and Doctrin,

5th We Humbly Conceive that the Prayer of the Petition if Granted, will Tend Greatly to the Prejudice not only of this Church, but also of all the other Churches of this Government and will be a manifest breach of the Law of this Province and Contrary to the Constitution of the Churches in the Country, for any Small number of Persons who through unreasonable Prejudice Shall desire this Hon^{ble} Court, to Exempt themselves, their Familys and Estates from paying towards the Support of the Present Settled Ministers or those that Succeed them; when the Law of this Province in that Case already made & provided obliges them So to do: unless the Petitioners Should So Chande their Principles in Religion, that the Act of Parliament would Free them from the Same: which we Apprehend is not the Case of the Present Petitioners.—Neither have the Petitioners, Either before the Council Present at the Ordination, or the Council Lately Call'd by this Church, Supported their objections

against the Calling & ordaining of Mr Woodbridge Odlin, and the offence Taken at the Settlement of the Rev^d Mr Woodbridge Odlin under the Notion of his being an Opposer of the work of God, the Said Last Council* in their Result Say that therein they tho^t they (meaning the withdrawing brethren, Some of the Petitioners) had Cast an undue Reflection upon him.—and as to the Validity and Regularity of his Settlement, they found it was Agreeable to the Majority both of Town and Church, and approv'd and ratified by a Venerable Councill of Churches Call'd by this Church—and the Said Council Further adjudg'd that the Agriev'd brethren's Calling a Council at the Time and in the Manner they did, was an uncommon Step of Proceedure, and that this Church have been in the way of their Duty, and have Done no more than they had a right to do in Calling them as a Council, without the Agriev'd brethren, They being Desir'd to Joyn in Calling them.

6th We Humbly Conceive that the Conclusion of the Prayer of the Petitioners is absurd, unreasonable and unjust in Desiring to have Some Allowance made them for the money they have already paid towards the Settlement and Support of the Said Gentlemen, meaning (as we Suppose) our Present Ministers.—as to the Settlement of the Rev^d Mr John Odlin, very few, if any of the Petitioners paid any thing towards it, and as to the Settlement and Support of the Rev^d Mr Woodbridge Odlin, Several of the Petitioners having Lately Come into the Town, have paid Little or Nothing towards it, and Some of them not in the Rates until this Year.

Lastly We Humbly Crave Leave to Observe to your Excellency and honours That the Principal motives (as we Conceive) that the Petitioners have used in their Petition in order to induce this hon^{ble} Court to Grant the Prayer of their Petition, are these two (viz) First "that they have Supported a Gospel Minister to preach to them upward of a year," and 2^{dly} that they have at "their own Cost Erected a meeting house."—and as to the first, we humbly Conceive that they will be under Some Difficulty to prove that they have Supported a Gospel Minister, and we Conceive that their Separating from the Establish'd Ministry of The Town, without Just Cause was Evil in itself, and the Evil Example thereof has

Drawn Many, belonging to the Neighbouring Towns & Parishes, away to their Separate house, and to Leave their own Ministers; which things if Countenanced by this Hon^{ble} Court will be a Leading Example to others; and be a means of bringing this Province into the utmost Confusion, both by Dividing Familys and Separating friends and Christian Societies—And 2^{ly} as to their Erecting a meeting house (as they Say in their Petition) at their own Cost, We humbly Conceive, that any number of Gentlemen may build an house at their own Cost, if they please: But for this Hon^{ble} Court who have the Religious as well as Civil Interests of this Province—under their wise care, to Set it apart for the Publick worship of God, to the Disturbance and breaking up of the Neighbouring Churches and the Publick peace of the Government, we humbly Conceive would be a Great Grief and burden to the People in General, and bring the Province into Such Confusion as will Render the Inhabitants unable to Support the Charge of the Government.

For these reasons with what others we Shall Crave Leave to Lay before your Excellency and Honours, We Humbly hope This Hon^{ble} Court will be Induced not to Grant the Prayer of the Said Petition but to Dismiss the Same

NICH PERRYMAN
JAMES GILMAN
ZEBULEN GIDDINGS

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

VII.—THE SCHAGHTICOKE TRIBE OF INDIANS.

By HON. JOHN FITCH, OF NEW YORK.

PHILIP OF POCANOKETT, Sachem of a tribe of Indians living within the boundaries of Plymouth and Rhode Island, by his superior powers of intrigue and eloquence, succeeded in persuading most of the Indian tribes in New England to unite and make a vigorous effort to exterminate the English settlers. His influence and power over the various tribes were unbounded. He succeeded in forming a union of various tribes, who were able to number nearly four thousand of the best and bravest Indian warriors that then existed. With this horde of savages, he commenced his war of extermination of the settlers; and a fierce, bloody, and desolating conflict ensued, little or no mercy having been asked or given. The whites triumphed. Philip, in his misfortune, showed himself worthy of a better fate, and that he possessed many virtues. The War was destructive to his people, and cost them their favorite hunting-grounds; and many of his followers united with other tribes, while

* This Council met on the thirty-first of January, 1743, at the house of the Reverend Mr. Odlin, in Exeter; and then adjourned to the Meeting-house. The Council consisted of ten Churches, viz.: First Church in Kittery; First in Andover; Second and Third in Salem; First in Dover; First in Bradford; the Church in Nottingham; the Church in New-Castle; the Church in Rye; and the Second Church in Newbury. The result of the Council was printed in Boston, in a small quarto of sixteen pages, "by B. GREEN and Co., for D. Gookin, the Corner of Water-street, Cornhill, 1744."—W. F. G.

others emigrated to the State of New York, and became small, though independent, tribes.

After King Philip's defeat, in the year 1675-6, a portion of the Wampanongs and Narragansetts, two tribes which had been broken up, emigrated from Massachusetts; came to the Province of New York; and settled about eighteen miles North of the city of Albany, at a place named by them, SCHAGHTICOKE.* It was within the territory of the Six Nations, on the East side of the Hudson-river, at nor near the intersection of that river with the Hoosic-creek. The Mohawks, then a powerful tribe, occupied the great Mohawk-valley; and upon their hunting-grounds the Schaghticokes settled. The Mohawks received them kindly; and here they lived, in peace and quietness. No tribe had better hunting-grounds or finer streams for fishing. They roamed, unmolested, over a large space of country, which now constitutes Rensselaer, Washington, Saratoga, and parts of Albany and Columbia-counties, in the State of New York, Bennington-county, in Vermont, and Berkshire, in Massachusetts; and the grounds were likewise free, as far East as the Connecticut-river. Game of all kinds was then abundant. The Bear and Deer roamed through the fine forests; and the woodman's axe was not often heard, near the sylvan retreats of the Schaghticokes. The Hudson-river and the Hoosic-creek yielded them the sparkling trout; and their banks, with the slightest cultivation, afforded a great profusion of Indian corn and beans. The forest grew the chestnut, the hickory, and the butternut: no other tribe molested them. Here the fugitives found a home. They were received by the Six Nations, as a tribe, under their protection; as their children, they were admitted by them into their counsels and shared their confidence; and, from the white man, they learned to rear the apple-tree from the seed. Furs were abundant: the Beaver and the Otter abounded. Albany was a good market for their furs; and, from Albany, they obtained their guns and ammunition, their blankets and trinkets, in return for their game and furs.

For many years, they enjoyed uninterrupted prosperity. They increased in wealth, influence,

and numbers; and, with their white neighbors, they were on terms of peace and friendship—a friendship which, afterwards, proved, to the inhabitants of Schaghticoke, of great value.

It is not to be supposed, however, that any love existed in the bosoms of the Schaghticokes towards the English, since the latter had been the sole cause of their exile from the *homes* and *graves* of their fathers, which, to the Indian, are words held dear as life itself; but there were other considerations which were, with themselves, sufficient to cause them to appear friendly to the English.

As the Schaghticokes passed through the country of the Stockbridges, they gave the latter tribe some offence, which caused the Stockbridges, ever afterwards, to be their enemies; and as the Stockbridges were their neighbors, on the South, and were a tribe of some importance, standing high in the esteem of the English, it became the Schaghticokes to be as friendly to the English as they well could be, in order to secure their protection and care. Then, again, the Mohawks were a large and powerful tribe, numbering full four hundred warriors, friends of the English, and occupied all the country, near Albany, on the West side of the Hudson-river—their territory reaching to the Oneida-country. They likewise claimed the territory East of Albany, including the grounds of the Stockbridges; and that tribe were in a great measure incorporated with them, although possessing an independent organization. The Mohawks and Stockbridges, together with the Indians residing below Albany—the latter commonly called “the River Indians”—held frequent conferences with the English, at Albany; and at those conferences, the Schaghticokes appeared as a separate and independent tribe; and it was of the first importance to them to enjoy the friendship and confidence of the English, whose friendship they had once tested.

The Schaghticokes had found the friendship of the English to be of much service and a source of safety, in this wise. After the defeat of King Philip, the whites made a Treaty with Jamageson, Taitson, Agamang, and other Indian Chiefs, as the English styled them, of the New England tribes, for the capture of Philip and his Indians. For Philip, they were to receive forty coats, and for his head alone, twenty coats; and for every one of his subjects, two coats, if alive, and one, if dead.* Under this reward, the Schaghticokes were demanded of the English, in

* “With regard to the name (which has obtained such a barbarous orthography through the Dutch channel) in an interview with an intelligent St. Francis Indian, who was so far educated that he read the Indian Spelling-book and Bible with facility, I learned that *Skee-te-cook*, in his dialect, implied *still water*, or the slow, quiet water of a river; and that *Skat-te-cook* implied the fork or branch of a River. The name SCHAGHTICOKE has, I suppose, come from the last of these; but it is a little singular, that either term would have been appropriate for the neighborhood inhabited by these Indians; and that, at the present day, we have the two terms, *Schaghticoke* and *Still-water*, contiguous to each other—the name of the latter being, perhaps, a mere translation of the former.”—*Doctor ASA FITTON to the Author.*

* “The said Sachems shall carefully seize all and every of Philip's subjects, and deliver them up to the English alive or dead; that they shall use all acts of hostility against Philip and his subjects, to kill them wherever they can be found; that, if they seize Philip and deliver him alive to the English, they shall receive forty tunking cloth coats; and for his head, alone, twenty of said

the Province of New York ; but it is needless to say that the request was promptly refused. This the Schaghticokes well knew ; and it was a prominent reason why they were apparently so friendly, which seeming friendship continued, unabated, until they removed to Canada, in the year 1754.

They frequently visited Fort Nicholson and Fort Edward, on the Hudson-river, the Fort at Saratoga, Fort Dummer, on the Connecticut-river, and the village of Schenectady ; and they were ever on the alert to aid the English, in any emergency, against either the French or hostile Indians.

They occupied and hunted upon the confederate territory, which lands so occupied by them, were bounded on the North, by Split-rock, on Lake Champlain, including the branches of Otter-creek and Wood-creek ; thence across to the Hudson-river, and down the same to Catskill. The Mohicans occupied the West side of the Hudson ; but the confederation conquered them. The Iroquois claimed dominion to the Connecticut-river ; and the tribes which occupied the lands adjacent to the river, were called *Esopus Indians*, which name was given, collectively, to the Wappengers, Esopuses, Papagonks, Stockbridges, and Schaghticokes. These tribes all resided within the acknowledged territory of the Iroquois territory of the Mohicans, or Hudson-river tribes, who were conquered by the Iroquois.

The Schaghticokes were, as it were, incorporated with the Mohawks, although the latter tribe, at the councils, at Albany, treated them as an independent tribe, although occupying their territory ; and the records show that the Schaghticokes usually met with tribes at Albany, in council with the English, who, as a matter of course, they must have positively disliked, as they had been the cause of all their troubles and their exile from the graves and homes of their fathers, which to the Indian are dear as life itself.

The Mohawks being a powerful tribe, they were in the habit of compelling the small tribes around them, who were not of the Six Nations, to pay them a yearly tribute ; and none of the small tribes residing on their territory, dare make a Treaty without the consent of the Mohawks. This may be, and probably was, the reason why the Mohawks treated them as an independent tribe, as they did the Stockbridges.

When they first settled at Schaghticoke, they

were entirely destitute of guns and knives. They used the bow and arrow ; and they even had to resort to the stone knife, made of flint, for skinning the deer and beaver. Some fine specimens of arrow-heads and a stone knife have been found upon the site of their village. I have a very good collection of them.

At one of the Councils, at Albany, the Schaghticokes applied to the English to establish a Fort, or a stockade, and a place of worship for them, at Schaghticoke. These were promised ; but the promise was not kept. A stockade Fort and storehouses, which were for many years kept in good repair, were erected, however, at Stillwater, near Schaghticoke, on the opposite side of the Hudson-river, but so far from their settlement as not to be of any protection to the Schaghticokes.

In the year 1689-90, after the burning of Schenectady, at a conference of the Mohawk Chiefs and the Magistrates, at Albany, a Mohawk Chief, in his speech to the English, said, "We advice you bring all the River Indians, who are under your subjection, to live near Albany, to be ready on all occasions." The Mohawks evidently made a distinction between the River Indians and the Schaghticoke Indians, as will be seen by the same Speech, in the advice there given : "The Schaghticoke Indians, in our opinion, are well placed where they are, to the northward of Albany. They are a good out-guard. They are our children, and we must take care that they do their duty ; but you must take care of the Indians below the town. Place them near the town, so they may be of more service to you," The Chiefs calling them their children is an additional proof that the Iroquois regarded them as a separate tribe ; received a tribute from them ; and claimed to control them, in war matters.

In the year 1709, the authorities, at Albany, gave one, Knickerbocker, and some others, a Deed of a fine tract of land at Schaghticoke ; and then commenced the Indian troubles. The white man's axe felled the forest ; his rifle lessened the game ; the white population intruded itself upon their lands ; and, soon, the Indians love for fire-water used up the proceeds of his furs and skins, and left the poor Indian in debt to the white man ; and when an Indian becomes indebted to a white man, he can truly say, "once in debt always in debt."

About the year 1753-4, and about the time of the commencement of active hostilities, in the French and Indian War, the Schaghticokes had a pow-wow, so protracted and singular, as to attract the notice and excite the wonder of their white neighbors. During four consecutive days, they engaged in songs, dances,

"coats; and for every subject of said Philip, two coats if alive, and one, if dead."

This treaty is dated "PETAGUANSET 15th July, 1675,

In Presence and signed by the marks of

DANIEL HINCHMAN	JAMAGESON
THOMAS PRENTICE	TAYTSON
NICHOLAS PAIGE	AGAMANG
JOSEPH STANTON	WAMPUGH ALIAS COLMAN—
HENRY HAWLINS	} Interpreter, Indians probably—
PETER BRUCE	
JOEL NEEF	

chants, and other ceremonies; and, on the morning of the fifth day, most of their huts were found to be tenantless. A man, residing on the outskirts of the settlement, had heard the footsteps of one Indian after another, as they were running past his cabin, singly and at the top of their speed, the whole night through. Thus the entire tribe, which was now quite formidable and of much influence, without the knowledge of the whites, left their homes, went to Canada, and settled at or near Missisquoi Bay, on the East side of Lake Champlain, and partly in the State of Vermont. They united with the St. Regis * Indians; and were incorporated with that tribe. Much pains were taken by the English, at Albany, to induce them to return; and many favorable inducements were held out to secure their return. They alleged that they were so much in debt that they could not extract themselves; and refused all the offers. Those offers, it must be remembered, were made after the burning of Sancoick and Hoosick, in which they probably took an active part, if they were not the instigators of that outrage. They were accused of being the chief actors in this affair, and upon good grounds; as those Indians were acquainted with the old Indian path, leading from Canada, through Washington-county—Sancoick and Hoosick being quite near the path—and the attack was conducted in such a manner, well calculated to create the belief that the assailants were guided to those settlements by Indians who were well acquainted with the localities. The attack was on the twenty-eighth day of August, 1754, at a season of the year when the most injury could be done. They burned the buildings; destroyed the grain and hay; and killed the animals. Only one person, Samuel Bowen, was killed, and one, John Barnard, wounded.

For two or three years previous to the French and Indian War, the Northern Indians continued to commit outrages upon the white inhabitants; and in these affrays, some of the Schaghticoke Indians, it is said, were recognised among the other savages; which is the more probable, as the St. Regis Indians were among the most troublesome of the Canadian Indians. To their honor be it said, the Schaghticoques did not return and massacre the whites, at Schaghticoke, as, with the aid of the St. Regis Indians, they easily could have done, as Fort Nicholson was abandoned and the Fort at Saratoga burned; Schaghticoke was left entirely exposed; and the whole country was left unguarded, down to the city of Albany.

The famous Mohawh Chief, Hendrick, who was afterwards killed in the bloody morning

scout at Lake George, in a speech at a Council, at Albany, when speaking of the affairs of the Province and of French and Indian depredations, at the North, and the discouraging incidents of the War, said: "You burnt your own Fort at Saraghtogee, and ran away from it. Look about your country and see: you have no fortifications about you—no, not even to this City. 'Tis but one step from Canada hither; and the French may easily come and turn you out of doors."

Their forbearance towards their former friends, at Schaghticoke, must be set down as a proof of their good feelings for them, and that they were mutual friends, as the Indian could easily have massacred the inhabitants and possessed themselves of their property, by the aid of the St. Regis and other Indians. If they aided in the burning of Sancoick and Hoosick, they spared Schaghticoke.

The inhabitants of Schaghticoke were Dutch, and lived on the most intimate terms with the Indians. Their children were playmates; and thus commenced a personal and particular friendship between them, which accounts for, and may be the reason why, Schaghticoke was spared, when Sancoick and Hoosick were burned.

We have seen this little band of Indians, a small remnant of a once powerful tribe, settled on the East bank of the Hudson-river, about eighteen miles North from Albany, rapidly increasing in numbers, with every facility to increase their worldly wealth, and gain for themselves a livelihood, suddenly and abruptly depart, without giving any information of their intention to leave their pleasant home. We are naturally led to enquire the reason for this sudden and decided step—a measure of the utmost consequence to them and fraught with the most intense interest to their posterity.

It must be remembered that the lands they occupied, as well as their hunting-grounds, were of the very best character for cultivation; and that its proximity to Albany made it very desirable, as a place of residence.

The Indians never had any regard for the whites, as a body; and had the best reason for being their most implacable enemies. They were encroached upon by them; their fine hunting-grounds were rapidly disappearing before their eyes; the axe was leveling their forests; and the clearings were too large and numerous to suit their savage nature. To work, the Indian has a natural repugnance. He considers labor beneath him. His dignity is lowered by it; and is it strange that, with a northern forest before him, he preferred a permanent home, and that far from the haunts of white men? The wilds of Canada were, to him, a permanent resting-place. At Schaghticoke, if he ascend-

* It is asserted by some that they joined the St. Francis Indians.

ed Bald-mountain, he saw from its towering heights, Albany and the settlements on the Hudson; Westward, he saw the vast country of the Iroquois; to the North, the white man was already at Saratoga, Stillwater, Sancoick, and Hoosick; and on the banks of the Battenkill, on the East, were the hated Yangeese, (*English*). With the French, in Canada, he had no particular quarrel. They had never particularly injured him; but with the Yangeese (*English*) it was far different. From the first, his tribe of Indians and the New Englanders had quarreled. No friendship existed between them. With the Indian, the New Englanders had neither affinity nor intercourse; with the French and Dutch, it was far otherwise. The Dutch and French met the Indians, as friends. They accommodated themselves to the habits of the Indian. But the stern, surly, New Englanders did not fancy the Indian, his habits, nor his squaw. Their tastes and their tempers were different: hence arose the New England Indian wars—bloody, cruel and exterminating wars—which ended in the expulsion of the greater portion of the Indians, from New England: and was the first step towards the downfall of their race.

In Canada, they were free from the English, whom they hated, and near the French with whom they readily fraternized. Had they remained in the Province and proved true to the colonists, they might have had allotted them, as was allotted to the Stockbridge Indians, a fine tract of country in the far West and, from the State of New York, an annuity, which would have been servicable to them, as it has been to the Stockbridges.

Prominent among the reasons which induced these Indians to abandon their fine hunting-grounds in Renesselaer, Saratoga, and Washington-counties, it is probable, was the growing and universal dissatisfaction which was spreading through the entire Continent, with the English. The French were, evidently, making rapid inroads upon the English frontiers and English territories. In the Southern Provinces, inherently weak and feeble, murder and rapine were common throughout their entire frontiers. The Delawares, Shawnees, and many other tribes, were either openly or stealthily engaged in these barbarities and butcheries. Some of these Indians had previously been on friendly terms with the English; and, but for the bribes and promises of the French, in the North, which gave them the entire control of all the country bordering on the Ohio and West of the Alleghanies, was a severe blow to the English influence with the Indians. It gave the French an immense advantage over them and increased their influence and interest with the Indians, to an alarming extent. They flattered, persuaded, and intermarried, and soon

won over to their interests, many tribes who had previously been friendly. From choice, the Indians joined the French. With the exception of Six Nations, the French had alienated the entire race of Indians from the English, or induced them to withhold from the English, the confidence and friendship which they had previously shown.

Here we see prominently developed, the peculiar characteristics of the French and English. The English, true to their nature, seized all the lands they could get: their rapacity was boundless: they wanted all they saw: and they were rather indifferent as to Indians tribes. They took the lands of the Indians, honestly if they could, but at any rate they took them. With the French, it was different. With a few acres they were satisfied, and could live with ease upon what the soil produced, without much of any culture, and, with the Indians they were always friendly—was it strange that the Indians should leave the English and settle under the protection of the French?

From 1744 to 1755, the condition of the settlers, north of Albany, was truly deplorable—scarcely any protection afforded them against the incursions of the French and Indians, while Ticonderoga and Crown Point afforded a safe retreat for the French, and the towering Adirondacks equally one for the Indians.

The Schaghticoke shared this danger as well as the whites. This they well knew; for it is a fact worthy of notice, that information and intelligence of victories or defeats, among the Indians, is conveyed to distant parts of the territory with astonishing rapidity. They well knew that they were the frontier tribe, and the nearest Indians friendly to the English, and exposed at all times to the fury of the French and hostile Indians.

It was the policy of the French to alienate, by any means in their power, the Indians from the English interest. They neglected nothing that would secure that result. No tribe or fragment of a tribe was left unnoticed; and as the result proved, they were most eminently successful. That the French made the Schaghticoke Indians liberal offers of land, if they would settle in Canada, is true, beyond all doubt, although it is not likely that any proof of it can be found, as the negotiations with the Indians, by the French, were not usually preserved in the annals of the Canada Provinces, and the Schaghticoke were so few in number, that but little importance was given to them. That the English were anxious to have them remain in their position, at Schaghticoke, is more than probable, for their position was advantageous for them to act as spies and to give information of any northern movement of French or Indians, upon any of the settlements; and as soon as they left for Canada, all was open to the unobserved incursions of the hostile In-

dians. The burning of Hoosick and Saneock soon followed the flight of the Schaghticoke to Canada.

In view of these facts, can we consider their conduct strange or unjustifiable, with their isolated and dangerous location; the scarcity of game, hereditary grudge against the English, and love for the French; the encroachments of the whites upon their lands; the nonperformance of the promises, on the part of the English, to build them a fort; the deplorable state of the frontiers; and the continued success of the French and hostile Indians, in their incursions against the English, that they should listen to and accept the offers of the French, and obtain in the wilds of Canada a permanent home?

At a meeting of the Commissioners of the New England Provinces and the Provinces of Pennsylvania and Maryland, with the authorities of the Province of New York, at Albany, on the sixth of July, 1754, the Schaghticoke Indians were present and appeared to be as true to the English as they ever were; and asked that the sale of rum might be stopped at Schaghticoke.

This apparent friendship could not have been sincere, for the same year they left for Canada.

VIII.—A MILITARY MEMOIR OF WILLIAM MAHONE, MAJOR GENERAL IN THE CONFEDERATE ARMY.*

By GENERAL J. WATTS DE PEYSTER.

"Vandamme is very valuable to me, for if ever I have to make war against the Devil, it is him I will send to carry it on. He alone is capable of beating the Devil."—NAPOLÉON on Vandamme.—In A. DE CASSÉ'S *Vie de Vandamme*, I., 298.

Very often in reading the annals of the past, a figure presents itself so opposite to that which the reader conceives should be the form and port of an individual filling the place, that he wonders if it is possible that there could have been such an actual personality and whether the writer has not distorted facts to produce a sensational portrait. For instance, the world almost invariably associates great deeds with a grand figure. Thus we find that Guinevere wasted her goodly gifts, not

on a lithe and graceful knight, who achieved his greatness by address and ability, but on "our big Lancelot," who, mounted on a congenial steed, bore down opposition by weight and momentum.

There is scarcely any doubt but that Washington's personal appearance had a great deal to do with his elevation to the command in chief of the American Revolutionary Armies and gave weight to his counsels, at the head of the Government. It is well known what an impression his dignified appearance made upon the French Generals, sent out to co-operate with him. Nor is it at all unlikely, judging from what has been written, Lee's physical advantages had a very great deal to do with his reputation, especially abroad.

Shakspeare, subtle and sublime, has, on the contrary, invested the truth with robes of poetic beauty; but still he has presented the truth; and nowhere is there a finer picture of the power of mind over matter—the might of mind mastering men through the magnificence of a man—than in the case of the famous John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury,* one of the most celebrated of English Captains who has ever glorified his country's annals. Like Field-marshal Schwerin, Frederic the Great's greatest General, and, like de Gages, Spain's last great General, "his little body was all heart."

Reading Shakspeare's pen-portrait of this Talbot, at once re-called the fiery little Mahone, the subject of this memoir.

The scene from Henry VI. (*Act II., Scene III.*), referred to, is worthy of citation. The Countess of Anvergne, inspired by patriotic hatred, has invited Talbot to her castle, intending, as in the cases of Osceola and Abd el Kader, to betray him, and thus, by the vilest treason, free her country, France, from its greatest scourge and terror. When Talbot presents himself, she is astonished at his appearance, so utterly in contradiction to the idea she had formed of him, from his exploits. Supposing that he is in her power, the vindictive woman, disenchanted, adds extreme discourtesy to vile intended treachery:

military matters, which our country possesses. Besides, in this instance, there are sweeping condemnations of *entire* classes of officers, *without exception*, in both armies, only because they were educated at West Point—a condemnation which we cannot concur in, in its wide and unqualified extent—and there are, in it, impeachments of motives, in General Lee, as a Commander, which we conceive to be gravely unjust and unworthy of a place in our pages.

Justice to General de Peyster requires us to recognize his great abilities and his capability, *if he would use a curb bit*, of being exceedingly useful: justice to ourself requires us to leave where it only belongs, the responsibility of a spirit in this paper and of condemnations of "West Pointers," as such, and of General Lee, as a Commander, with which we have no sympathy.—EDITOR OF HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

* Born about 1378, in Shropshire, England; killed 17 July, 1453, at Caatillon, Gienne, France.

* This paper has been admitted into our pages, in pursuance of a "bargain" made with its author, several weeks since, and under a misconception, on our part, of the spirit in which it was evidently written as well as of its exact character, as a composition; and we ask our readers to bear with us, under the circumstances, and to hold us accountable only as far as we are justly so.

Like all that the learned author writes, there is matter in this paper which every close student of the history of the late Civil War will thankfully examine and employ; but, also, like the greater part of what he writes, that useful material is too much obscured by words which are worse than useless and by a mode of using those words which is always unsatisfactory to us, and, too often, destructive of their author's usefulness, as one of the acutest critics, in

and, in the spite of her ignoble nobility, exclaims:

"Is this the scourge of France?

"Is this the Talbot, so much fear'd abroad,

"That with his name the mothers still their babes?

"I see report is fabulous and false:

"I thought I should have seen some Hercules,

"A second Hector, for his grim aspect

"And large proportion of his strong-knit limbs.

"Alas! this is a child, a silly dwarf:

"It cannot be, this weak and writhled shrimp,

"Should strike such terror to his enemies."

The manly Talbot, who has suspected treachery, laughs at her astonishment and misconception, and tells her:

"I laugh to see your Ladyship so fond, (*foolish*)

"To think that you have aught but Talbot's shadow

"Wherein to practice your severity."

COUNTESS. "Why, art not thou the man?"

TALBOT. "I am indeed."

COUNTESS. "Then have I substance too."

TALBOT. "No, no, I am but shadow of myself:

"You are deceived: my substance is not here:

"For what you see is but the smallest part,

"And least proportion of humanity:

"I tell you, madam, were the whole frame here,

"It is of such a spacious lofty pitch,

"Your roof were not sufficient to contain it."

Then he gives the pre-concerted signal, by sounding his bugle. Answering drums are heard, succeeded by a discharge of artillery. Then, through the gates, burst in by his guns, the English troops find entrance to his rescue. In these, he indicates himself as having permeated them with his military essence; and demonstrates to her that Talbot, the individual, is only the shadow of the "Man-Legion," the Talbot of renown, who, through the Briarian arms of his soldiery has filled France with moans and tears, corpses and ashes.

"How say you, madam? are you now persuaded

"That Talbot is but shadow of himself?

"These are his substance, sinews, arms, and
"strength,

"With which he yoketh your rebellious necks,

"Razeth your cities and subverts your towns,

"And, in a moment, makes them desolate."

This fine scene winds up with an exhibition of a hero's courtesy, even to a treacherous hostess. Thereupon, the baffled Countess, cringing to the magnanimous creature she would have outraged and destroyed, declares herself:

—"honored

"To feast so great a warrior in my house."

Now the hero the writer desires to introduce to his readers, is an able, ardent, and audacious soldier, of the Talbot type, whose achievements would befit a form like that of Washington, or

of Thomas, or of Kleber—vast and imposing: such as the multitude admire and almost demand in a popular hero. William Mahone, however, is nothing of this sort; and the only indication of the germ within, is his clear blue eye, which fairly burns with the intensity of his will and mentality.

It may seem a curious task for a Northern man to assume, to present to the people of his section, the military record of a soldier whose whole soul was devoted to the service of the Southern Confederacy. Ability, however, wherever and however displayed in an eminent degree, is the property of our common country: and no man between the Oceans, the Gulf, and the Lakes, is a finer illustration of the innate military capability and adaptability of the American people than the subject of this sketch—than William Mahone, late Confederate Major-general, and now President of the Norfolk and Petersburg, of the Southside, and of the Virginia and Tennessee Railroads.*

It is very doubtful if, in the ranks of the rebellion, there was another single man who did so much damage to the North, as "little Mahone." Little, indeed, is Mahone, in his physical development, but great as it was possible to be, in his conception of the true principles of war, his profound enormous energy, his prodigious activity, and his marvellous influence over his troops. Of him it might be said, as Warnery remarked of Field-marshal Schwerin, that "his 'little body was all heart.'" Indeed, he exercised an influence in no degree inferior to that of Stonewall Jackson, although more circumscribed in its sphere, but superior in that Mahone survived Jackson, to fight with undiminished ardor, down to the last supreme hour of the War—until the last shot was fired in defence of the flag which he recognized as the object of his mistaken but fervent idolatry.

To give an idea of what one man can do, in command of men transfused by him with his manhood, it is sufficient to state that Mahone, with only eight thousand bayonets, occasioned to the North, in the Campaign which commenced on the Rapidan, on the fifth of May, 1864, and ended on the Appomattox, on the ninth of April, 1865, a loss of six thousand, seven hundred, and four men, in prisoners, and eleven thousand casualties, in dead, wounded, and missing, besides capturing fifteen pieces of artillery and forty-two battle-flags, or stands of colors. These statistics were gathered not only from his own but from our Reports, by Mahone.

* For an admirable sketch of the civil service of William Mahone,—the "leading Railroad man of Virginia"—see *Self-made men of our Times*, in *Frank Leslie's Chimney Corner*, pp. 208—210 of the issue of 19th February 1869.

The following is the printed statement of this remarkable succession of exploits, due solely to the dash and capacity of one man:

[From the *Daily Lynchburg Express*, 20th March, 1865.]

Operations of Mahone's Division, in 1864.

"We have been favored with the following figures from the Official Report of Major-general William Mahone, giving the operations of his Division, during the Campaign of 1864, from the time he assumed command down to the Battle of Burgess mill, (known at the North as Hatch-er's run), on the twenty-seventh of October. We publish them to show the public what this Command has accomplished. In appreciation of their services, guided by a wonderful genius and energy, which always ensured success, the citizens of Petersburg testified their gratitude by presenting their leader with a beautiful sword—a fit emblem of the times.

"The Command has captured—

"Prisoners,	-	-	6,704
"Pieces of artillery,	-	-	15
"Colors,	-	-	42
"Small arms,	-	-	1,867
"Horses,	-	-	235
"Wagons and Ambulances,	-	-	49
"Slaves,	-	-	537

"According to the enemy's own statements, to correct which particular care has been taken, the losses, in killed and wounded, in those Commands, which, at different times, fought Mahone's Divisions, summed up eleven thousand.

"By these figures, and for certain reasons, it is believed that the loss, in killed and wounded, is under-estimated; it will be seen that during the Spring and Summer Campaigns of last year, General Mahone inflicted upon the enemy a loss of seventeen thousand, seven hundred, and four men.

"The loss of his own Command, during this time, in killed, wounded, and missing, was five thousand, two hundred, and forty-eight."

What is more, with his depleted Division, not over fifteen hundred men, all told, he alone frustrated the success of the Mine explosion, backed by a mass of forty thousand to fifty thousand Union troops—a fearful aggregation of troops, competent to anything, if they had been determinedly and scientifically "put in"—a force and mass, if properly applied, sufficient to have carried Petersburg at a blow and have crushed that portion of Lee's Army, in their front, into the nothingness of slaughter, capture, and dispersion. There was nothing between Meade's forty thousand to fifty thousand men, but an attenuated line, under an inefficient commander, until Mahone came up, three miles, to throw himself into the gap, and then, with a loss of

two hundred and fifty men, to win back the captured works, with an admitted list of casualties to us, of five thousand, two hundred, and forty, in killed, wounded, and prisoners—twenty-one times his own list of casualties. This operation will be explained more at length in its appropriate place.

The first time that the writer ever met with General Mahone, was in the Spring of 1869. He found him quite unwell, in bed; but his blue eye was full of life. He is a very small man, not weighing, perhaps, over one hundred pounds, if as much; his dark hair, streaked with grey, long and flowing down upon his shoulders. His ordinary dress would certainly not attract attention for its cut, care, or material. He is just as eccentric as able; and, from his description, recalled the remarks of Thiers, in regard to the intrepid Dutch General, in the service of Napoleon, Cohorn, a descendant of the famous "Prince of Engineers." Cohorn, whose originality of genius placed him second to none, if not first, in his profession: "In his small and slender frame was one of the most fiery and energetic souls which God had ever bestowed upon a warrior. He was worthy to be executive of the impetuous will of Marsena, the Child of Victory." These words are truly apposite to Mahone.

Although comparatively unknown to fame, at the North, it is exceedingly doubtful if he had his superior in the rebel ranks. Without enjoying the same influence, he possessed almost every attribute which so greatly distinguished Stonewall Jackson. He was equally audacious and enterprising, and handled his troops, tactically, better. He was not a West Pointer; and that, doubtless, injured him. Like Washington, and Wayne, and several other military men who have distinguished themselves, when improvised into Generals, he was a Civil Engineer, by profession, and a railroad man.

Since the War, he has received the control of a number of Southern railroads, from which, it is said, he enjoys an income almost as great as the salary of the President of the United States.* Yet no General had a better record or prospect of a brighter career. He was equally distinguished for dash, tenacity, and ability. It is true that he never enjoyed such extensive commands, as a number of Generals, better known; but, whatever duty was assigned to him was fulfilled in a manner which his opponents had every reason to regret. From his first appearance on the battle-field, against us, to the close of the rebellion, he was, perhaps, the most formidable Division-commander whom our Generals encountered. "It was remarked to

* *Old Dominion (Magazine)* Richmond, Va., iv., 124, 125.

an officer in our [*the rebel*] service, by several Staff-officers of General Meade, that Mahone "had occasioned more trouble to the Federal Army, around Petersburg, than all of Lee's Generals combined." These, and corroborative testimony, justify Mahone's good-humored remark, that he "always liked to get hold of "one of them"—particularly prominent, at one time, and really distinguished for his soldierly qualities, at the North—"for he was sure to *lam* him."

This is the just record of the impression made upon the writer at that time. Subsequent investigations have demonstrated that this estimate was far below the real merit of the man. The remarks applied to Major-general Philip Kearny, apply with equal force to Mahone, that "he thoroughly understood men, system of fighting, discipline, and real responsibility."

General Mahone was born in Southampton, one of the most southeastern Counties of Virginia, bordering on North Carolina; and is now, (1870), about forty-three years of age. At the age of seventeen, that is about 1844, he entered the Virginia Military Institute, at Lexington, which gave so many able officers to the Virginia Confederate Line, and graduated with distinction, when he was twenty. After matriculating, he was connected, as an Instructor of Mathematics, with a school near Port Royal, in Virginia. Such a situation, however, was inconsistent with his nervous temperament; and he soon abandoned the three-legged professional chair for the surveyor's tripod, and was employed, as Engineer, on the Orange and Alexandria Railroad. Subsequently, he was appointed Assistant-engineer, under General Bartlett, of the Mexican Boundary Survey. This honorable office, for personal reasons, he declined; and was then selected to construct the Fredericksburg Plank-road, upon which the hardest fighting at Chancellorsville occurred, in which he participated, and upon which Stonewall Jackson fell. About the time this plank-road was finished, the Norfolk and Petersburg Railroad had been determined upon. Of this work, he was appointed Chief Engineer; and it was surveyed and built under his exclusive supervision. When this road was completed, he was elected President of the Company, and managed its affairs with as much ability as he had displayed as Engineer in its location and construction. Mahone is peculiarly proud* of this "road," "which has been pronounced, by both English and American Engineers and railway man-

gers, as embodying all the elements of a first-class work, and, in these respects, far in advance of any other in the whole Southern country." This brings us down to the year 1861.

Mahone was at this time a Militia Colonel, and was destined to command the improvised forces assembled for the capture of the Gosport Navy-yard. Fortunately, for the Union cause, Taliaferro, an old-fashioned Militia Major-general, was his superior in rank, and claimed and received the command. Without meaning any disrespect to the individual described, as a gentleman of high standing, his military incompetency and slackness—using this language in its strict application, in which it applies to nine-tenths of all, North and South, who aspired to and received Generals' commands—gave the Union naval commander an opportunity to destroy a large portion of the material and works.

An impromptu gathering of the first men in Norfolk—in no sense a mob—offered to substitute Mahone for Taliaferro; but the former's idea of system and order would not permit him to allow an energetic and popular outbreak to supersede even inefficient military law, when an example of submission to discipline was necessary to the future. Nevertheless, there is no doubt but that Mahone's fiery energy determined the prompt evacuation of the Navy-yard, on the twenty-first of April, 1861, and gave to the rebels those immense stores, especially of heavy guns, which afterwards proved of such vital importance to them. In all his movements, he displayed as much subtlety and knowledge of men as he afterwards developed true soldiership and powers of command. By means of his Railroad control, he used his stock so as to convey the idea reinforcements were continually arriving to the rebels, sending locomotives away, quietly, to return, as noisily, blowing their whistles and ringing their bells, as if drawing after them loads of fresh troops and supplies. This must have had its effect. If, on the other hand, a man like Mahone had been in command of that enormous depot, it is most probable that everything would have been preserved for the Union, had its abandonment become a public necessity. In the contrary event, if it had been compulsorily abandoned, not only the Navy-yard, but its arsenals, its dock-yards, and the fleet, also the adjoining towns of Norfolk and Portsmouth, would have been left no better than blackened heaps of ruins and ashes.

* This biographical sketch was submitted to Major-general William Mahone, and approved by him, as to matters in which he alone could decide. It was corrected by the General's friend, Colonel S. Basset French; and has been verified, in a great measure, by Northern histories, state-

ments, and Reports. The paragraphs subsequently added by the author, are few and short, and simply present his views in regard to the probable effect of certain movements, predicated on a Northern judgment, founded on Northern statements, etc.

Virginia having seceded, on the seventeenth of April, 1861, William Mahone was one of the first four Colonels appointed under the rebel Administration of that State; the other three were Stonewall Jackson, Gilham, and P. St. George Cocke. Mahone's commission bore date the second of May, 1861. He was the senior Colonel in his district; and he, at once, proceeded to raise a Regiment around Norfolk, which was afterwards known as the Sixth Virginia. It was composed of a commingling of the flower of the citizens and the rough-scuffs of the place—very hard material to manage and lick into shape. Mahone admitted that his reputation as a hard master or severe disciplinarian was well merited, and that he had ample opportunity to display his qualifications, in this respect, in organizing, administering, and instructing his new Command.

In the Fall of 1861, he was made Brigadier, a merited and, for him, fortunate promotion, since he had hitherto been sadly hampered by the previous Confederate appointment of an officer named Withers, from Mobile, as Brigadier. This General Withers, a fine chivalrous man, whatever may have been his shortcomings as a soldier, in consequence, became, temporarily, Mahone's superior.

The first important command held by Mahone, was at Drury's Bluff, or Fort Darling. It appears that after the evacuation of Norfolk, which had been evacuated in obedience to peremptory orders of the rebel War Department, by General Huger, and its occupation, by General Wool, on the tenth of May, 1862, Mahone's Brigade was ordered to Richmond, where it attracted the attention of every one. It was generally admitted that it was the best Brigade which had ever been seen marching through the rebel Capital. It was better uniformed and appointed, and possessed more elasticity; so much so that it was dubbed "General Lee's Regulars." It was composed of five or six Regiments, each eight hundred to one thousand strong—the Sixth, Twelfth, Sixteenth, and Forty-first Virginia, Thirtieth North Carolina, and Third Alabama. The last was a very fine fighting Regiment. The majority, if not almost all, the privates, were gentlemen, worth, individually, one hundred thousand dollars. Intrepid in the field, they were not easily amenable to discipline, and they soon melted away; not so much, however, in the fire of the battle, as under the hardships of military or camp life, to which they were unaccustomed. Mahone said that his experience had taught him that gentlemen did not make good privates—their physique was bad, and they cannot be tempered to discipline. His idea of the best

stuff for soldiers appeared to agree with that of the Swiss officer, in the Neapolitan service, as expressed to the writer, in 1852: "Bon soldat, faut d'être un peu abruti." "*To make a good private soldier, a man must be something of a brute.*" In other words, "a soldier must not be so independently intelligent that he cannot be converted into a perfect machine. A good private soldier should have or be permitted no independent thought"—Mahone's idea was exactly Schiller's opinion. This may be true of the Southern war-personal, but did not hold good as to the Northern, 1861-5, and as to the Prussian, 1866-1870.

But to resume: Jefferson Davis was so much impressed with the effects of Mahone's discipline that this, in connection with his previous acknowledged reputation as a Civil Engineer, induced him to assign Mahone to the supreme command of Fort Darling. His jurisdiction embraced everything, naval as well as military; consequently, if the repulse of our gun-boats, on the fifteenth of May, 1861, in which the *Galena* was so badly damaged, and lost so heavily, deserves high praise, the whole credit belongs to Mahone; and yet he received none. This success has never been attributed to him; nevertheless, he it was who directed everything. His Brigade, from Petersburg, lined the shore, and supported the works. The batteries, which did the fighting, were manned by a Company of "Home Guards," commanded by the owner of the farm on which Fort Drury had been established. The other batteries were manned by sailors and marines; and it was owing to the jealousy of the Navy that the honor of the victory was given to one of their own people, the commander of the Fort. This officer, as well as his sailors and marines, as far as regarded the result, might as well have been cruising on the Bay of Biscay. No person showed his head on board the attacking Union flotilla but was killed by Mahone's troops, posted upon the river's bank. The action lasted from nine A.M., to three P.M. Notwithstanding these facts, no history, Northern or Southern, connects the name of Mahone with this severe military and naval artillery duel, whose result, so adverse to the Union flotilla, certainly exercised a pernicious influence on all of McClellan's subsequent operations.

Mahone's first actual fighting, in the open field, was at Fair Oaks, the Third Corps fight of Kearny and Hooker—just as Williamsburg had been; as the Orchards, Glendale, Bristow Station, Chantilly, Hazel Grove, the Peach Orchard, Wapping Heights, were to be—worthy of such rivals in glory as were inspired by a spirit akin to that of the hero of this memoir. On the first

of May, 1862, he was in camp, three miles from the battle-field, on the Charles City-road. Nevertheless, he reported, at sunrise, or 7 A.M., to D. H. Hill, who happened to be the senior Commander on the field, when Mahone came up. For this reason, he reported to General Hill, who had occupied Casey's Head-quarters tent, on the ground from which the Union troops had been driven. At the Battle of Fair Oaks, or Seven Pines, as it is variously styled, Gustavus W. Smith commanded the Confederate Left, and Longstreet the Right. The farm called Seven Pines, was on the right; the farm styled Fair Oaks, on the left. The rebel Commander-in-chief, Joseph E. Johnston, was at the latter point. Mahone had only three Regiments with him; one, however, was detached, and he made his attack with only two, to the left or North of the Williamsburg-road, in "the thickest growth of woods you ever saw." Struck by overwhelming masses, he was driven back, with severe loss, and had his horse killed. His hard fighting, however, attracted much attention, and won him as much consideration as if the result had been a perfect success. After this battle, at Fair Oaks, the rebel troops were brigaded by States; and Mahone, in consequence of this arrangement, retained four Regiments, all from Virginia.

It is well known, that when active operations recommenced, towards the end of June, it seemed as if it was the intention of both McClellan and Lee to operate in the same quarter, that is, for the former to turn the rebel Left, and for Lee to turn the Union Right. Whether this be so or not, the first collision occurred in the opposite direction, on the twenty-fifth of June, in what is variously styled the second Battle of Fair Oaks, the affair of Oak Grove, or of the Orchards, or of the Peach Orchards—the rebels have still another name for it. On this occasion, Mahone was opposed to Hooker; flanked our attack; and inflicted serious damage.

When Kearny fell back, after Savage Station, on the night of the twenty-ninth of May, it was Mahone's Brigade which headed him off. Kearny's Aid, the well-known Brevet-colonel, U. S. V., or Major U. S. A., Alexander Moore, gives quite a graphic account of this skirmish, in which he lost some "ducks," as he expressed it—i. e., cavalymen—of his escort, trying to communicate with his General, along the Charles City-road. (*R. R. ix., Doc., 436, (2) Brigadier-general Mahone's (Corroborative) Report*). Kearny attempted to get across the Chickahominy, by the Bracketts, or Upper Ford, but ran into Mahone's Brigade, and suffered sufficiently to compel him to recross and follow the road to Gathering's, or the Lower, Ford. Mahone spoke of this as a mere skirmish, as scarcely worth

mentioning among the many hard fights in which he took part; nevertheless, it had a marked importance, at the time, and, if utilized, might have produced memorable results.

The next engagement, as regarded the army in which he served, in which he participated, was Malvern-hill, on the first of July. (*Mahone's (Corroborative) Report R. R. ix., Doc., 438, 439.*) He dwelt upon this, with great feeling, as a useless slaughter. He was on the extreme right of Lee's line, which was very ragged. The ground was not only rough, but of the most difficult nature, affording every advantage to the defence. "We went in," said he, "with beautiful heroism, and got butchered." (See Brigadier-general William Mahone's Reports of Operations around Richmond. *Rebellion Record*, ix, 436.)

That night, he had only one hundred and fifty men of his Brigade together. All the rest were scattered. This is one of the many proofs of the disorganized condition of the Rebel Army, and also of the fact that nothing but McClellan's inefficiency prevented the capture of Richmond, on the following days.

Mahone was of opinion that if the Confederate plan for the Battle of Malvern-hill had been carried out, it would have been a perfect success. The rebel General Holmes was to have come in with his Division, by the River-road, in order to cut off McClellan's retreat. He utterly failed to do so.

Here was another instance of failure, resulting, as usual, from utter inability to estimate the value of time, the greatest or most criminal delinquency in war. Holmes wasted two and a half days in making a march which ought to have been accomplished in half a day.

On the Pope Campaign, Mahone did not consider himself "engaged," as a hard-fighting man understands the word, until the battle, which is generally known as the Second Manassas, or Bull Run Second, often styled Groveton. Upon this occasion, the thirtieth of August, Mahone was wounded, just as he was about to deliver one of his telling blows.

The General's wife had often remarked, referring to his size, that if he was ever hit, he would be knocked to pieces. The result proved that she was incorrect. The stuff in Mahone's body was as first-proof as that which constituted his moral force. The ball hit him on the left side, over a rib; flattened upon one of the buttons of his coat; spun him round, like a teetotum; and was found in his boot. As he fell, he ordered the senior Colonel to "Forward," and take the Union line in flank. The Brigade behaved well; but the commander hesitated. Thus the attack came short of its spirited projector's intention.

On his way from the field, he was overtaken, at Upperville,* near the eastern entry to Ashby's Gap, by the Union Cavalry. By the way, this shows that the Union Cavalry were around, some, notwithstanding all the abuse heaped upon them for inefficiency. Mahone made his escape with difficulty into the Blue Ridge Mountains, at whose foot this village is built; but his wagon fell into the hands of the Union Horse, and, with it, all his comforts. They made a welcome booty of his stores, his liquors, bed, bath, spoons, and other plate, etc., for Mahone lived like a little King, and ruled about as despotically. "I was 'dead broke,'" he said, "took to the mountains; and made my way home."

At this point, it may be as well to state a few curious facts in regard to Mahone's Headquarter arrangement, indicative of the same pre-eminent common sense which characterized all his public service and private actions. He absorbed his whole Staff in himself—the only acknowledged Staff-officer he had about him was an Assistant Adjutant-general. All the other subordinate duties were discharged by Orderlies—"Conriers," he termed them, corresponding to what is known in France, as "Guides." These acted as Aids; and yet could be punished as soldiers for derelictions of duty. Thus he never had to consider the susceptible feelings of consequential young officers, such as those who so often filled similar positions in the Union army—men of fortune and good family, who knew nothing and learned next to nothing; who were incapable of being permitted to assume any responsibility; who were brave enough, but so uninformed, that they were dead-weights rather than assistants to a General. Then, Mahone's Head-quarters, or baggage-waggon, was a complete little treasure-house of comforts, nay, even luxuries, including an excellent bed. It has been stated that Mahone carried a bath with him, and, like Napoleon, had recourse to it, to enable him to bear up under the multifarious duties he compelled himself to discharge, and set an example to his men, who could scarcely shirk labors which they saw their little leader cheerfully undergo.

Lee once sent down a Major as Inspector-general for Mahone. The General said, "Major, 'make yourself comfortable for the night, and, 'to-morrow, be pleased to say to General Lee

"that Mahone's Brigade does not need an Inspector-general." Lee, on hearing this, said, "He 'is right. Mahone does not need an Inspector-general."

Mahone rejoined the Army of Northern Virginia, at Culpepper Court-house, on its return from Maryland, after Antietam or Sharpsburg. He found his Brigade very much depleted, scarcely six hundred men left out of the four thousand with which it commenced the march, northward. He soon got it up again to twelve hundred.

Fredericksburgh was his next battle.* His Brigade formed that part of Lee's line, next to the extreme left. On this occasion, had his advice been listened to, the Union troops would have suffered much more severely than they did, great as were their necessary losses.

With that clear topographical glance developed by his professional training, he discerned the advantages which could have been derived from the utilization of a ravine which opened directly opposite the Mary Washington Monument. A Battery established in this ravine, while perfectly sheltered from the Union artillery, on the Heights above, or Northwest of, Falmouth, would have completely commanded the open ground on which the Union troops had to form to advance to the assault of Marye's Heights and that never-to-be-forgotten blood-washed stone-wall at their foot. He urged upon Anderson, his Division Commander, the effect which might be derived from posting a Battery in this ravine; but his superior replied, very much in the same spirit of McClellan, after Antietam, and Meade, after Gettysburg, "Let well enough alone." Afterwards, when Lee himself came riding over to that portion of the field, he at once acceded to Mahone's suggestion, but it was now too late†—the Union attack had failed; and the troops were withdrawn. Imagine the effect of such a Battery playing upon the flank of our sacrificed columns, already melting away under the direct fire of commingled Infantry and Artillery. It would have doubled, if not tripled, our list of casualties. We shall see that, from this time forward, it was a happy thing for the North, that Mahone had to fight as hard, if not harder, against the inertia and incompetency of his superiors, than he did against the North or Union.

After Fredericksburg, he resumed his profession as Engineer, and laid out the lines of works which bothered Hooker—especially those from the unfinished railroad to Orange Court-house, occupied by Anderson's Division, on the thirtieth

* Upperville is quite a place, for this part of Virginia, on Panthercreek, in Fauquier-county, of which Warrenton is the capital. It is situated three quarters of a mile West of Carrtown; midway between Aldie, the scene of Pleasanton's Cavalry fight of June 18, 1863, and Paris, in Ashby's Gap, midway between the Bull Run Mountains and the Blue Ridge; and Pleasanton had a third Cavalry affair at Upperville, on the twenty-first of June, 1863; the second was at Middleburg, on the nineteenth. So much pains has been taken to locate this place, because it is not laid down on any but the most detailed maps, such as are accessible to few readers.

* See Report of the Battle of Fredericksburg, by Brigadier-general William Mahone. *Rebellion Record*, x., Documents, 119.

† Vandalism at Hondschoote, *Vie de Vandamme*, i., 47.

of April, and those opposite Banks' Ford—and his plans were executed by his own Brigade, some twelve hundred strong, discharging the duties of assistants and pioneers.

He was at the United States (Mine) Ford, or Bark Mill Ford,* and commanded two Brigades of Anderson's Division, when Hooker succeeded in turning the rebel position, and crossed further up; and when it fell back from the river upon Lee, Mahone, with one Regiment, constituting the rebel rear guard, held our Cavalry in check, near Chancellorsville. This was on Thursday, the thirtieth of April, the day Hooker's army, as such, may be said to have crossed. Anderson afterwards came up with the balance of his Division. Those who will take the trouble to examine the facts of the Battle, will find that this was the same Anderson who, at Fredericksburg, refused to listen to, or rather to act upon, Mahone's suggestions as to posting a Battery, and was now caught napping, from a similar neglect, blindness, or inertia, upon this occasion.

The next day, Friday, the first of May, Mahone posted the troops; and, after Jackson came up, he (Mahone) struck the Sixth United States Infantry, under Sykes. Mahone was operating on the turnpike; while Anderson was fighting on the same plank-road, which Mahone had laid out and built. (Hotchkiss and Allan's *Chancellorsville*, p. 36; *Rebellion Record*, x., 263–293.

The next day, the second of May, Mahone was on, or rather to, the left of the plank-road, confronting Chancellorsville, on the identical ground where Lee and Jackson had their Headquarters, on a cracker box, the preceding night.

This was while Jackson was making his celebrated flank march or movement, which ended in smashing up the Eleventh Corps. "As soon as I heard Stonewall Jackson's guns," said Mahone, "I pressed the Union lines, in front of me, Slocum's Twelfth Corps, and did some work, running part of one of my Regiments (Sixth Virginia Infantry) right through the Union abattis. Captain Williams, who commanded the skirmish line and did up the work so handsomely, was killed. Here I took a splendid flag, a most elegantly finished work, the first I ever captured. Howard's runaways, actually, after traversing the whole Union Army, ran into my lines, hatless, etc. During the night, I heard of Jackson's death." "He was a great man; he understood the true principles of strategy." "To name Stonewall Jackson, was to express audacity and time." "Jackson was great on time."

The next day, the third of May, Mahone

was still pegging at the left or east face of the apex of the Union line. He admits that "the Unionists [*Sickles and Slocum held this ground*] fought like devils, at Chancellorsville House," particularly Graham's First Brigade, First Division, Third Corps. (See Davis's *Life of Birney*, 379.)

When it was known that Sedgewick had carried the Heights of Fredericksburg, Lee wanted two Brigades, to assist in arresting the Union advance. He selected that of Mahone; and when he found that he ranked Semmes, of Me Lums' Division, added the latter's Brigade to the former's command, with directions to join Early, if possible; otherwise to co-operate with him. Mahone ordered his Brigade into his old lines, on the Old Mine-road, previously alluded to, as Anderson's lines of April 30. He thus reversed the front of the works which had been originally built to resist an attack from the contrary direction. "Here Sedgewick should have been met. It would have made the fight two miles nearer Lee's main army." There is no doubt of this, as affairs turned out; but, if Hooker and Sedgewick had co-operated and attacked, simultaneously, the rebel lines, facing East and West, it would have gone hard with the Army of Northern Virginia.

Early was cut off by Howe's attack and thrown off, completely to the left (*i.e.*, South), whence he worked round, the next day, into Sedgewick's rear. He had little effect on the Salem-church fight. (Hotchkiss & Allan's *Chancellorsville*, 85.) In this engagement, Mahone was on the extreme (rebel) left (North,) and claims to have come near bursting up Sedgewick, since he greatly overlapped the Union right, and repulsed it by an enfilading fire. A reference to the elaborate maps attached to Hotchkiss's and Allan's account of the battle, will show that Mahone is correct in his comments upon these affairs.

The writer had formed an entirely different opinion of Early, from that entertained by Mahone. The former, however, had to judge from the statements of others, while Mahone knew him, intimately, and had served under him. Moreover, Mahone's judgment was justified by the proverb in regard to Early, at West Point, "that, although his name was Early, he was always Late." Mahone said that "he did not like to fight under him; that Jubal Early was always hesitating whether to fight or not; he would ride up and down his line, from fifteen to twenty minutes, debating whether or no to begin; whereas the battle was to be lost or won, meanwhile"—that is to say, as proved by experience, that battles are decided by the proper utilization of fifteen minutes.

On the ensuing day, Monday, the fourth of May, it is well known that it was late before the

* See Report of the Battle of Chancellorsville, by Brigadier-general William Mahone. *Rebellion Record*, x., Doc. 293.

rebels made an attack. Mahone said he never could understand why the Union right was not pressed, nor why Sedgwick was allowed to get off without further molestation from the rebel force, in which Mahone held a subordinate command. Always ready for a fight, and always willing to do more than his share in it, it is very likely that he was one of the few, in the rebel army, at this time, who had not got enough; but then he never got enough.

Mahone, still a Brigadier-general, with a command of about sixteen hundred men, was present at Gettysburg, but took no active part in the engagements of either of the three days. His views coincide exactly with those of the writer—that it was one tissue of errors; that there was no necessity for, nor wisdom in, Lee's fighting there; that the position should have been turned to the left, or South; but that, when it was resolved to fight, there should have been no hesitation. He was with the reserve of eight thousand men the first day. These were not used. "Things ought to have been pushed, early that day. There was nothing in front of Hill to prevent a successful result; and had Stonewall Jackson been alive"—the appreciation of time and audacity personified—"the position of Gettysburg would have been lost to the Union cause."

Captain Blake, in his *Three Years in the Army of the Potomac*, 124, quotes the remarks of rebels, captured at Bristow Station, in 1862. These prisoners were constantly talking about the good qualities of their commander, who had marched them sixty miles in two days; * * * and one of them exclaimed: "If your Generals were as smart as Jackson, you would soon conquer us." True! Fortunate for the North, the only man who could have filled Jackson's place. Mahone, was not taken into favor, because he was not an F. F. V. and a West Pointer, until it was too late, even for his wonderful Jacksonian genius, any longer to do us injury. We shall see that with all the brilliancy of his record, he was still a Brigadier, while such men as Bragg, Pemberton, Polk, Hood—famous only for losing battles, fortresses, and armies—had long since climbed to the top of the ladder.

On the second day, Mahone was in the centre, in reserve; on the third day, still in reserve, and only subjected to the cannonade. * With all his fire, he was opposed to the final assault, and foretold and predicted its results.

Mahone agreed with the writer, that the final attack was made too late in the day. It has been remarked—and this opinion is a very just

one—that the rebel commanders almost always fell into the error, indeed, this appeared to be their custom—of making their most important attacks in the afternoon, when their men were fagged out, if with nothing else, with waiting, when more or less affected by exposure to the sun, or to the cold, lying in line, idle, fasting, with nothing to do but reflect, for hours upon hours. Whereas, if they had attacked early, after a good breakfast, they would have had all the force consequent upon a night's repose of mind and body, backed up by the invigorating excitement and strength of food. What is more, an attack late in the day left no time to improve a success, since rapidly approaching night precluded the harvesting of the fruits of an afternoon's work. On the other hand, if an early morning attack failed, there was ample daylight to renew it, with better results, at noon, or in the afternoon; and, if it succeeded before midday, there was the whole afternoon to reap the harvest of spoils. Such a delay was Napoleon Bonaparte's fatal error at Ligny and at Waterloo, and he lost, *by waiting*, all that he did accomplish by his prodigious efforts, at a later hour. In any event, at Ligny, it hindered a decisive victory, when nothing but a decisive triumph could have saved his doubtful cause.

He left Gettysburg, on the night of the fourth, covering the rear. His line of retreat lay through Fairfield, and his fighting Brigade was hurried on, through Monterey-springs, on the summit of the South-mountain, to redeem the disaster occasioned by Kilpatrick's raid upon the retreating trains.

At Williamsport, his Brigade held the lines to the left of St. James College. He left them, at eleven P.M., on the night of the thirteenth and fourteenth, and crossed the Potomac, at nine A.M., on the fourteenth, and ate his breakfast after he got over. He established the truth of Lee's Report, in this respect, that the last of the Army of Northern Virginia did not cross the Potomac until between twelve and one o'clock, midday, on the fourteenth of July. Despite the assertions of many of our own officers, to the contrary, the writer believes that this is indubitably so, after a thorough examination of conflicting authorities and conversations with soldiers and officers of veracity who were serving with the rebel rear-guard. This, however, being proved, what on earth was Meade doing, from daylight to noon, especially as the gallant and eagle-eyed Mahone admits that Heth, who commanded where Pettigrew was mortally wounded, did not take sufficient precautions to cover the withdrawal?

Nothing of consequence occurred as regarded Mahone, either while Lee was falling back to the line of the Rapidan or during Lee's subse-

* According to Bachelder's map, Mahone was directly in front of Humphreys, a little to the left, facing West or South of the umbrella-shaped clump of trees. He appears to have had the Sixth, Twelfth, Sixteenth, Forty-first, and Sixty-first Virginians.

quent advance towards Centreville, until what he terms the "disaster" at Bristow Station, "where Hill got badly hurt." Mahone was ready to go in, but did not get under fire. As he said, "The affair was terribly mismanaged. Who ever heard of making a direct attack upon a railroad with a line parallel to it, since an embankment or cut serves as a perfectly defensible work?"

As is well known, Warren was left alone, behind, with his single (Second) Corps. With characteristic decision, he seized upon a deep cutting in the railroad; concealed a large body of his troops behind a railroad embankment; (Cudworth's *First Massachusetts Volunteers*, 455), and received Hill with such a withering fire, as drove the assailants back, with severe loss, including a Battery. "Warren did well," said Mahone—high praise from such a man—"and we got severely hurt." Early was, in reality, in Warren's rear; and, if he had been "early" in the field, might, in co-operation with Hill, have nipped and crushed the Fifth Corps. This is a mere opinion, it is true, but if any man is competent to judge of such operations, Mahone is. This was on the fourteenth of October, 1863. *Harper*, 519, 520.

When Lee fell back to the line of the Rappahannock, Mahone was often, *provisionally*, in command of two or three Brigades. He was always "drilling, drilling, drilling, and kept his men well up."

On the seventh of November, occurred the brilliant affair, for us, of Rappahannock-station. The holding of a bridge-head, on the North bank, was Early's idea. Mahone advised, strongly against it; and pronounced the position a "man-trap;" he foretold the result of Russell's brilliant attack and "gobbling" almost the entire force, within the work, *sixteen hundred* prisoners, besides killed and wounded. *Harper*, ii., 520. Mahone was at Glaisel's House, to the left of the bridge, up the river, and witnessed the whole affair, which must have aroused his indignation, at such a disregard, not only of military principles, but of common sense. Thence he fell back to the Hall House, beyond Brandy-station, on the Orange and Alexandria Railroad. "Then and there," said he, "you could have seen the result of my discipline. In less than an hour after my Brigade was posted, it was fully entrenched. There was no organization of a Pioneer Corps in the rebel army; but I required every ordnance-wagon to carry a certain number of tools—shovels, picks, axes, etc.,—for each Regiment. The Ambulance Corps had little to do. I required them to bring these up to each Regiment when they were needed: afterwards, to gather them up

"and transport them back to the train—this, when they were not engaged in their appropriate duty. So much for method. If any of their tools were lost, I reckon somebody got hurt."

On this occasion, Lee sent for Mahone. Although he did not advance him as he deserved, Lee was fully aware that his little fiery lieutenant possessed a pre-eminent topographical glance and the highest engineering capacity. Mahone told him that "his line was very weak and untenable," and advised him to fall back and occupy the line of the Rapidan [*Rapid-Anna*.] In accordance with his counsel, on the seventh of December, Lee fell back to the line of the Rappahannock, "the strongest in this country," in the opinion of this gifted subordinate (*de Trobriand*, ii., 180, *Lossing*, iii., 107.) Indeed! this occasion was the first on which Lee gave, publicly, to Mahone, personally, any evidence of his appreciation.

Lee, with A. P. Hill and Ewell, was on an eminence, noting the Confederate Army as it came into line. He was struck with the rapid and skillful construction of field-works, in Hill's Corps, and inquired, "whose command had so quickly entrenched itself." Hill said he "could not tell, unless it was Mahone's." When these Generals dispersed, Lee said to Hill, "Send that officer to me." Mahone knew he was no personal favorite with Lee; and, when Hill delivered the order, he inquired, "What now?" and received for answer, "Go and see." When Mahone reported, General Lee asked what he "thought of the line?" Mahone replied, "Do you seek my opinion as an Engineer or General officer?" Lee said, "As both." "Then," said Mahone, "it is the most indefensible line I ever saw, or can imagine." "Such is my opinion," said Lee. "My Engineers give me great trouble." What is your advice, General Mahone?" "To fall back beyond the Rapidan, which affords an impregnable line of defense." "Can it be done in the face of the enemy?" inquired Lee. "Yes," responded his lieutenant, "if commenced at once." "Then lead off," said Lee. From this time, Lee never failed to express his appreciation of Mahone.

On the twenty-seventh of November, Mahone says that Lee occupied "an immensely strong position, on Mine Run. Had Meade attacked he would have got badly hurt."

"All I (Mahone) got, at this time, was a lot of hides—the whole country was covered with them—stripped off the cattle slaughtered to feed the Union troops. I made my Ambulance Corps"—Mahone seems to have down on this Service—"pick them up; and I traded them off,

"with the neighboring tanners, for dressed leather. This I converted into shoes. I made everything—lasts, even knives, all but thread—and, with details from my old command, shod my men better than the Government did the other troops."

In Mahone's Division, the Winter of 1864 passed off in "drill, drill, drill." It had been strongly recruited, and was in an efficient condition. When Grant crossed the Rapidan, it was eight thousand strong, and consisted of five Brigades, say fifteen hundred each; four Regiments to a Brigade, say four hundred each.

When the Campaign ended, few of his Regiments numbered a hundred muskets; but each, generally speaking, had its full complement of officers. As the Southerners are very much like the French in disposition, this redundancy of officers doubtless made them fight much better.

In the Wilderness fight, on the fourth of May, 1864, Mahone was sent to stop the turning of the rebel left. Mahone's testimony would seem to corroborate the idea that it was Grant's first intention to turn the rebel left and move upon Gordonsville. On the fifth, he was operating on what he termed the "Upper Plank-road." On the morning of the fifth, Mahone turned the Union left, pushed it back, and doubled it up on the plank (Brook) road. *Harper*, ii., 628. It was on this road, that glorious Wadsworth was killed and Longstreet was shot down the same day, as was generally supposed, by Finnegan's troops. Mahone was in command where Wadsworth fell, so gallantly striving to stay the retreat of his command; and the Finnegan referred to, in connection with Longstreet, was afterwards one of Mahone's Brigadiers, and himself the hero of Olustee, or Ocean Pond. On the seventh, Anderson having been assigned to the command of the Corps of Longstreet—its beloved commander being supposed to be mortally wounded—Mahone was transferred to the command of Anderson's Division.

As the Army of Northern Virginia evacuated the Wilderness, Mahone brought up the rear. (*Earle's Memoir*, 22, 23, etc.; *Scrinton*, 445.) At Spottsylvania Court-house, he made one of those daring movements, peculiar to Jackson and himself, striking in flank the Union attack upon the angle of the rebel works. As usual he was not adequately nor promptly supported; and the attack, though daring, was not as resolute as it would otherwise have been. This, however, does not detract from the conceptive ability nor daring of the attempt.

At Spottsylvania Court-house, Mahone made another burst, and claims to have "captured" the Head-quarters and principal Flag-station "and ran Meade off." (Examine *Scrinton*, 445.) This must be the occasion alluded to by Chaplain Warren H. Cudworth, in his *History of the*

First Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, 173, when, "during the afternoon, (Saturday, the "fourteenth of May) General Meade narrowly "escaped capture by the enemy, being in a "house upon which they made an unlooked-for charge, having doubtless been informed "by their scouts that he was there."

At the North Anna, Mahone made another brilliant coup. This stream, although narrow, is subject to sudden floods, and flows through a deep, rocky, and woody ravine, whose natural difficulties were augmented by strong works, on the southern bank, to which it constituted a better wet ditch than any engineer could have devised or executed. By thus holding a position back a little from the river, instead of the bank itself, Lee fulfilled to the letter, Von Bulow's maxim (Dumas' *Histoire de la Campagne de 1860*) for the defense of a river: "The best method to defend a river is to have "the army in hand, at some distance from the "shore, and fall vigorously upon the enemy, "after he has effected a crossing." Thus, the assailant becomes the assailed, and has to fight with a stream in his rear, recognized as one of the worst situations in which to deliver a battle. There, the opposing armies relatively occupied very peculiar situations. At this point, the Army of Northern Virginia presented an obtuse triangle, with its apex toward the river and to Grant, with both wings refused. Wright (Sixth Corps) and Warren (Fifth Corps) confronted Lee's Left so that they held a line almost parallel to it. Burnside (Ninth Corps) was opposite Lee's apex, which pointed North, directly towards a sharp curve, or U, of the North Anna, bending southwards, half-way between the Union right and left wings. Crittenden's Division of the Ninth Corps, General Ledlie's Brigade leading, plunged into the stream, and passed it, at Quarle's Mill or Ford. As soon as they were completely over, Mahone, who was on the extreme right (of the left wing?) of Lee, pushed one Brigade right out into the space between the two armies and across the chord or opening of the bend. Then, immediately, like a panther—a fit emblem for him—he dashed at the advancing column; fell upon it, with his usual vigor; drove it back; inflicted severe loss; captured a large number of prisoners and General Ledlie's Headquarters-flag, before succor could reach that commander. Gurnsey (*Harpers' History of the Great Rebellion*, i. 631.) must allude to this manœuvre where he speaks of it as a "brilliant one." Greeley (iii., 578) is very clear in regard to it. He says: "Crittenden's Division was promptly repelled with "heavy loss." Fletcher, (iii., 241) reads: "When the leading Division of Burnside's "Corps (opposite 'the apex' of Lee's lines on "the river, between the two wings of the Feder-

"al army—essayed to cross the river, he—Lee, by "Mahone—made it pay dearly for its attempt." Lossing (iii., 326) corroborates Greeley and Fletcher. "And so it was, that when Burnside's Ninth Corps of the Center attempted to cross between the two wings of the Army of the Potomac, his advance Division (Crittenden's) was quickly met (by Mahone) and repulsed, with heavy loss. When Warren, on the right, likewise attempted to connect with Burnside, by sending Crawford's Division in that direction, an overwhelming force fell upon him with almost fatal weight."

At Cold Harbor, on the third of June, Mahone's Division lay in reserve. After the Union troops had carried the first line, in his front, and captured a whole Brigade which had just reinforced Lee from the Shenandoah Valley and Southwestern Virginia, Mahone went in, in his usual style, to recapture what had been taken; and reoccupied the works.* Finnegan, his subordinate, the rebel hero of Olustee, or Ocean Pond, has the credit of this success.

After the Union Army had possessed itself of the first line of Confederate works, East of Petersburg, it pushed forward two columns, in parallel lines, on the the South of the city, up to and beyond the Jerusalem Plank-road, the inner column fortifying as it progressed.

Wilcox was sent out to feel for the enemy, but returned without accomplishing anything. General Mahone seeing the enemy, asked for, and obtained leave from General Lee, to attack them. Wilcox was directed to move out, in front of the Union advanced columns and beyond the outer ones, with instructions, so soon as Mahone should begin the fight, to press down upon this outer column, and force it towards the Confederate lines. This part of the programme, however, was not fulfilled. In the meanwhile, on the seventeenth of June, Mahone withdrew his command, quietly, from the lines which he manned, and passing them along a ravine to the front of the inner column, formed line of battle, and, suddenly dashing upon it, rolled it up, as a scroll, and forced it back upon the works, at the plank-road and upon the main body of the Union Army.

This occurred in sight of the Confederate lines, which were studded with heavy artillery. The officer commanding this artillery had orders from Mahone, to open his batteries simultaneously with his assault, and to keep them in full play, in front of his advancing columns. To his chagrin, these great dogs of war remained as silent as death; and not a shot was fired from them.

The parallel columns of the Union Army were

so near to each other, that, Mahone's right flank passed within a very short distance of the outer column, which, though unassaulted, was so paralyzed, that the movement of Wilcox's Division on it, as was ordered, would necessarily have put it to flight. The failure of Wilcox to move up, and of the artillery on the lines to open its fire, saved these two columns from utter destruction. As it was, Mahone, with three Brigades of his Division, captured sixteen hundred prisoners, four guns, and a large quantity of small arms. (Swinton, 510; Greeley, ii., 586).

Mahone's next exploit, in order of date, is what he terms the "Crater fight,"—that most terrible of all Union failures, on the thirtieth of July, 1864. (Examine Jarratt's *Guide to Petersburg*; Harper, 679.)

Of this, Mahone was unquestionably the hero; and the whole credit of our repulse belongs to him. Indeed, notwithstanding the combined blunders of all the Union Generals connected with the affair, we would have gone straight into Petersburg, in spite of the West Pointers in the rebel Army, in our front, if there had been no civil Engineer and natural General Mahone about, at this time. (Fletcher, iii, 271; *Littell's Living Age*, No. 1347, Page 793, comparison to Lannes, "Napoleon's own favorite Marshal, the best handler of troops in action, according to his master's judgment, of all the quick tacticians that followed the imperial eagles.")

While our Volunteer Miners were at work—for West Pointers pooh-poohed the subterranean operations before Petersburg, and Meade and Duane, Chief Engineer of the Army, styled it "clap-trap and nonsense;" (*Report on the Conduct of the War*, i., 65; *Battle of Petersburg*, 1, 2, etc.)—Hancock, with his Second Corps, and Sheridan, with his Cavalry, were sent over to the North side of the James, as a feint, say some—to make a real attack, say others, upon Richmond. This, whether real or false, had the desired effect. Lee tumbled four of the seven of his Divisions out of the works, on the South or right of the James; hurried them across his military pile-bridges, near Drury's, or Drewry's, Bluff; and, while he thus frustrated Hancock's attempt, if any confidence had been placed in it, by Grant, left the way open before Petersburg, if the Mine had turned out a success.

The three Divisions left behind, were Mahone's (of Hill's Corps), Bushrod Johnson's, and Hoke's, of Anderson's (formerly Longstreet's). Mahone was on the extreme rebel right, some two or three miles away; Bushrod Johnson, in the front, and to the immediate right of the Mine, which, in itself, was a perfect success. The subsequent reverses are due to Meade, red-tape, and worse.*

* Dawson's HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, December, 1869, 356—F. R. Hassler's Statement; and Draper, ii., 385.

* If any one deems these remarks the result of prejudice

The mine was run under an advanced work, often styled a fort, which constituted a salient, about a mile immediately in front of Petersburg, to the Southeast. To a casual or superficial observer, the country does not appear very rough, but it is extremely broken, or, rather seamed with ravines, or gullies, *accidenté*, as the French, express it. This, while it facilitated the building of the mine, it also, as will be seen, favored the able movement of Mahone, to fill up with men, the gap opened in the earth-works by the explosion.

At half past three, A.M. the fuse was fired, but failed. Two intrepid Volunteers—yes, heroic volunteer soldiers, for if their act was not heroism, to penetrate into the bowels of the earth, with every chance of being entombed alive, and perform their daring work unseen by men, and therefore ignored by men, there is no heroism in earth—Lieutenant Jacob Doughty and Sergeant Henry Ross, of the Forty-eighth Pennsylvania Volunteers, relighted the fuse and scarcely escaped from the gallery, when the mine exploded. This was 4.42, A. M.

Thus far the Volunteer idea—the Mine was suggested as well as constructed by Volunteers, with Volunteer materials—proved a perfect success.

As Meade was in command of the Army of the Potomac, he cannot shift the responsibility of this failure from his own shoulders to those of a subordinate. His manner of judging and acting, throughout the whole course of his career, in that exalted and responsible position, brings him under the denunciation of the Napoleonic Colonel, Baron Amerr, in his work, *The Soldier*, (*Le Soldat*) page 179—"Woe to the lukewarm, 'cold or slack,' (*Malheur aux gens tièdes!*) His course, on this occasion, was a perfect parallel to that of Moscow, in 1809, when, if the French Marshal had acted promptly, following up the victory of Tudela, he could have gone right straight into Saragossa. General of Infantry, the Prussian Heinrich von Brandt, then a subaltern in his army, records this as his opinion of the event: "Aus den Leben etc., *Theil 1. Seite 18 supra et infra*, thus reviewed in the *Edinburg Review*, as quoted in *Littell's Living Age*, p. 792-'8 of No. 1347 (March 26, 1870):

"Although the battle was won on the twenty-third of November, not two days march from Saragossa, it was a week before the French commander came in sight of the city [*Petersburg*]; and when fairly before it, want of means or dread of repeating the failure made earlier in

"the War, held him back from any attempt to take the place by a *coup-de-main*; nor was it until he had received a regular park of heavy guns, and been re-inforced by the whole Corps of Mortier, that he commenced, about the middle of December, after several vain summons to Palafox, the first operations of the memorable siege."

The springing of eight thousand pounds of powder shook the ground like an earthquake; blew the two, four, or six (according to different accounts) guns in the salient into the air, and the garrison—an unhappy South Carolina Regiment, two hundred and fifty to three hundred strong—likewise into the air; then engulfed and buried over half of them, likewise the Artillery detachment, leaving a crater, some two hundred feet long, fifty to sixty feet wide, and twenty-five—Mahone says, one hundred and twenty feet long, sixty feet wide, and forty—feet deep. Consternation struck, the defence was paralyzed; the only officer who appeared to have had his wits about him, was shot down, striving to rally his men; and the rebel troops fell back, towards the town, leaving, as all parties seem to agree, the avenue to triumph open.

Now comes one of the most perfect illustrations of the value of time on record. Mahone heard the explosion, two miles away; but was already on the alert.

The Union Generals did all they could to waste time; and, finally, tumbled a column of men into the hole made by the explosion, and let them lie there. Their blundering, in engineering, failing to open issues for the assaulting parties to get out of our works, preceded by worse blundering, and succeeded again by even still worse—if such a series of inexcusable mistakes can come under the head of blunders—lost us from twenty to thirty minutes, or more. Just half this space of time would have carried our troops into Petersburg, about one or one and a half miles distant. It sufficed to bring up the ever-ready Mahone from about two miles distant, or, by the route he had to take, nearly three.

While, on the one side, it was a tissue of mistakes, on the other side, it was almost equally so, or hardly better—redeemed, however, by the supreme activity and ability of one man. The idea that if a man adventures his life and dies bravely, this sole fact constitutes him a soldier, is one of the greatest fallacies into which our people have fallen. The present War (1870) in Europe, on the French side, is completely exemplifying this. Another equally dangerous error is, that a Commander is a great General who can waste human life without remorse, and who will pour forth human blood like water upon a resultless objective. Those captains are truly

against West Point dogmatism and individual dislikes, let him examine the testimony taken before the Committee on the Conduct of the War, in 1865, Vol. I.—Battle of Petersburg—and his eyes will be opened, unless it requires a miracle to effect that result.

great who accomplish great ends with comparatively little means; and such was and is Mahone.

As stated, Mahone heard the explosion and was already on the *qui vive*; so that, when an Aid-de-camp galloped up, in search of reinforcements, he was almost ready to move. Ordering his subordinates, Brigadier-generals Weisiger, Wright, and Saunders, to bring on the men, at a double-quick and under cover of a ravine or natural covered way, which led towards the menaced point in the rear and parallel to the rebel lines, he spurred on, ahead, to investigate matters.

Drawing rein at the Headquarters of Bushrod Johnson, the General in command of that portion of the line, embracing the Crater, Mahone found him, as he said, "absorbed in looking after his "breakfast and apparently oblivious of what was "going on in front. He was talking, unconcernedly with Beauregard." Mahone indignantly demanded a guide to the menaced point, and, hurrying on, led his men, who had come up, out towards the Mine, by a ravine perpendicular to the front, whence a lateral branch, at right angles, turned off parallel to the rebel works. Thus his leading Brigade (Virginians) was established within a few hundred yards—two hundred is the estimate of an eye-witness; three hundred, if memory serves, of the crater, crammed with Union troops, huddled together like benumbed wasps, on a frosty day in Autumn. Mahone himself dismounted, climbed the bank—he is still surprised, as he then wondered, that he was not shot down, standing thus, alone, exposed, and so conspicuous an object, in his light gray uniform—and distinctly counted eleven flags established on a front, of which the blown-up fort was the body, and the adjacent works, about several hundred yards in extent, the two wings on either side. He immediately calculated that these eleven flags represented twenty-two hundred men. He estimated that a half hour had elapsed since the explosion; and saw indications of an advance. He got his men—Weisiger's Virginia troops—upon the top of the bank, and met the charge and volley he had anticipated with a counter-charge and discharge, point blank, well aimed, which drove the Union troops back and into the crater; "following them into the outer lines, using the "bayonet." Posting sharpshooters to keep them down, which they did—for a few marksmen sufficed for this, by picking off every man who showed himself—Mahone rushed back to his Second (Wright's) Brigade of Georgia troops,* who had just arrived, regained their breath, and some order.

These troops he ordered to charge and re-take the captured line, to the left or South of the Cra-

ter. His First Brigade, Weisiger's Virginians, had won back the works to the right of it. The intervening ground was cleared and sloped outwards and downwards to the mined fort, and extending to the right or South. It was now swept by an artillery fire, whose fury almost surpasses conception to those who have not witnessed a similar scene. One of our Generals of Artillery (C. S. W.) present, said, that the canister, pieces of shell, and other missiles, striking the slope, produced an effect upon it similar to the heavy drops of rain, in a thunder-shower, upon a placid sheet of water. It was enough to appal the sternest veteran; and, when the Georgia troops charged, the fire had the same effect upon them as the shock of Stannard's volleys upon the right flank of Pickett's column, at Gettysburg. It threw them off to the left, so that, instead of striking Mahone's objective, they glanced off and shrunk in behind his First Brigade, sheltered by the works they had retaken. By this time, Mahone's Third Brigade—Saunders' "Immortalized Alabama"—had come up. It was composed of better troops than the preceding. They made a direct charge, at a run; lost astonishingly few men, considering the fire to which they were exposed; and drove the Union troops out of their remaining captures of the morning. Mahone now augmented his sharpshooters, around the crater, and, a few good shots picking off all who tried to get out, kept every one down.

Then the rebels picked up muskets with bayonets fixed, which our men had abandoned, and projected them into the air, like javelins, so that they came down like the rain of Norman arrows, at Hastings, transfixing our poor fellows, white and black, promiscuously mixed and lying piled upon each other, in the chasm.

"It was cruel," remarked Mahone, relating these facts, "but what could be done? By and bye I saw what seemed to be a white hankerchief thrust upwards, over the edge of the crater. I stopped the firing and we took eleven hundred and one prisoners out of that slaughter-pen. I afterwards diligently analyzed your (the Union) Reports, and found that your loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners, was five thousand, two hundred and forty. Cannon (in his *Grant's Campaign against Richmond*, 1864-65, p. 245), puts it down at five thousand, six hundred and forty. These figures were collated from statements published at the time. My loss was not over two hundred and fifty." Thus ended the catastrophe.

Our best troops do not appear to have been at, or near the point of collision, i. e., the Second and Third Corps (combined or consolidated). See Major-general Graham Mott's Statement,) was in reserve; and the Sixth Corps was away, protecting Washington.

* At Gettysburg, Wright had Third, Twenty-second, Forty-eighth, and Second Battalion, according to Bachelder.

All the while, forty thousand—some say fifty, and it has even been asserted, seventy-thousand—Union troops were massed to support the first rush, or, rather, lay as nearly within supporting distance of the attack, as Mahone had been, as regarded the defence. Our best troops do not appear to have been at, or even near, the point of collision. The combined Second and Third Corps, (see Mott's and Barnard's *Statements*) were in reserve, and the Sixth Corps was away, protecting Washington. The force, present, consisted of the Ninth, Tenth, and Eighteenth Corps; at hand, the Fifth Corps; in reserve, the combined Second and Third Corps; aggregate, sixty thousand? Professor John W. Draper, who wrote under the most favorable circumstances for arriving at the truth, says (iii., 405), "The assault was to be made by fifty thousand men." Guernsey (*Harper*, i., 699,) gives the same number, as drawn together for the attack. They looked on and did nothing. Why they did not make a diversion, to the right or left, is incomprehensible to any military mind. On the extreme rebel right, Mahone's line proper was denuded of defenders; for he had led his troops to the scene described. The intermediate works were feebly held. The neglect to co-operate with the attack, at the crater, is something which must excite astonishment on reviewing what occurred, and what should, if the American people ever held any one to strict responsibility, arouse their withering indignation.

Mahone's promptness and audacity, upon this occasion—this one achievement—should immortalize him.

Well might the British Colonel, Fletcher, (iii., 273,) remark: "General Mahone became greatly distinguished during the operations around Petersburg. From the commencement of the War, he had been noted for his soldierly abilities; and when placed in high command, evinced the qualities of an able General. Previous to the War, he had been a Civil Engineer on the Richmond and Norfolk-railway. He and General Gordon were accounted as two of the best of the Division Generals of the Army of Virginia." And again (*Ibid*, iii., 500,) he declared that Mahone "divides with Gordon, the capturer of Fort Steedmen, on the twenty-fifth of March, 1865, the glories of the last Campaign of the Army of Northern Virginia."

At, about, or after, this decisive action, on his part, Mahone was created Major-general. Why this promotion had been so long delayed, was, doubtless, owing to the stupidity of Jefferson Davis and the caste-prejudices and jealousies which worked such disastrous results, as well in the rebel as in the Union Armies. This remark is, by no means, an unjust one, for it has been said by those competent to judge, that West Point—that is, not the ability or education, but the per-

nicious caste-influence, of West Point—killed the South as much as it paralyzed the North, until the War gave it a practical energy, by associations and experience, through such men as Grant, Sheridan, etc., which it did not intrinsically possess. The very failure of Lee may be attributed to his subserviency to red-tape and to the stereotyped rules which made McClellan little better than an unready theorist. There is no question but that a thorough-bred, naturally-capable, and self-reliable practical railroad-man must make the best of commanders; for his very ordinary business imbues him with a knowledge of the value of time—not only of hours, but of minutes and seconds—of system of discipline; and of what is even more important, inexorable responsibility. He had more than once, at previous dates, been offered a *Provisional* Major-generalship. This he indignantly refused. His promotion came when it had become almost unnecessary; for he was now the senior Brigadier-general in the Confederate Army.

On the twenty-third of June, Mahone, with two Brigades from his Division, left his position on the Confederate line, and marched a distance of nine miles, to anticipate the return of Generals Wilson and Kautz from their celebrated raid on the Southside and Danville-railroads. As was expected, Wilson came up, with his command, at sunrise, upon the advanced line of Mahone, but declined an engagement, although four thousand strong; at once, massed his forces on the North bank of Rowanty-creek; destroying the bridge in his rear, apprehending, doubtless, the pursuit of Hampton, at whose hands he had been discomfited, the night before. Here, Mahone, with his two Brigades thus situated, was yet within three miles of the left of Wright's Corps; and, with the knowledge that Wilson had communicated with that Corps, he well understood that in delay there was great danger. Confronting Wilson with one Brigade, and taking him on his flank with the other, at which juncture he was reinforced by Fitz Lee's Cavalry, the assault was made, resulting in the most inglorious defeat of Wilson's command—his forces, in wild confusion, seeking safety through the woods, in every direction; losing, in their flight, all their artillery, having previously surrendered their entire ordnance, ambulance, and provision trains, with a lot of prisoners, some five hundred and odd slaves, and an immense quantity of personal property, taken on their raid.

"Had Mahone been given six, instead of three, Brigades for this service, Mahone thought the entire force and establishment of this command of Warren's would have been captured; while the result, brilliant in its proportions, amounted, perhaps, to no more than the capture of two thousand, six hundred, and fifty

"men and the consternation of Warren's whole force. The importance to the Confederate situation, of dislodging Warren was such as to induce Beauregard to direct that Mahone should renew the attack, with a strong force. This he did, the second day after, the twenty-first of August, by a detour around Warren's left, aiming here to take him again in flank and rear.

"In the meantime, Warren had fully fortified his position—front, flank, and rear. Mahone, with six Brigades, made successfully his detour, and formed his line of attack, in the fog of early morning, on the flank and somewhat in the rear of Warren's lines. But, in this case, he had been misled as to the exact position of the Federal line, and, in consequence, formed his line of attack more remote than he otherwise would have done. This gave more ground to pass over, before reaching the enemy's real position, than had been anticipated; and, in consequence, his line became somewhat ragged at the moment when the touch of the elbow was most essential for success. He was unsuccessful, therefore, in carrying the works, but boldly maintained his own position, the balance of the day, and said to General Lee, 'With two more Brigades, he would pledge himself to accomplish the work he had set out, in the morning, to perform.' It was Lee's purpose to give to Mahone the reinforcement; but Field's Division, from which the reinforcements were to come, arrived too late for any further successful movement."

Such is Mahone's account, and whoever considers he has exaggerated his success can easily detect any error by comparing it with the most popular writers, at the North, on the War—Swinton (532-5) sets down the aggregate Union loss at four thousand, four hundred, and fifty-five; compare Greeley, ii., 592; Lossing, iii., 355; Harper, 703.

In due order of events, we now come "to the fight on the Weldon Road," are the words of a letter from one of Mahone's friends. "Grant made an effort against Lee's lines, on the North bank of the James-river, resulting in the capture of Fort Harrison. Failing of the full success contemplated, he turned Warren back, who had reached the James-river for the purpose of reinforcing the movement, for a diversion on the Weldon Railroad, where Warren, without resistance, quietly established himself. Heth, with a part of his Division, was sent, on the eighteenth of August, to confront him, by Beauregard, in the absence of Lee, who was on the North side, commanding that (the Right) wing of the rebel Army. Warren, in this new position, on the Weldon-railroad, was now detached from the ex-

treme Left of the Federal lines, by more than a mile.

"The intervening space was covered by a heavy growth of wood. Mahone suggested to Hill, who conferred with him, upon the position, that this interval between Warren and the Left wing of the Federal Army, was doubtless occupied by no more than a picket line; as it proved; and that Warren's overthrow might easily be effected, by boldly penetrating this picket line; separating Warren from the main body of his friends; and taking him in rear and reverse. This suggestion of Mahone, was adopted by Beauregard; and Mahone asked to perform the task. Beauregard allotted one Brigade of Mahone's Virginians and two of Hoke's for the service; and, while Mahone insisted upon the insufficiency of such a force, for accomplishing [securing] the fruits of victory after it had been won, yet, in deference to the earnest desire of his superior, undertook the movement.

"He, on the nineteenth of August, penetrated the picket line, and successfully got in rear of Warren's line of battle and on the flank of his position; and, rapidly moving upon Warren's very Head-quarters, was foiled in his triumph and capture of all and everything, by the disintegration of his two attacking Brigades, from the vast number of prisoners—twenty-six hundred and fifty—which fell directly into his hands. This left only one, the Virginia Brigade, at the very moment when the addition of two more would have insured the capture of the entire dislocated command. To cover the results which he (Mahone) had already accomplished, was all that could be done; and this was handsomely performed by the most reliable of all his troops—Mahone's own Virginians—his old Brigade."

The next prominent action in which Mahone was to emulate the thunderbolt, was at Hatcher's Run, on the twenty-seventh of October, 1864—when Grant operated to turn Lee's extreme Right in order to gain possession of the South-side-railroad. The main movement was entrusted to the Second Corps, Hancock's; subsequently, the Second was supported by the Fifth, Warren's. The latter was ordered up, to form a connection between Hancock's right and the left of the Ninth, Park's, who was to engage the attention of the rebel troops, in the front, while Hancock was making the turning manœuvre. Hatcher's Run is a marshy stream, flowing from East to West, through thick forests and dense underbrush. Its head waters are near Zion and Corinth Churches, on the South side railroad, about fifteen miles East-south east of Petersburg; and it struck the extreme Left of the Union lines, near Armstrong's, on the Duncan-road, (*Grant's Map*)

about seven miles South of the " Cockade City."

It would be difficult to conceive a more ugly country to operate in. Our Maps were defective. Brigades and Regiments went astray. Staff officers, sent to disentangle the " Poho-hohu," became lost themselves in the maze; a drifting rain and fog made bad worse; night came on; and thus, in an unknown region, " darkness which could be " felt" converted the formation of this military movement into a literal groping in the dark. This was one of our disasters; and, had Mahone been adequately supported, it is impossible to estimate what might have been the extent of our losses. On our side, it was redeemed by Egan, commanding Gibbon's Division of the Second Corps. Mahone pays the highest compliments to the ability and intrepidity displayed. Praise, from such a man, is, indeed, praise; and Egan deserved it.

While Heth was to head us off, at the bridge, at the Burgess Mill-dam, and attack vigorously, and Hampton was to harass us, Mahone, as usual, made a turning march through the woods and, after a detour, formed his line in their edge; charged across an open field; and struck Egan on the right flank. Egan, previously Gibbons's, Division, which was posted on a clearing, South of the Run, with his guns on an elevation to the left of the Boylston-road, made a conversion; wheeled around his guns; and gave Mahone such a stunning reception as, finally, after a hard fight, drove him back to the shelter of the forest! Mahone says the scene was beautiful, in the dimness of the mist and the thickening darkness, through which the blaze of the musketry shone like lightning against a black cloud.

While he was performing, according to his wont, he appears to confine his praise to that officer, Hampton, who did his part well. There seems to have been as little co-operation in our own Army; and the glory of this involved engagement belongs to Egan and Mahone. Our losses were great—the result a failure; and this, as on so many other occasions, was due to that little fire-eater, whose name is hardly known in the North; and yet was our most dangerous and indomitable adversary. He realized the idea of the " hornet" of Scripture in the spitefulness and persistency of his attacks. He was a perfect military yellow-jacket-wasp.

After this action, Mahone was absent from the Army, some time, on leave. But he was not forgotten, for while Fort Steadman or Sedgwick, on the Union side, received the title of " Fort Hell," its opponent, where the lines approached nearest together, was named Fort Mahone, and dubbed " Fort Damnation,"—not inappropriate, since its sponsor, our great little hero, always gave us a taste of something akin to the idea expressed by the nickname.

Mahone does not seem to dwell upon any of the intervening operations, until those which occurred when the fortunes of the Confederacy were at their last gasp.

At the end of March, 1865, he held the rebel lines at Bermuda Hundreds; (*Bleicher* iii, 508; *Swinton*, 585; according to *Harper*, 762, Lee, Hill, and Mahone were in Petersburg, on the second of April, 1865); and it was not until the last days of the month, that he withdrew, covering the rear of the flying or retreating fragments of the " Army of Northern Virginia." To the last, he maintained discipline in his decimated Division and opposed an undaunted front to the pursuing enemy. Mahone speaks of Miles as his most persistent adversary; and, by the troops of Miles's command, his Headquarters wagon, with all his comforts and papers, were captured. Among them, he most regretted the capture of his elaborate Reports, on which he had expended immense labor, especially that embracing the operations from the fifth of May to the thirty-first of December, 1864. Mahone is of the opinion that, by dextrous flanking movements and his usual spiteful attacks, he inflicted a severer loss upon Miles than has ever been admitted. His last combat, of importance—for the fighting in detail, or skirmishing, never ceased—was at Cumberland-church. This is the name of the place, given by Mahone, but the writer cannot find it on the most detailed map or plan of the district, embracing the last scenes of the War, just beyond the Appomattox.

The Second and Sixth Corps were operating together; and Miles, of the latter, tried to play Mahone's game upon Mahone, and turn his position. Mahone turned upon him and gave him a severe shock, upon which he plumes himself, not a little. It certainly was plucky enough; and worthy his whole previous career. Miles lost six hundred men. When the game was about up, Lee called into his counsel, Longstreet, so greatly trusted, and Mahone, no less worthy of trust, if not more so—certainly a wiser, if not a better, fighter—to ask what more could be done. (*Harper* 771.) Mahone advised surrender. He said that further fighting was wicked because useless. As long as there was a hopeful chance to fight, no one was more eager to do so or did it more effectually.

The Army of Northern Virginia surrendered; and Mahone's military career was ended. On his return to civil life, his energy was recognized in his appointment as President of the three combined railroads concentrating at Richmond.

If he lives, his future is an assured one; and he is already talked of as the next Governor of Virginia.

IX.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.]

AN OLD MASON.—A correspondent of the *Hartford Times*, writing from East Haddam, Connecticut, on the first instant, says: "To-day, was attended the funeral of Mr. Chevas Brainard, at St. Stephen's Church, in this town. He attained the age of ninety-six years, and is said to be the oldest Freemason in New England, having been a member of that Order seventy-one years. He was also the last surviving member of the original founders of the Episcopal Church, in this town.

"There is another thing remarkable about this Church. The sober people of this town are, on every Sunday morning, called to divine service by the oldest bell in America. It came to this country, one hundred and forty years ago, with a lot of old bell-metal."

There is one older bell in America than the one in East Haddam, certain. That is in the little Catholic Church, in the village of St. Regis, on the St. Lawrence-river. The bell in that Church was taken from Deerfield, at the time of the French and Indian invasion of that place, in 1704, and it is said was suspended on a pole, and carried on the shoulders of the Indians, through the wilderness, to the place where it now hangs. It was originally purchased in France, by the Church at St. Regis, and the vessel in which it was being taken to Quebec, was captured by an English cruiser and taken into the port of Salem. The bell, as a part of the cargo, was sold, and bought by the Church in Deerfield. The invaders of Deerfield were from St. Regis, and took special pride in recapturing and returning the bell.—*Norwich Aurora*.

THE EARLY MANUFACTURE OF GLASS.—In reference to a paragraph, recently copied in our paper, stating that the first manufacture of glass, in this country, was at Temple, New Hampshire, a correspondent writes:—"Thirty years previous to the commencement of the establishment at the town of Temple, New Hampshire, or, in 1750, a manufactory of glass was started at Braintree, (now Quincy), Mass., under the superintendence of Joseph Palmer, Esq. Glass bottles were then made, and other articles, and the business prospered until it was destroyed, at the time of the American Revolution. The peninsula received the name of Germantown, from the foreigners there employed. The workmen, however, were evidently emigrants

"from Holland, as embankments they raised to guard against the tides of the ocean, are yet visible."

Mr. Palmer's mansion and estate are now the property and the site of "The Sailor's Snug Harbor."—*Boston Traveller*, August 10, 1866.

FOURTH OF JULY ADDRESS.—We learn from the *Atlas* that J. Lothrop Motley, Esq., author of *Merry Mount*, etc., has been invited to deliver the Address before the City Authorities on the Fourth of July.—*Boston Emancipator and Republican*, April 19, 1849.

SCRAPS.—E. D. Mansfield, in the *Cincinnati Gazette*, says that the number of marriages in Ohio, for a series of years, were:

In 1859.....	22,671
In 1860.....	23,106
In 1861.....	22,251
In 1862.....	19,540
In 1863.....	19,300
In 1864.....	20,881
In 1865.....	22,198
In 1866.....	30,479
In 1867.....	29,230
In 1868.....	28,231
In 1869.....	25,798

—A Beech-tree lately blew down in Germantown, of very great age. It was three feet in diameter, at the ground, and stood by an old house, on the Wister estate. It must have been of considerable age, when the house was built. Cut in the smooth bark, were seen the initials D. S. W., 1771—ninety-nine years ago. Not many trees bear on their bark, such evidence of their antiquity.

—The mildness of this Winter is not without precedent. As early as 1682, the first Winter that Penn spent in this country, he speaks of the extreme mildness of the atmosphere, the mercury but rarely falling below the freezing-point, which impressed him very favorably with our climate.

—The variable climate of the United States, is illustrated by the historic "cold Friday," on the nineteenth of January, 1810. The preceding part of the month was unseasonably warm and sunny, with a South wind blowing; but as the sun went down, on the eighteenth, the wind shifted to the North, blowing hard, and the cold weather that ensued was intense, and caused great suffering to man and beast.

—Cato Oakley, a Suffield darkey, is supposed to be one hundred and six years old. He was once a slave, in Fairfield-county, and came to Suffield, in 1838.

Not only General Washington but Mr. Jefferson owned and ran horses. In 1790, General Washington acted as one of the Judges, at the race-meet, near Alexandria, when his horse, Magnolia, was beaten. He afterwards sold Magnolia to "Light Horse" Harry Lee, for fifteen hundred dollars. He was sent, afterwards, to South Carolina. Mr. Jefferson had a fine horse, a winner at the same meeting, called the Rom Cell.

The oldest house in East Haven, built in 1662, will be pulled down this Spring, to make place for a new residence. Willis Bailey, its owner, gave a party therein, recently, and read a history of the ancient building.

X.—QUERIES.

HENRI SHERMAN, Esqr., of Hartford, Ct., is said to have had in press, as long since as 1857, a *Generalized History of the United States*. Was it ever published? If so, by whom?

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

E.

STAMFORD AND WETHERSFIELD TOWN RECORDS. It was stated in an early volume of the *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, that these Records, or some portions of them, were carried away, by one John Wilkes, and were then in private hands, somewhere on Long Island. Can any person indicate their present whereabouts? M.

XI.—REPLY.

SHAW CRADOCK SERIES OF RELATIONS.—Having depended on others to reply to this query, without securing any response, I beg to submit the titles of those of the series which are in my own library; and if any have others to which I make no allusion they will confer favor by mentioning their titles through this work:

- I. *Relation de ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable dans la Mission Abénaquis au Fort du Quesne, de St. Joseph, et dans l'établissement de la Nouvelle Acadie de Saint-François de Sales, l'année 1701.* A Manate: 1857.
- II. *Relation de ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable dans la Mission Abénaquis au Fort du Quesne, de St. Joseph, et dans l'établissement de la Nouvelle Acadie de Saint-François de Sales, l'année 1701.* A Manate: 1857.
- III. *Relation de ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable dans la Mission Abénaquis au Fort du Quesne, de St. Joseph, et dans l'établissement de la Nouvelle Acadie de Saint-François de Sales, l'année 1701.* A Manate: 1857.
- IV. *Relation de ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable dans la Mission Abénaquis au Fort du Quesne, de St. Joseph, et dans l'établissement de la Nouvelle Acadie de Saint-François de Sales, l'année 1701.* A Manate: 1857.

Abnakis à l'Acadie, l'année 1701.

A Manate: 1858.

- V. *Cavelier's Relation du Voyage entrepris par feu M. ROBERT CAVELIER, Sieur de la Salle, pour découvrir dans le golfe du Mexique l'embouchure du Fleuve de Mississipi.* A Manate: 1858.

- VI. *La Vie du R. P. Pierre Joseph Marie Chamonot, de la Compagnie de Jesus, Missionnaire dans la Nouvelle France, écrite par lui-même par ordre de son Supérieur, l'an 1688.*

Nouvelle York: 1858.

- VII. *Suite de la Vie du R. P. Pierre Joseph Marie Chamonot, de la Compagnie de Jesus.* Nouvelle York: 1858.

- VIII. *Tranchevain's Relation du Voyage des premières Ursulines à la Nouvelle Orleans et de leur établissement en cette ville.* Nouvelle York: 1859.

- IX. *Registres des Baptêmes et Sepultures qui se sont faits au Fort du Quesne pendant les années 1753, 1754, 1755, and 1756.* Nouvelle York: 1859.

- X. *Journal de la Guerre du Mississipi contre les Chirachos, en 1759 et finie en 1760. Par un Officier de l'Armée de M. de Nouaille.* Nouvelle York: 1859.

- XI. *Relation ou Journal du Voyage du R. P. JACQUES GRAVIER, de la Compagnie de Jesus, en 1760, depuis le pay des Illinois jusqu'à l'embouchure du Mississipi.* Nouvelle York: 1859.

- XII. *Darlon's Relation de ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable aux Missions des Pres de la Compagnie de Jesus en la Nouvelle France, les années 1673 à 1679.**

A. la Nouvelle York: 1860.

- XIII. *..... les années 1672 et 1673.**

A. la Nouvelle York: 1861.

- XIV. *Relations Diverses sur Bataille du Marignan. Gagné le 9 Juillet, 1755, par les Francois sous M. de Beaujeu, Commandant du Fort du Quesne sur les Anglois sous M. Braddock, Général en Chef des troupes Anglois.*

Nouvelle York: 1860.

- XV. *Relation de la Mission du Mississipi du Séminaire de Québec en 1760. Par M. de Montigny, de St. Cosme, et Thémur de la Source.*

Nouvelle York: 1861.

- XVI. *Nieuw Oelgius, description de Nieuw Aetherland et Notice sur René Goupil. Par le R. P. Isaac Jogues, de la Com-*

* Copies of the two volumes thus designated were printed in octavo, as continuations of the series of *Relations*, in three volumes, published by the Canadian Government, in 1855.

- XVII. *Compagnie de Jesus. A New York: 1862. Extract de la Relation des Avantures et Voyage de Mathieu Sagueau.*
Nouvelle York: 1863.
- XVIII. MILET's *Relation de sa Captivité parmi les Onneiouts en 1690-1.*
Nouvelle York: 1864.
- XIX. *Relation des Affaires du Canada, en 1696. Avec des Lettres de Pères de la Compagnie de Jesus depuis 1696 jusqu'en 1702.* Nouvelle York: 1865.
- XX. BIGOT's *Relation de la Mission Abnaguise de St. Francois de Sales l'année 1702.* Nouvelle York: 1865.
- XXI. *Lettre du Père Jacques Gravier, de la Compagnie de Jesus, le 23 Février, 1708, sur les Affaires de la Louisiane.*
Nouvelle York: 1865.

There is, also, another which bears Mr. Shea's imprint and is uniform with this series, and which, therefore, will be added to the above, by those who are not aware of its real character. We have the authority of that gentleman for saying that it is not Mr. Shea's; nor does it, properly, belong to the series of his Relations, above-named. It is entitled: *Epistola Rev. P. Gabrielis Dreuilletes, Societatis Jesu Presbyteri, ad Dominum Illustrissimum, Dominum JOANNEM WINTROP, Scutarium. Neo-Eboraci in insulâ Manhattan: Typis Cramoisiensis Joannis-Mariae Shea, MDCCC.LXIX.*

Besides the above named twenty-one volumes of the series, there is one—the first—which I do not possess. It is Gravier's *Relation de la Mission Illinois, 1692*; and I shall be very much obliged, and will pay a liberal price for it, to any one who can favor me with a copy of it.

It may serve a good purpose, to add that this series was printed uniform in size, style, type, ornaments, etc., with the series published, in the seventeenth century, in Paris, by M. Cramoisy; and that the edition was generally limited to one hundred copies.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.

H. B. D.

XII.—BOOKS.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

[Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HENRY B. DAWSON, MORRISANIA, N. Y.," or to MESSRS. CHARLES SCRIBNER & Co., Booksellers, 654 Broadway, New York City, as shall be most convenient for them.]

A.—PRIVATELY PRINTED BOOKS.

1.—*The Bradford Prayer Book 1710. Some account of "The Book of Common Prayer," Printed A. D. 1710, by William Bradford, under the auspices of Trinity Church, New York. The first edition of that book ever printed on the American Continent. Privately printed for Horatio Gates Jones 1870. Octavo, pp. 10.*

A very beautiful re-print of an article which

appeared in *The Philadelphia Evening Bulletin* of July 15, 1870, concerning the copy of Bradford's edition of *The Book of Common Prayer* which our friend, John Jordan, Jr., Esq., of Philadelphia, recently unearthed in that city—a stray volume which has served to set at rest various bibliographical doubts, and to set in anxious motion various intensely earnest bibliophiles.

The matter of this tract is chiefly a correspondence between Mr. Jones and Mr. Wallace—the former a Vice-president, the latter the President of the Pennsylvania Historical Society—concerning a volume which, through the generosity of another member, has been donated to that Society; and, notwithstanding there are some errors in the narrative and a seemingly unnecessary parade in the mode of presenting the simple story of the origin and character of the precious volume and that of its discovery and transmission to the Society, it is, at once, an acceptable bibliographic morsel and an elegant specimen of typography.

The Society is to be congratulated, both because a volume has been found and because it fell into such utterly unselfish hands as those of its excellent Treasurer, Mr. Jordan.

B.—OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS.

2.—*The Water Power of Maine*, by Walter Wells, Superintendent Hydrographic Survey of Maine. Augusta: Sprague, Owen, & Nash, Printers to the State. 1869. Octavo, pp. viii, 525.

In 1867, the Legislature of Maine authorized an exploration of the water-power of the State, both that which was unemployed and that which was employed; and, in 1868, a Report was made thereon, which we have not seen. In 1869, a more elaborate Report was made by Hon. Walter Wells, to whom the duty was assigned of superintending the Survey; and, in the volume before us, which Mr. Wells has sent to us, we have a copy of that interesting Report.

Mr. Wells begins his Report with a Description of the position of Maine, geographically and with respect to the remainder of the Continent. Then follow careful examinations of her horizontal dimensions, her elevation, her mountain-system, and her valleys. Next are noticed her geological relations and the aspect, materials, and vegetation of her surface; her lake-system and its influence upon her water-power; her tidal water-power; her temperature, rain-fall, and evaporation; the healthiness of her climate; the comparative cost of her Water-power and Steam-power; and the accessibility of her Water-power. Next follows an elaborate examination of the river-systems of the State, in which, successively, are noticed the peculiarities of the Saco, Androscoggin, Ken-

ness, Penobscot, St. Croix, St. John, Dennys, Penasquan, East and West Machias, Narragansett, Pleasant, Tunk, Union, St. George, Sheepscot, Medonnie, Presumpscot, Mousam, Piscataqua, and several smaller streams, and those of the towns which they severally drain; and the Report closes with very careful descriptions of the Water-powers, as a whole and each separately. From this very brief synopsis of the contents of this volume, our readers will learn how important it is, both in its industrial and its literary relations—both as suggestive to the manufacturer, concerning cheap and accessible power, and as one of a series of volumes, containing the result of surveys of the State, which are among the most important of the class known as "locals."

In the preparation of the work, Mr. Wells has evidently discharged his important duty with zeal and fidelity; and if he has not been misled by those on whom he has necessarily depended for detailed local reports, his Report will continue to possess unusual interest and value, long after he shall have passed away. It is, unquestionably, a work of unusual merit.

It is very fairly printed; and the map which illustrates it adds greatly to its usefulness.

3.—*Proceedings of the Board of Supervisors of the County of Westchester, for the years 1772 to 1787, inclusive.* Arranged by Charles E. Johnson. New York: 1870. Octavo, pp. 64.

At the Annual Meeting of the Board of Supervisors of this County, in 1869, the Clerk was ordered to print, annually, "such portions of the past records of the Board of Supervisors, not to exceed fifty pages in any one year, as may be selected by a Special Committee on Past Records, to be appointed by the Chairman, at each Annual Session;" and, in the tract before us, we have the first installment of that good work, embracing the Minutes, from before the opening of the War of the Revolution until the year 1787—certainly a period, in the history of Westchester-county, embracing the celebrated "neutral ground," during the War, which will add significance to the homely record.

As a local history, relating to the third, in population, of the Counties of the State, this tract possesses unusual importance.

4.—*Annual Report of the Adjutant-general of the State of Connecticut, for the year ending March 31, 1870.* Printed by order of the Legislature. New Haven: 1870. Octavo, pp. 114.

We are indebted to the attention of our friend, General Merwin, Adjutant-general of the State, for this continuation of our series of Re-

ports of Connecticut's military authorities. It is a very complete record of the local military affairs of the State; and it is made more generally interesting by the re-publication of that portion of the *Rolls of Honor* which describes the names, places of burial, etc., of those, from Connecticut, who fell during the late War of Secession.

5.—*Proceedings of the Board of Supervisors of the County of Westchester, for the year 1870.* Charles E. Johnson, Clerk. New York: 1870. Octavo, pp. 68.

The record of the local legislature of this County, for the year 1869—a volume which is especially important to every tax-payer therein, whether residing in the County or elsewhere. It is interesting, also, because it contains lists of the County-officers, from the organization of the State Government until now, together with the installment of the ancient records of the Board, now first published, to which, in its independent form, allusion has been made in another part of this number of the Magazine.

C.—TRADE PUBLICATIONS.

6.—*The Epistle of Paul to the Galatians.* By Otto Schmoller, Ph.D. Translated from the German, by C. C. Starbuck, A.M. Edited, with additions, by M. B. Riddle, D.D. New York: C. Scribner & Co. 1870. Octavo, pp. viii, 161.

The Epistle of Paul to the Ephesians. By Karl Braune, D.D. Translated from the German, with additions, by M. B. Riddle, D.D. New York: C. Scribner & Co. 1870. Octavo, pp. ii, 235.

The Epistle of Paul to the Philippians. By Karl Braune, D.D. Translated from the German, with additions, by Horatio B. Hackett, D.D. New York: C. S. Scribner & Co. 1870. Octavo, pp. 76.

The Epistle of Paul to the Colossians. By Karl Braune, D.D. Translated from the German, with additions, by M. B. Riddle, D.D. New York: C. Scribner & Co. 1870. Octavo, pp. 85.

Of this work—known, collectively, as a portion of *Lange's Commentary*—we have repeatedly written, with more or less approval; and we opened this volume, embracing the three works above mentioned, with some misgivings, because of the tendencies of the general collection to run in a direction which our conscience tells us is not the true one.

Of the twenty-three, whose names are published as its American Editors, twelve are Presbyterians or Reformed Dutch, between whom there is no perceptible difference in their religious faith; four only—two Baptists and two Congregational—are Congregational in their mode of Church Government, against nineteen who have departed from the scriptural standards, on that subject; two only are Baptists against nineteen who no longer pretend to follow the Bible as their *only* "Rule of Faith and Practice." So much for the impartiality with which its Editors have been chosen.

As an evidence of its value as a Commentary,

when the prejudices of its Editors come in contact with the truth, let us cite a single instance, which we may multiply, if necessary: *The Epistle to the Ephesians* was addressed, on its face, "to the *Saints* which are at Ephesus and to the *faithful in Christ Jesus*," and to no other person, good or bad, there or elsewhere. The non-professing Jimmy O'Brians and Bill Pooles of that city had no more part in the specific message of the writer than had those church members, therein, who mixed gin with their milk, defiled other men's wives, or pharisaically thanked God that they were better men than those whom they had swindled, a day or two before; and those of any other city, at any time, had as little interest in it as had those Ephesians, who were not *then* "saints" or "faithful in Christ Jesus." It was addressed to the latter, and to no one beside them, whom the writer sometimes called "you;" and it concerned no one, whatever, except those who were particularly addressed and him who addressed them, who collectively, were sometimes spoken of, in the Epistle, as "we" and "us."

The original author of the Epistle, [i, 3-23] opened the communication which he proposed to make to those "saints" and "faithful" ones "which [were] at Ephesus," with thanks to Almighty God, whom he described as having blessed "us"—the writer and the written-to, not everybody—with all spiritual blessings, in heavenly places, in Christ, according—in the same manner, even,—as he had chosen or selected "us"—not everybody in Ephesus—in him—Christ—not after "we" had done something to earn salvation, but before the foundation of the world. He thus recognized the "election" of some and, consequently, the rejection of others, by the Almighty, before time was or man individually existed. He next recites the purpose of God in having thus blessed "us," rather than the world, at large, "that we" should be holy and without blame before him, "in love," and thus recognizes the doctrine that "holiness" in the individual is a consequence of the pre-existing love, for that individual, by God, rather than an antecedent cause for the subsequent appropriation of Divine love to man, where no such love had been previously enjoyed. And he concludes his description by reciting the preliminary process employed by the Almighty—"having predestinated us into the adoption of children, by Jesus Christ, to himself"—by giving, as the reason for it, not anything which "we" had done, but merely "the good pleasure of his Will," etc.; and by noticing, as among the great results of this predestination of some and rejection of others, *First*: Acceptance of "us," in the beloved; *Second*: Our Redemption through his blood and forgiveness of sins; etc.

All this indicates an entire rejection, by the

writer of this Epistle, of the least consideration of every one, either at Ephesus or elsewhere, except of those unto whom it was especially addressed, in like manner, as he evidently supposed they had been already rejected by the Almighty, when, "before the foundation of the world," the latter had made his selection of those whom he would favor and those whom he would not favor, "according to the good pleasure of his Will." Indeed, "us," "we," and "our," and "you," and "your," thrust themselves before us, in almost every line of the Epistle—as they necessarily do in almost every line of every private letter, whether written in our own day or any other—and they clearly indicate the Apostle's opinion, that he and those whom he addressed, if no others, were among the elect of God. No one who will read this Epistle can honestly say anything else; and the final benediction, with which the Epistle closes, tells, unmistakably, that "the brethren" and "all them that love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity"—not those who were merely Sunday Christians and sinners during the rest of the week—were those whom he had alone addressed; and who were the "you" and "your" to whom he had specifically referred.

While we have distinctly set forth whom Paul meant by "we," "us," "our," "you," and "your," and whom he described as those who had been so peculiarly "blessed in heavenly places in Christ;" who had been "chosen in [Christ] before the foundation of the world;" who had been "predestinated unto the adoption of children;" who had been "accepted in the Beloved;" who had had "Redemption through his blood," which included "forgiveness of sins;" and who had had "made known unto them the mystery of his will," etc.; it is peculiarly noticeable that he made no exclusive claims for himself and those whom he addressed. They were thus favored: how many others were similarly blessed was not then before them, for consideration. It was not necessary, for the purposes of that particular letter, to discuss that particular subject; but he referred, also, (ii, 19) to others, besides themselves, who were "the saints and the household of God," with whom those whom he addressed were no longer "strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens;" to "other Gentiles," who walked "in the vanity of their mind, having the understanding darkened," (iv, 17, 18;) to various classes of men, none of whom "hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God," (v, 5-6;) to certain principalities, powers, rulers of the darkness of the world, etc., against which he and those to whom he wrote were wrestling, (vi, 12); etc. In short, there were others who had not been thus blessed, as Paul and the Eph-

etians had been; who had been left when the choice was made by God, "before the foundation of the world"; who had been "predestinated" to some other fate than "the adoption of children, by Jesus Christ;" who had been *rejected* when others had been "accepted;" etc.; and these are said, (ii, 2, 3) to have "walked according to the course of this world, according to the Prince of the power of the air—the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience, among whom also we all had our conversation, in times past;" and until God had rescued them.

In the face of all this, either Doctor Braune or Doctor Riddle tries very hard to show, on pages 21 and 22, that "the recipients of the Epistle" were something *more* than those whom the plain terms of the Apostle specifically indicated; on page 30, to show that "us" means "the Church of Christ, the congregation sanctified, the saints," who, at the time, make up "the people of God, in whom the election is perceptible and manifest;" on page 43, to insist that it means "the local Church," at Ephesus, "the Church as a whole;" on page 47, to convince his readers that "the object of the 'predestination' of the 'us' of the writer of the Epistle was that of 'the whole human race,' in which case, as all those who had been thus 'predestinated' were accepted and redeemed, and were to be justified and saved, Paul must have been an early Universalist and the 'election' of some and the 'rejection' of others, by the Almighty, a mere farce.

No, Doctors Braune and Riddle, where there has been a *choice* and *election*, there has necessarily been a *rejection*—that is no "election" which takes *all*—and it matters not whether it was made "before the foundation of the world" or on the first Tuesday in November, whether it was mere now or any other thing, whatever: there is no "election," but *all* there be, where "one is 'chosen' and the other [not] left." There could certainly have been an election in which a few were chosen and many were rejected: those who were thus "chosen" were given to the Son for a people: "—who were not thus chosen, nor hated:—for late silver shall men call 'those whom the Lord hath rejected':"—for the name of those the Savior *prayed*: for the Father he never prayed—"I pray not for the world, but for them which thou hast given me." John xiv, 2—and for them, and only for them, he died, as both Doctor Braune and Doctor Riddle have severally professed to believe, in their respective confessional vows.

In view of these millions of teachings, covered with the tinsel of Gerson's doubtful learning—could we can point out dozens of other instances,

in these volumes—and in view of the evident partisan bias of the Editor, in his selection of co-editors, we cannot commend this work as a *faithful* exposition of the Scriptures, whatever we may do as a merely philological treatise, in which the dexterity of various scholars can be displayed, in their earnest attempt to disguise the truth and instruct their readers how they can best *not* understand it.

7.—*Free Russia*. By William Hepworth Dixon. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 259.

Old Russia is said to have passed away, and another Russia—free and fresh—is said to have arisen in its stead.

It may be that Russia has become more enlightened; that she is not as fearfully bound, in feudal fetters, as she was, before the Crimean War; that she is relatively free; but we have no faith in the professions or pretensions of her *freedom*, as we understand that word—or, rather, as we were wont to understand it, before the recent War indicated to us, just what that word really meant and amounted to, even in a Republic which was said to have been "governed by the people, for the people," when those possessing the power to oppress "the people," were pleased to exercise it, even at the cost of the Constitution established by "the People."

We have no confidence in the existing "freedom" of Russia; and we will venture a guess that, when the Czar shall feel inclined, it will vanish like the mist of the morning. Nevertheless, the description of *existing* Russia, as portrayed by Mr. Dixon, is exceedingly interesting and important, ranging, as he did, from the Polar Sea to the Ural Mountains, and from the Vistula to the Straits of Yeni Kale, and mixing, as he did, with all classes and conditions of life; and he, certainly, has presented his subject in a manner which is at once picturesque and fascinating. We certainly know more of Russian every-day life than we ever knew before; and it may usefully arrest the attention of all who desire to know more than they now know, concerning the great empire of the North.

This volume is a very neat one.

8.—*Put yourself in his place*. A novel. By Charles Reade. Illustrated. New York: Harpers & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 267. Price, in paper, 75 cents.

..... New York: Sheldon & Co. 1870. Octavo, pp.

..... New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. 415.

Different editions of the same work—a novel, by Charles Reade, which has attracted the attention of every one who reads works of this character

We have not read either of these volumes;

but we understand from those who have, that it is a work of the highest character, entirely worthy of the author's reputation. The various editions afford an opportunity for all to read it, who are inclined to do so.

9.—*Recollections of Eton.* By an Etonian. With illustrations by Sydney P. Hall. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 126. Price 50 cents.

A pleasant review of the experience of an Eton boy, at that celebrated school. Of course, it is thoroughly English in its character: and for that reason it will find few in our country who can fully appreciate it.

10.—*Tom Brown at Oxford.* By the author of *Tom Brown's School Days*. New Edition, with illustrations by Sydney P. Hall. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 231. Price 75 cents.

The great body of our readers know the character of this volume, as "one of the very best 'boys' books ever written;" and nothing that we can say will add to its interest or increase its popularity, among those for whom it was written. The Edition before us is a handsome one, neatly illustrated, and, all things considered, sold at a nominal price.

11.—*The Genial Showman*, being Reminiscences of the Life of Artemas Ward and Pictures of a Showman's career, in the Western World. By Edward P. Hingston. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 155. Price 75 cents.

A pleasantly-written narrative of the life and adventures of "Artemas Ward," as Charles Browne was called, professionally. It will serve to keep him in remembrance, among those whom he amused; and, at the same time, agreeably occupy the leisure which thousands possess, to a greater or less degree, sometime during the year.

12.—*Charles Dickens.* The story of his Life. By the author of the *Life of Thackeray*. With illustrations and fac-similes. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 110. Price 50 cents.

Speeches, Letters, and Sayings of Charles Dickens. To which is added a sketch of the author, by George Augustus Sala, and Dean Stanley's Sermon. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 147. Price 50 cents.

The Mystery of Edwin Drood. By Charles Dickens. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Price 25 cents.

These three volumes close the record of Dickens, both as a man, a public speaker, and an author; and, notwithstanding he has closed his pilgrimage and departed, the world seems to jog along, just as it did while he was living. It may be a queer world, or Dickens may have been nothing more than a mere man: whichever is the fact, his exit has not stopped the progress of Time, nor does the busy world seem to miss him.

In fact, Dickens was unduly petted and duly spoiled; and when he died, the morality and worth of England experienced no material loss.

13.—*The United States Internal Revenue and Tariff Law (Passed July 13, 1870)*, together with the Act imposing taxes on Distilled Spirits and Tobacco, and for other purposes, (approved July 21, 1868,) and such other Acts or parts of Acts relating to Internal Revenue as are now in effect: with Tables of Taxes, a copious Analytical Index, and full sectional Notes. Compiled by Horace E. Dresser. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 99.

A convenient volume of reference, which will be very acceptable to every business-man throughout the country.

14.—*Estelle Russell.* By the author of *The private life of Galileo*. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 177. Price 75 cents.

The Heir Expectant. By the author of *Raymond's Heroine*. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 167. Price 50 cents.

A Dangerous Guest. By the author of *Gilbert Ruggle*. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 116. Price 50 cents.

Veronica. A novel. By the author of *Aunt Margaret's trouble*. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 175. Price 50 cents.

Kilmeny. By William Black. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 136. Price 50 cents.

John: a love story. By Mrs. Oliphant. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 110. Price 50 cents.

True to herself. A romance. By F. W. Robinson. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 173. Price 50 cents.

From Thistles-Grapes? By Mrs. Ellvart. New York: Harper & Bros. 1871. Octavo, pp. 136. Price 50 cents.

The Vivian Romance. By Mortimer Collins. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 144. Price 50 cents.

The Warden and Barchester Towers. By Anthony Trollope. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 244. Price 75 cents.

In duty bound. By the author of *Mark Warren*, etc. Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 121. Price 50 cents.

Which is the heroine? A Novel. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 148. Price 50 cents.

Successive numbers of *Harpers' Library of Select Novels*; all from foreign writers of established reputations; and all acceptable to those who employ this class of works to "kill time." They are all neatly printed.

15.—*The New Issue.* The Chinese-American Question. By John Swinton. New York: American News Co. 1870. Octavo, pp. 16.

We have received from our friend, the author, a copy of this emphatic and eloquent protest against the immigration of the Chinese.

Mr. Swinton objects to the admission of these foreigners because of differences of Race, Industry, Politics, and Morality: he maintains, too, that the Federal authorities have the right and full power to adopt such a policy as will regulate or entirely prevent the importation of Chinese

Coolidge; and he insists that that right shall be exercised and the influx prevented.

The subject is an important one: it has been ably handled, by an experienced writer, who is, also, one of the most profound thinkers in our country.

10.—*History of Joseph Bonaparte, King of Naples and of Italy.* By John S. C. Abbott. New York: Harper & Bros. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. 321.

11.—*History of Hortense, Daughter of Josephine, Queen of Holland, and of Napoleon III.* By John S. C. Abbott. With engravings. New York: Harper & Bros. 1879. Duodecimo, pp. 379.

Two additions to the widely-known series of "Illustrated Histories," by the same prolific author; or, it may be, they are portions of a new series, uniform with the other.

Each volume is complete in itself, presenting a succinct and comprehensive, yet simple, narrative of the events of a life; and, for all ordinary purposes, they present all that is necessary to be known of the subject of the narrative. For family book-shelves and for school or town libraries, these volumes will be very useful.

They are very neatly printed.

12.—*Adventures of Caleb Williams.* By William Godwin. Esq. Complete in one volume. New York: Harper & Bros. 1879.

An old novel, as widely-known as it very well can be, which has been re-produced in a very neat but cheap form. It will probably renew the lease on the favor of the reading public which it so long enjoyed.

13.—*The First-Class-Book of History*, designed for pupils commencing the study of History; with questions, adapted to the use of Schools. By M. J. Kerney, A.M. Twenty-third revised and enlarged edition. Baltimore: John Murphy & Co. 1869. 16mo. pp. 266. Price 60 cents.

The fact that twenty-two editions of this work have been already exhausted affords, *prima facie*, evidence of its general merit, as that quality has been understood by the public, in Maryland. It has been thoroughly revised and, therefore, somewhat enlarged by Professor Sumner of Georgetown College; and, as far as he was enabled to do so, in the short time which he was enabled to devote to the work, he has faithfully discharged his duty and made a very excellent little book, for the purposes for which it was designed.

The great good feature of the work is, that it is neither sectarian nor sectional in its teachings: Protestants and Roman Catholics, South and North, enjoy equal favor in its pages; and neither can say, with as much reason as very often appears, that it has been either unfairly represented or unfairly neglected. The Chapter

on the recent War of Secession, for instance, displays, very briefly, the origin of the struggle as it actually occurred; and the South is therein permitted, as she should, to state for herself the reasons which influenced her in making resistance to the United States. Another instance is found in the fact that although the work was written by one Roman Catholic and revised by another, no evidence of unfriendliness to the Protestants is seen in its pages, not even while Queen Mary of England is the subject of discussion.

Yet, we find the Editor has fallen into occasional errors, notwithstanding his anxious care to avoid them—possibly he may not have had access to the best authorities on the history of our own country, since American Colleges seem to be unacquainted with the fact that *America* has a history which is worth their attention. As a general rule, these errors are important, notwithstanding they are little understood; and we refer to them, not for the purpose of depreciating the general excellence of the volume, but to indicate wherein error will "creep in, unawares," and mar even the most faithful narrative. Thus, he has repeated,—with a saving clause, however,—the exploded stories of Pocahontas's personal simplicity, innocence, and attractiveness; her rescue of John Smith; and her honorable marriage and latter end. He also overlooks the re-capture of *New York* by the Dutch, under Colve, in August, 1763, although he notices that of New Jersey and Delaware. He is hardly correct in his notice of William Kidd and the pirates—many of them the ancestors of the aristocracy of New York, of to-day—and he might have said stronger words concerning the New York negro-plot of 1741—one of the earliest of the "Know-nothing" movements, hereabouts—without injury to the truth. If one can profess to live in communion with a Church whose teachings we ridicule, whose *Articles of Faith* we repudiate, whose general rules of conduct we disregard, whose discipline we defy, and yet be considered as "suffering greatly on account of one's religion," when we are subjected to penalties because of our disobedience to our own professions and covenants, the author was correct in his estimate of the Puritanic reasons for flitting to America: we do not either admit the propriety of the conduct or condemn the punishment; and we can see no "*religion*" in the cause for which the Puritans "suffered"—we cannot say as much for their *irreligion*. We have failed to find in the *Acts and Orders* of the first General Court of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations any evidence of the alleged "exclusion of the Roman Catholics from voting at elections and from every office in the Government," as stated on page 147, or anything which can possibly be thus con-

strued. A little less certainty concerning the origin of the Washington family than is seen on page 167, might have been preferable; and the story of the hatchet and apple-tree might, usefully, have been omitted from what is intended to be a "history." A more moderate tone might have been adopted, without disadvantage, in reciting the causes which primarily led to the American Revolution. The fact is, a few of the Colonists were ambitious and they dragooned the masses into disaffection, rebellion, and resistance, just as the leaders of the South did, a few years since; and it was only because the politics of Europe differed—those of 1777 favoring European co-operation and those of 1860-'5 disfavoring it—that the results differed and one became "patriotism" and the other "treason." The street-row in Boston, in March, 1770, had as little to do with politics as it had with religion—the attempts to make it appear so, to the contrary notwithstanding—and the acquittal of the soldiers, at the time, indicates that even a Boston jury thought that the "killing" of the Boston rowdies who had attacked them, was, in fact, "no murder." There was no "nation" in America, in 1775, nor was there any "people" to resolve on resistance—these are technical terms which cannot be improperly used without inflicting an injury, on the truth of history. The Colonists were no more a "nation," than the Counties of the Eastern Shore are a "State;" nor were the Colonists, in any sense, a "people." They were *subjects* and the Colonies were *dependencies*; and it was the duty of the former to obey all duly enacted laws, whether agreeable and useful or disagreeable and disastrous. The stereotyped error of the "first blood" having been shed at Lexington is repeated here; and the apocryphal story of Putnam leaving his plough, receives a new endorsement. The old-fashioned half-told story of Bunker's-hill is repeated; and some things are told of Warren which cannot be established by evidence which is as good as that which contradicts them. Montgomery had left no "enjoyment of ease" and the highest domestic happiness, *in Ireland*, "his native land, to share the toils and dangers" "of a war," etc., in Canada, where he fell: he was, indeed, an Irishman, by birth; but he had married a New York lady and his home was in that Colony. The wrong done to General Schuyler, in 1777, we regret to see repeated here. It was that General, not Gates, who really defeated Burgoyne; and, notwithstanding the opponents of Washington so far prevailed as to give the command to one of their own tools, just before the necessary development of the overthrow of the enemy, the real honor is Schuyler's and the shame of Gates is not less certain because it is concealed. The *old* story of Wyoming, origin-

ally concocted in order to "arouse the northern heart" of that day, should not have been repeated, at this late day. Andre was not "tried by" "a Court-martial," as stated: his case was sent to a Court of Enquiry, to ascertain the facts and report on them; and, on his own confession, he was ascertained to have been truly a spy and was hung, as such, without a trial, by order of General Washington. Cornwallis was captured by the united armies of France and the United States, which had met before the enemy and, in co-operation with the French fleet, secured the victory. The *Articles of Confederation* are entitled to *more* respect, and the partizan politicians to *less*, than they have received in Chapter XXVII; and the very radical *Amendments* to the Federal Constitution, which were made at the earliest possible moment, should not have been overlooked. There were two sides to the matter of Hull's surrender of Detroit; and that affair shall have been treated with greater tenderness than it has enjoyed. If we understand it correctly, Fort Brown, opposite Matamoros, is not *South* from Point Isabel, as stated on page 224; and Colonel May was hardly as gallant, at Resaca de la Palma, as is stated on page 226. Mr. Lincoln was no more an "Abolitionist," notwithstanding he was so called by his political opponents, than were the Democrats of ten years before, the "Loco-focos" which the Whigs had persisted, insultingly, to call them; and the averment, on page 233, to that effect is inaccurate. That he *was so called*, by the other side, we admit: that he *really was* "an Abolitionist," or that he was elected by "Abolitionists," or for the promotion of the peculiar tenets of that little party, we emphatically and understandingly deny: how he subsequently yielded to the demands of selfish men and, in his weakness, approached "Abolitionism," the world knows as well as we. We have not seen any evidence of the *vigor* of the defence of Fort Sumter, in 1861, to which reference is made on page 234; nor do we think that either ability or vigor was really displayed in any part of that defence.

We have not either time or space to follow the author very closely through his Chapters concerning other histories than that of the United States; but we have seen that, as a whole, he has done his work with evident pains-taking fidelity; and, even in the instances referred to, we have read his errors with many grains of allowance in our condemnation, since they are of that character which may be easily overlooked by those whose attention is only occasionally turned in the direction of our history.

The volume is very neatly printed.

19.—*The Churchman's Year Book*, with Kalendar for the Year of Grace 1870. Compiled by William Stevens Perry, D.D. Hartford: Church Press Co. 1870. 16mo. 7p. vi, 420.

This, we believe, is designed as the first of a series of *Year books* of the Protestant Episcopal Churches in America; and its Editor has certainly made a good beginning.

Besides the usual Calendars and tables of Lessons; Governmental, Revenue, and Postal Information; Latitude and Longitude of the principal cities in the Union; calculations for Easter, 1753-2013; the Jewish Calendar; tables of the Jewish Festivals, 1869-1900; a historical sketch of the General Conventions, 1784-1868; a summary of the proceedings of the General Convention of 1868; a list of its Officers and Committees; Summaries and Statistics of Church Progress, 1847-1868; and a digest of the Canons and Index to the Digest, we find a series of Diocesan Histories, in which the foundations are laid for the history of the Church in each Diocese, which the Editor promises to present in future numbers of the work; and these are followed by statistics of the American, English, Scotch, and Colonial Episcopacies; a Clerical Obituary for 1869; and a complete list of the Clergy, with their addresses.

The labor bestowed upon this work has been great; yet, from the fact of its being the initial volume of the series, it is necessarily incomplete, in many of its parts. We look forward for the next issue, however, with entire faith in the diligence and good judgment of the Editor, assuring himself that we shall have, in it, a record of the history of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America which will be worthy of the subject.

The volume is a pattern of neatness; and reflects great credit on the Church Press Company, by whom it was printed.

20.—*Analysis, Parsing, and Composition*: with direct references to the new School Grammar and Analytical and Practical English Grammar of Doctor Bullions's series. Also adapted to any correct Grammar of the English language. By James Crulshank, LL.D. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1870. 16mo. pp. viii, 202.

Another of the class of school-books which are crowding each other, in every hole and corner of the Union, vexing the teachers, and harassing the tax-payers.

There can be no doubt of its general excellence, nor of its entire fitness for the peculiar purposes for which it was evidently written—as part of a series of excellent school-books which is pushing its way through the host which are also struggling for a foot-hold—yet we must say that we hope the country will, very soon, on this question as on all others, be allowed to have peace.

21.—*The Bazar Book of Decorum*. The Care of the Person, Manners, Etiquette, and Ceremonials. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. 16mo. pp. 278. Price \$1.

We find in this very handsome volume a series of sensible lessons on the four subjects referred to in the title; and we have glanced over them with entire satisfaction. They are admirably adapted to the use for which they were intended; and it is to be hoped that those for whom they were written will heed their teachings.

The name is derived from the widely-known *Bazar*, published by the Harpers, in the pages of which the contents of the volume have already appeared.

22.—*Mrs. Jerningham's Journal*. New York: C. Scribner Co. 1870. 16mo. pp. 145.

A novel in verse, and not a very remarkable one at that. It is the story of an ill-matched couple; of feminine flirtations and masculine estrangement; of repentance and nominal forgiveness; the whole completed by an accident, a sick-room, and a complete conversion, on either side, to the proprieties of life.

We see nothing in it which entitles it to any particular consideration.

23.—*Sectional Map of Sioux City Land District, in the State of Iowa*; showing all the vacant lands, limits of R. R. Grants, Railroad Lines, Towns, General Topography, etc., compiled from the Records of the Land Office at Sioux City. Drawn by A. R. Fulton. Published by Mills & Co., Des Moines, Iowa, April, 1869. Price 50 cents.

This is an exceedingly neat map, on a scale of six miles to an inch, on which are indicated not only the particulars referred to in the title, but the occupied and vacant lands, the timber and the prairie, in the District of Sioux City. It must be a very useful map to all who seek homes or investments in that vicinity.

24.—*Boat and Forbear*; or, the Young Skipper of Lake Ucauga. By Oliver Optic. Illustrated. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1870. 16mo. pp. 311.

The Young Ship-builders of Elm-island. By Rev. Elijah Kellogg. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1870. 16mo. pp. 304. Price \$1.25.

The Hard-scrabble of Elm-island. By Rev. Elijah Kellogg. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1870. 16mo. pp. 320. Price \$1.25.

These handsome volumes continue two series of books for juveniles—*The Lake-shore Series* and *The Elm-island Series*—which their excellent publishers have been gradually throwing into the hands of our children; and we know of no more enticing, and no more interesting series for the young-folks than these.

They are very handsomely illustrated; and are worthy of places on every family book-shelf.

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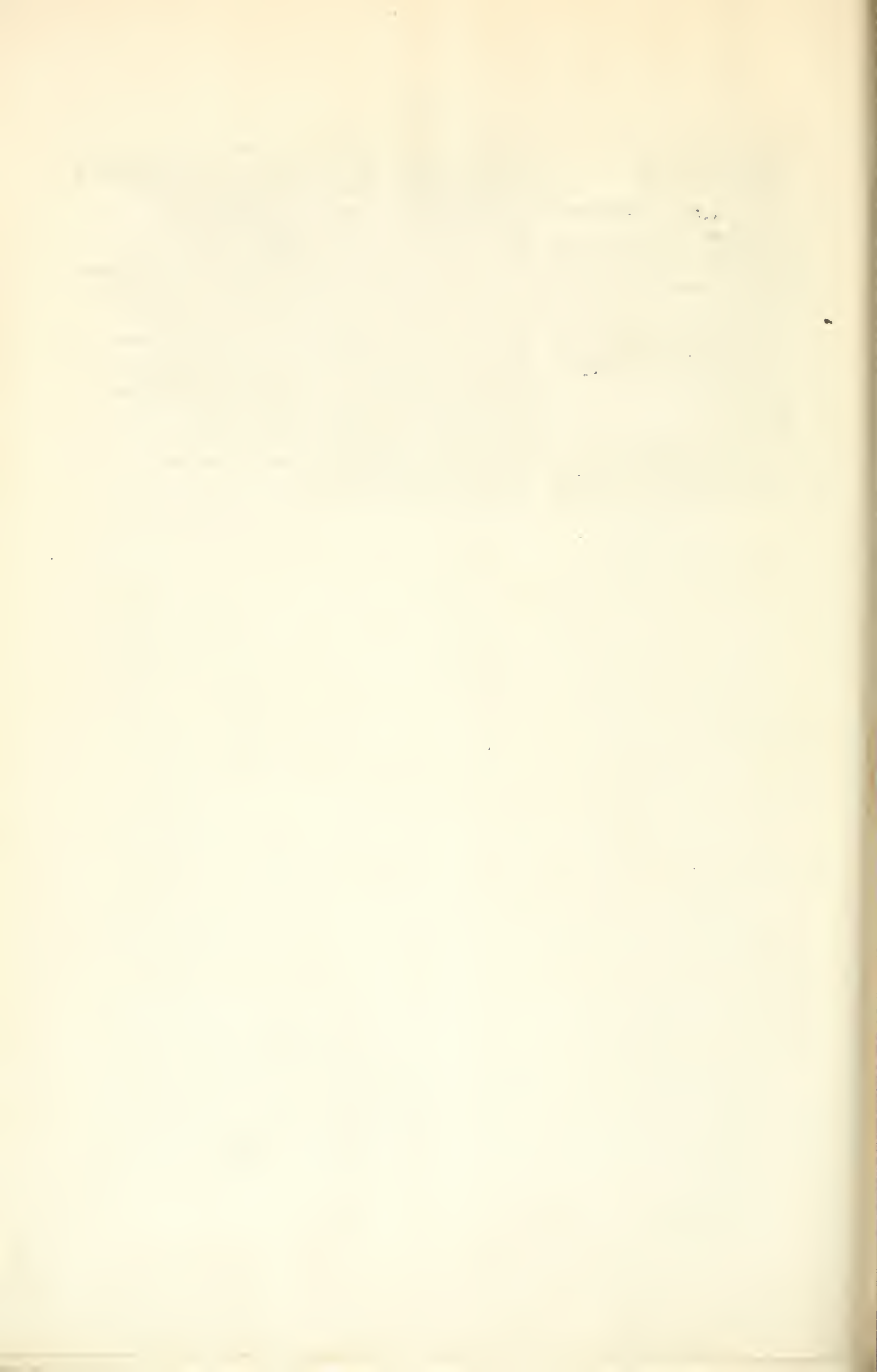
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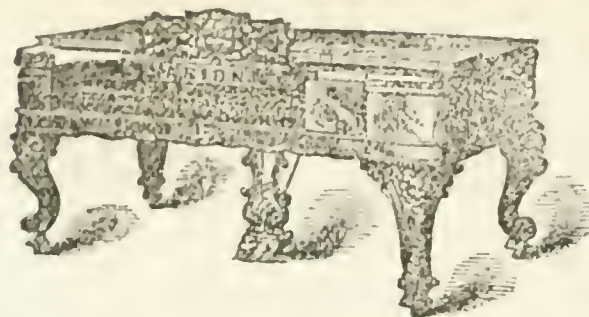
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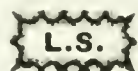
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THE

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OF

AMERICA.

February, 1870.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.:

HENRY B. DAWSON.

THE TRADE SUPPLIED BY THE AMERICAN NEWS COMPANY, 121 NASSAU STREET, NEW YORK

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OUR SUBSCRIBERS IN MAINE will be gratified with the information that in our next number we shall print, entire, the very extended *Bibliography of the State of Maine*, prefaced with a historical sketch of the literature of that State, which was the last historical work of the late Hon. WILLIAM WILLIS, by whom it was written expressly for THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, and completed only a few days before his decease. That work will be followed, in the April number, by an elaborate article—particularly interesting to the Eastport people—entitled *Moose Island and its dependencies, four years under Martial Law*, which we have received from the venerable historian of the Loyalists, Hon. LORENZO SABINE, of Boston; the May number will contain a series of unpublished documents, illustrative of the early history of Machias, communicated by J. WINGATE THORNTON, Esq., of Boston; and we hope, in the June number, to present an article from our own pen, *Maine and the War of Secession*, in which we shall present the honorable record of her services and sacrifices, in that extended struggle, with considerable particularity.

Besides these, we have secured and shall present several shorter articles, illustrative of Maine's history, by Father Vetromile, of Eastport, Samuel P. Benson Esq., and Doctor Ballard, of Brunswick, Hon. John A. Poor, of Portland, Hon. James Williamson, of Belfast; etc.

OUR MARYLAND SUBSCRIBERS will find in this number, the beginning of a series of *The Papers of General Samuel Smith*, which will embrace material of the greatest historical importance, especially concerning the defence of Baltimore in 1814. These will be followed by other unpublished papers, from various sources and of unusual interest to every Marylander, among which is a *Bibliography of Maryland*—the most perfect paper of that class of works which we have yet seen—the latter of which will appear in our April number, and be continued until completed.

OUR READERS GENERALLY, will be pleased to learn, also, that we have in hand, preparing for speedy publication, the unpublished papers of Generals JOHN SULLIVAN, JOHN GLOVER, WILLIAM HULL, WILLIAM J. WORTH, HUGH BRADY, etc.; and that we have, in hand, also, ready for the press, a great variety of original papers, by the most accomplished writers of history, in their respective departments, which the country has yet produced.

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TO OUR READERS.

We have pleasure in presenting to our readers the anxiously looked-for *Bibliography of Maine* by our late friend, Hon. William Willis; and, although he did not live to give it his final revision, and it is consequently not as perfect as it would have been with his later examinations, it is one of the most important contributions to the history of Maine which has yet been published.

Another of the delinquent numbers which are due to subscribers for 1868—that for October—is nearly finished, and will follow this, in a few days; and, as they are both in the compositor's hands, we hope, before the end of June, to have the remaining two in the hands of our subscribers.

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TO OUR READERS.

I.—The accumulation of Books for notice compels us, in order to prevent encroachment on the space appropriated for other matter, to add an extra sheet to this number, making it contain *eighty* instead of the usual *sixty-four* pages.

II.—The last of our delinquent numbers—that for December, 1868—is, we understand, nearly completed. It is passing through the press at Concord, N. H., under the supervision of JOHN WARD DEAN, Esq., of Boston; and, besides an engraving of unusual merit—which some of our readers will be glad to receive and preserve—it will contain an exceedingly valuable collection of material, from the best-known historians of our country, which will be welcomed, in every part of the Union.

The remaining delinquent number—that for November, 1868—moves slowly but steadily toward completion. It is under the direction of Colonel T. B. MYERS, of New York; and the material which he has supplied is as valuable as it is interesting—embracing unpublished papers, of unusual importance, from the pens, among others, of all those statesmen who originally called the Republic into being, and who subsequently sustained it by their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor.

III.—Our current volume is being pushed forward, as rapidly as possible. If delinquent subscribers would pay what is due to us, without further delay, we should be enabled to do what we *desire* to do—as it is, we are able to do no more than we *can* do.

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OF
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May, 1870.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.:
HENRY B. DAWSON.

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TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS.

I.—The last sheet of the last of the unprinted "delinquent numbers" for 1868 *has been printed*; and within two weeks from this time, you will receive that number, with the title-page and index of the volume.

We need not say that we rejoice that we are enabled, at last, to make this welcome announcement; and we beg to assure those peculiar "FRIENDS" of ours, who have been pleased to remain in our debt while they have had in their hands very many numbers of our work, for 1869 and 1870, which they have not paid for, *and prevented us from doing promptly and without peculiar anxiety what we have now accomplished only at the expense of our comfort and health and with unlooked-for delay*, that, as they have now no longer an excuse for their delinquency, we shall employ a portion of our time, during the present Winter, in ascertaining whether they are men or the mere things which they seem to be.

II.—The June number is in such a state of forwardness that we expect to be able to send it out in a very short time; and, as that number will complete the seventeenth volume of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE and close all the gaps as far as July, 1870, we are looking forward to the day when we can send it to you, with considerable anxiety.

III.—The July and August numbers may possibly be issued under one cover. We have received a long-promised article from our ever-attentive friend, Rev. Doctor Gillett, which may overrun the limits of the July number and encroach on those of that for August: and we are very willing that it should be so, in order that our readers may enjoy the privilege of reading one of the most important papers on the history of American Unitarianism, which has ever been given to the world. It is in the hands of our workmen.

IV.—We have contracted for the manufacture of two numbers per month, hereafter, as long as any numbers of the Magazine shall be behind time; and as our own editorial labors and our expenditures of money will be thus systematically doubled, for some months to come, we must request our friends to relieve us, in our business labors, *by sending what they owe, and by adding to our subscription-list, new paying subscribers.*

IV.—Be kind enough to turn to the advertising sheet, at the back of this number; read its contents; and *send your advertisement.* It will help both you and us.

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TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS.

I.—For the first six articles in this number, we are indebted to the active assistance of Captain WILLIAM F. GOODWIN, U. S. A., of Concord, N. H. The excellent judgment of that gentleman and the remarkable supply of important material which he controls are not unknown to our readers; and the importance of the articles now contributed and their varied interests will bring fresh credit to that zealous worker in the historic quarries of New England.

II.—The title-page, prefatory note, list of contributors, and index of the seventh volume, which this number concludes, will be sent with the July number; and, as was stated in the May number, we may be obliged to send that number and that for August under the same cover, in order to give Doctor Gillett's article on American Unitarianism, entire.

III.—Volume VIII. will contain, among other articles, Doctor Gillett's article, last referred to; the conclusion of Mr. Bartlett's *Naval History of Rhode Island*, and that of Doctor Morris's *Bibliography of Maryland*; a series of unpublished correspondence, during the War of the Revolution, of the Executive of Rhode Island; biographical sketches of several of "Our Historical Writers;" etc; and it will be issued at the earliest possible moment—as soon, indeed, as the workmen can perform the work, *unless those who are indebted to us shall present that anxiously desired result, BY INDECENTLY WITHHOLDING WHAT IS DUE TO US.*

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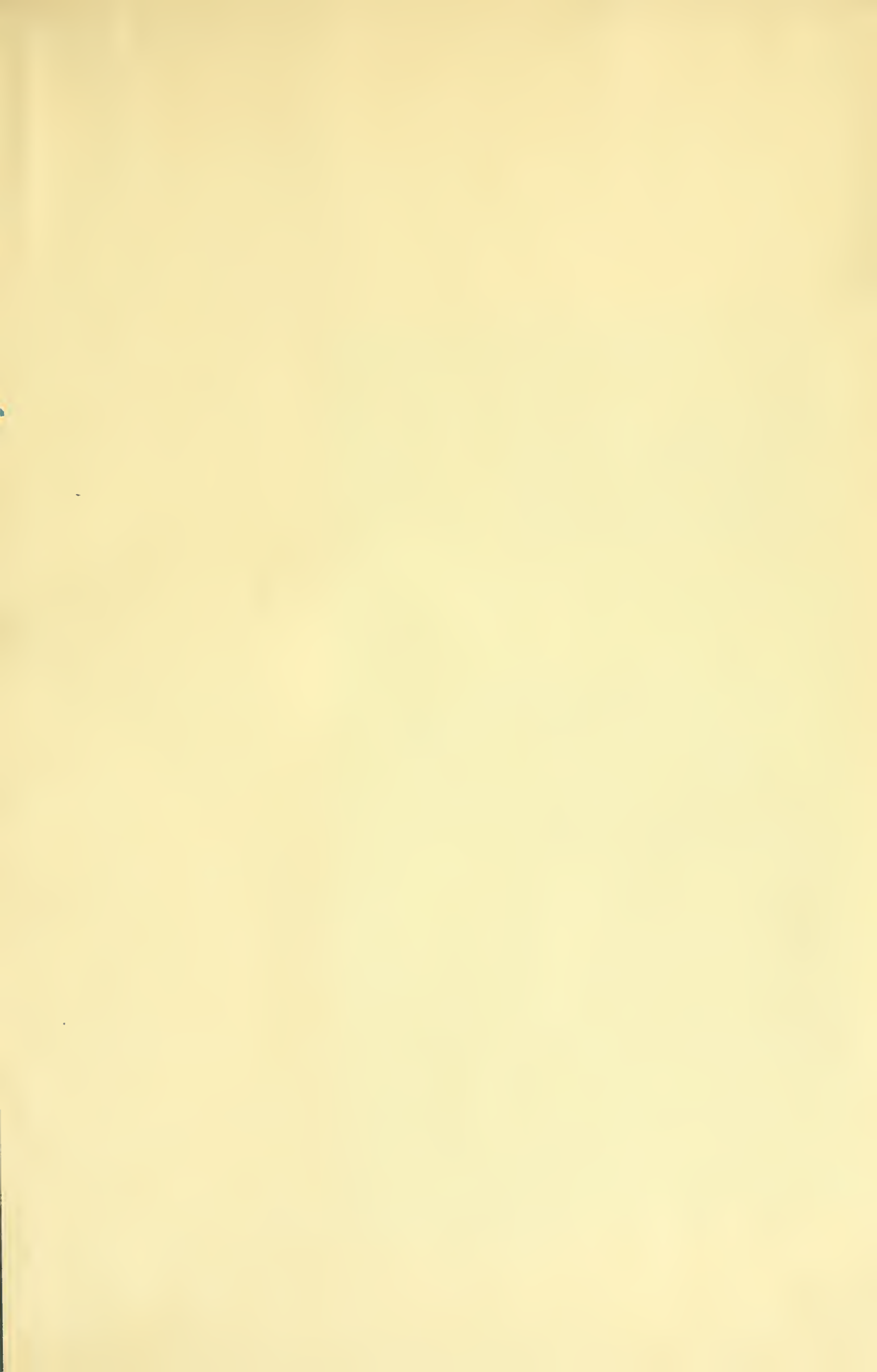
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